UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE WHARTON SCHOOL

MANAGEMENT 100

Leadership & Communication in Groups

Professors ***London, Patrick, Linnehan***
Greenhalgh & Fitzgerald **Fall 1995**

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MANAGEMENT 100: LEADERSHIP & COMMUNICATION IN GROUPS

Director: Michael B. London, Ph.D.
Curriculum Director: Anne Greenhalgh, Ph.D.

Purpose of the Course

As a Wharton Undergraduate student, you are in a position to become a future business leader. Management 100 is designed to increase your understanding of leadership and communication in groups and organizations, and to help you build the group skills that are essential in today's business environment.

A key challenge for a leader in any organization is to communicate effectively with outside groups and connect the organization to the community. You will experience this challenge in your community service project, which is an integral part of Management 100. It provides a context in which you can develop as a leader, practice communication skills, learn about the nature of group work and enhance your sensitivity to community issues.

You will study literature on managerial leadership, communication and group dynamics. In addition, you will work in a learning team which will help you to apply this knowledge, gain awareness of your own strengths and weaknesses and build skills that you will need for your professional success. The course should also enhance your freshman year experience by providing many opportunities for interaction with peers, advanced students, alumni and faculty.

Management 100 has six major objectives:

- To build your awareness of the individual, interpersonal and group factors that determine team performance
- To provide opportunities for you to practice their leadership and communication skills, thus enhancing your abilities to work effectively in groups
- To develop your capacity to work with a variety of people, with an appreciation of individual and cultural differences
- To help you understand the importance of teamwork to your professional success and to build awareness of your strengths and weaknesses as group members
- To encourage you, as new Wharton students, to form supportive relationships and to provide a context for advanced students to serve as mentors
- To get you involved in a team project that makes a substantive contribution to the greater community

The Wharton School
University of Pennsylvania
1995

ANALYSIS [illegible] LEADERSHIP & COMMUNICATION IN GROUPS

[illegible] Ph.D
[illegible] Ph.D

[illegible] of the Program

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Program Structure

Management 100 is a required course for incoming students. Successful completion of the course satisfies the undergraduate division's oral and written communication requirement. Eleven cohorts of 48 students have been formed this year. Each cohort is divided into four teams of 12 students each, and these teams manage a project that provides service and support to the Philadelphia community. Each team has a Teaching Assistant, an advanced undergraduate student who has received educator training. The projects, arranged in collaboration with the United Way, enable students to increase their understanding of issues that work groups must face and to put communication and leadership skills into practice. Projects are completed within one semester. The course is unique in that it represents a real partnership between the Wharton School and the surrounding community, enriching everyone involved. This year, the class of 1999 will work on 44 community service projects through Management 100.

Classes are divided into four modules: project management, teamwork, communication and leadership. The teaching method is interactive and experiential; students work in groups, participate in simulations, learn from surveys, engage in reflective writing and share their ideas with classmates and instructors.

Assignments

This course has a variety of assignments: a community service project, a midterm exam, a term paper and a team presentation, and a final exam. We encourage you to take your learning seriously, but enjoy it as well. This is your opportunity to make a significant difference in the community, to make new friends and to enrich yourself with new skills and awareness.

Participation: Your participation in Management 100 will be evaluated in two ways. Your Teaching Assistant will evaluate your project participation. This includes attendance, accountability and the degree to which you contribute to your team project. Your instructor will evaluate your class participation, including timeliness of assignments, class attendance, and the quality of your contributions to class discussions.

Mid-Term Exam: You will complete a take-home mid-term exam focusing on the topics covered during the first half of the class. Topics will include: diversity, project management, group dynamics and teamwork

Leadership Assessment Paper: This is a two part assignment. First, you will complete a 5 page paper discussing your leadership style by using one of the leadership theories discussed in the readings. Second, you will discuss your self-assessments within your breakout groups and write a "postscript" analyzing the similarities and differences between the feedback you have received during this session and your self-assessment.

Community Service Project: Your client and instructor will each evaluate the quality of your team's work. You are also required to prepare a final team presentation. Presentations should highlight what was accomplished and how, project outcomes and team processes. You should demonstrate your mastery of the curriculum by examining real incidents from your team and explaining them in light of the major concepts of the course – leadership, teamwork, and communication.

Final Exam: You will take a final exam covering the major readings in the course. You will be asked to discuss what you've learned about leadership, communication and teamwork over the course of the semester. Use salient experiences from your group project as well as significant readings to support your claims and to explain what you've learned from the course.

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[illegible] is required course for incoming students [illegible] completed [illegible] graduate [illegible] requirements [illegible] this [illegible] divided into [illegible] their [illegible] Teaching Assistant [illegible] with [illegible] the surrounding community [illegible] will work on [illegible]

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Assignments

[illegible] assignments [illegible] community [illegible] and a final exam. We encourage you to [illegible] This is [illegible] to make [illegible]

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Mid-term Exam: You will complete a [illegible] the topics covered [illegible]

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[illegible] required to complete a final [illegible] process [illegible]

Final Exam: [illegible] take-home final exam [illegible] You will [illegible] as well as [illegible] explain what [illegible]

Evaluation

Participation (individual)	20 points
Project Participation (10 points)	
Class Participation (10 points)	
Mid-Term Exam (individual)	20 points
Leadership Assessment Paper (individual)	10 points
Community Service Project (team)	30 points
Client Assessment (10 points)	
Instructor Assessment (10 points)	
Team Presentation (10 points)	
Final Exam (individual)	20 points

The 1995 Management 100 Conference

A special event is planned to celebrate the achievements of the class of 1999, the 1995 Management 100 Conference. Students, alumni, members of the community, faculty, administration and recruiters will attend the event and hear a special keynote speaker. Outstanding Management 100 teams demonstrating excellence in their project will be recognized for their achievements. Date of conference TBA.

Management 100 Faculty

Faculty	Sections	Project Focus
Michael Fitzgerald	004	Project with Kids
	008	Working with Physically Challenged
	009	Project with Kids
Anne Greenhalgh	007	Projects Benefitting Senior Citizens
	011	Miscellaneous Projects
Frank Linnehan	001	Working with the Homeless
	005	Marketing & Public Relations
Michael London	006	Miscellaneous Projects
	010	Projects Involving the Arts
Denise Patrick	002	Putting on Special Events
	003	Environment Issues

COHORT SESSIONS: Listed as *lectures* in your schedule of classes, these are session in which you meet in your cohort of 48 students to learn theory and skills.

BREAKOUTS: Listed as *recitations* in your schedule of classes, these are small group sessions of no more than 12 in which your learning makes use of video and playback to increase awareness, build new skills and learn from each other.

MEETINGS: These are informal sessions which focus on project work. Initially your group will meet in the same room as your lecture. Later, you will meet on-site or at a location determined by your learning team.

READINGS: Course Pack (Available from Wharton Reprographics)

The Wharton School
Management 100
Syllabus, Fall 1995

September 1995

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9/4	9/5	9/6	9/7 **1. Intro. Guest Speaker**	9/8
9/11 **4. (Breakouts)** Project Start-up *In-Class Assignment*: Ranking Projects	9/12 **2. Working in Diverse Communities** *Activity:* Self-Worth Exercise *Readings:* Senge Dumaine Deal	9/13 **(Breakouts)** Project Start-up Ranking Projects	9/14 **3. Faculty Advising**	9/15 **(Breakouts)** Project Start-up Ranking Projects
9/18 **7. (Breakouts)** Intervening in the Community. Contact agency. *Video & playback*: Vision exercise *Assignment*: Contact Agency	9/19 **5. Planning Projects & Running Meetings** *Video Viewing*: "More Meetings, Bloody Meegings" Informal Writing Assign.: Minority Experience *Readings:* Drucker Corey Andrews & Baird	9/20 **(Breakouts)**	9/21 **6. Getting Started** *Activity*: Drafting the letter of intent examples	9/22 **(Breakouts)**
9/25 **10. (Breakouts)** Appreciating Difference *Activity*: Egg Exercise *Assignment*: Draft of Letter Due	9/26 **8. Making Diversity Work** *Video Viewed*: Communicating Across Cultures *Exercise*: Minority Experience *Readings*: Lodner Bennett Cox	9/27 **(Breakouts)**	9/28 **9. Visit Project Site**	9/29 **(Breakouts)**

October & November 1995

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
10/2 **13. (Breakouts)** Managing Client Relationships *Activity:* Role plays *Assignment*: Letter of Intent Due	10/3 **11. Group Dynamics** *Video Viewed*: "12 Angry Men" *Readings*: Feldman Hackman Zander	10/4 **(Breakouts)**	10/5 **12. Project Work**	10/6 **(Breakouts)**
10/9 **16. (Breakouts)** Managing Conflict & Agreement *Activity:* Assertiveness Training	10/10 **14. Teamwork, Membership & Leadership Roles** *Activity*: 3D Tic Tac Toe *Readings:* Likert Janis Andrews & Baird	10/11 **(Breakouts)**	10/12 **15. Take-Home Mid-Term Exam Due**	10/13 **(Breakouts)**
10/16 **FALL**	10/17 **BREAK!**	10/18 **PROJECT WORK**	10/19 **NO**	10/20 **CLASSES**
10/23 **19. (Breakouts)** Building Win-Win Relationships *Activity*: Ugli Oranges	10/24 **17. Interpersonal Comm.** *Activity*: Overcoming Barriers to Communication *Readings:* Spitzberg Covey Ury	10/25 **(Breakouts)**	10/26 **18. Project Work**	10/27 **(Breakouts)**
10/30 **22. (Breakouts)** Active Listening *Activity*: Listening Exercise with PACE	10/31 **20. Public Communication** *Activity*: Impromptus *Readings:* Brockriede Rogers Andrews & Baird	11/1 **(Breakouts)**	11/2 **21. Project Work**	11/3 **(Breakouts)**

November & December 1995

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
11/6 **25. (Breakouts)** Leadership Behaviors: Desired & Expressed *Activity:* FIRO B Inventory	11/7 **23. Leadership Theories & Styles** *Case Discussion:* "The Soul of a New Machine" *Readings:* Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy Zaleznik Bass Kidder WSJ Articles	11/8 **(Breakouts)**	11/9 **24. Project Work**	11/10 **(Breakouts)**
11/13 **28. (Breakouts)** Personal Leaderhip Styles *Activity*: Feedback Exercise *Assignment*: Leadership Analysis Due	11/14 **26. Leadership & Power** *Video Playback:* Cascades *Readings:* Deluca Kanter Conger	11/15 **(Breakouts)**	11/16 **27. Project Work**	11/17 **(Breakouts)**
11/20 **THANKSGIVING** *Assignment:*	11/21 **BREAK!** Postscript to Analysis Due	11/22 **PROJECT WORK**	11/23 **NO**	11/24 **CLASSES**
11/27 **31. (Breakouts)** *Video Record & Playback*: Dress Reshearsal	11/28 **29. Debriefing: Comparing Project Teams**	11/29 **(Breakouts)**	11/30 **30. Preparation for Presentations**	11/31 **(Breakouts)**
12/4	12/5 **32. Presentations** **Video Record & Playback**	12/6	12/7 **33. Evaluation**	12/8

Readings and Discussion Questions

9/7

How can you prepare yourself to be a leader for the 21st Century?
What are the objectives, expectations and assignments for this course?
How will you be evaluated?

9/12

Senge, P., "The Leader's New Work: Building Learning Organizations", Sloan Management Review, Fall, 1990

Dumaine, Brian, "The Bureaucracy Busters", Fortune, July 17, 1991.

Deal, Terrance E. & Kennedy, Allen A., Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life, Addison-Wesley, 1982, Chs. 1, 2, & 7.

1. What is appreciative learning?
2. What is a learning organization?
3. What are the ethical issues involved in your project?
4. What is the relationship between a corporation and its community?

9/19

Drucker, P., Managing the Non-Profit Organization, Harper Collins, 1990, pp. 107-139.

Corey, E.R. ed., MBA Field Studies: A Guide for Students and Faculty, Harvard Business School Publishing Division, 1990, pp. 1-19.

Andrews, Patricia H. & Baird, John E., Communication for Business and the Professions, 6th ed., 1995, Chapter 10.

1. How do you manage a project?
2. How can you make your meetings more effective?
3. How do people make decisions, and what is your role in the process?

9/26

Lodner, Marilyn & Rosener, Judy, "The Dimensions of Diversity", excerpted from Workforce America!, Homewood, IL: Business One, Irwin, 1991.

Bennett, Milton, "A Developmental Approach to Training for Intercultural Sensitivity", International Journal of Intercultural Relations. 1986, Vol. 10, pp. 179-196.

Cox, Taylor, "The Multicultural Organization", Academy of Management Executives. 1991, Vol. 5, No. 2.

1. How do groups and organizations deal with difference?
2. How can we make diversity in our team a strength?
3. How do people develop intercultural sensivity?

10/3

Feldman, D.C., "The Development and Enforcement of Group Norms", Academy of Management Review, 1984, pp. 47-53.

Hackman, R.J. (ed.), Creating More Effective Work Groups in Organizations, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990, pp. 479-504.

Zander, A., "Improving the Group Decision-Making Process", Making Groups Effective (2nd Ed.), Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1994, pp. 43-67.

1. What are the issues that a team must deal with in organizations to work effectively?
2. What is a group norm?
3. How do groups make decisions?
4. How do groups develop over time?

11/14

Deluca, Joel M., "The Political Blind Spot", Political Savvy: Systematic Approaches to Leadership Behind the Scenes, LRP, 1992, pp. 27-51.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, Men and Women of the Corporation, New York: Basic Books, 1977. Chapter 7, "Power".

Conger, Jay. "Leadership: The Art of Empowering Others", Academy of Management Executive, Vol. III, 1989.

1. How can you lead when you are not the designated "leader"?
2. How does one acquire power; what are the sources?
3. What are the ethics of power?
4. Are there differences in the way women and men use power?

Jon fox (T.A.)
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WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

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Management
Review
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The Leader's New Work: Building Learning Organizations

Peter M. Senge *MIT Sloan School of Management*

OVER THE PAST two years, business academics and senior managers have begun talking about the notion of the learning organization. Ray Stata of Analog Devices put the idea succinctly in these pages last spring: "The rate at which organizations learn may become the only sustainable source of competitive advantage." And in late May of this year, at an MIT-sponsored conference entitled "Transforming Organizations," two questions arose again and again: *How can we build organizations in which continuous learning occurs?* and, *What kind of person can best lead the learning organization?* This article, based on Senge's recently published book, *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*, begins to chart this new territory, describing new roles, skills, and tools for leaders who wish to develop learning organizations.

HUMAN BEINGS are designed for learning. No one has to teach an infant to walk, or talk, or master the spatial relationships needed to stack eight building blocks that don't topple. Children come fully equipped with an insatiable drive to explore and experiment. Unfortunately, the primary institutions of our society are oriented predominantly toward controlling rather than learning, rewarding individuals for performing for others rather than for cultivating their natural curiosity and impulse to learn. The young child entering school discovers quickly that the name of the game is getting the right answer and avoiding mistakes—a mandate no less compelling to the aspiring manager.

"Our prevailing system of management has destroyed our people," writes W. Edwards Deming, leader in the quality movement.[1] "People are born with intrinsic motivation, self-esteem, dignity, curiosity to learn, joy in learning. The forces of destruction begin with toddlers—a prize for the best Halloween costume, grades in school, gold stars, and on up through the university. On the job, people, teams, divisions are ranked—reward for the one at the top, punishment at the bottom. MBO, quotas, incentive pay, business plans, put together separately, division by division, cause further loss, unknown and unknowable."

Ironically, by focusing on performing for someone else's approval, corporations create the very conditions that predestine them to mediocre performance. Over the long run, superior performance depends on superior learning. A Shell study showed that, according to former planning director Arie de Geus, "a full one-third of the Fortune '500' industrials listed in 1970 had vanished by 1983."[2] Today, the average lifetime of the largest industrial enterprises is probably less than *half* the average lifetime of a person in an industrial society. On the other hand, de Geus and his colleagues at Shell also found a small number of companies that survived for seventy-five years or longer. Interestingly, the key to their survival was the ability to run "experiments in the margin," to continually explore new business and organizational opportunities that create potential new sources of growth.

If anything, the need for understanding how organizations learn and accelerating that learning is greater today than ever before. The old days when a Henry Ford, Alfred Sloan, or Tom Watson *learned for the organization* are gone. In an increasingly dynamic, interdependent, and unpredictable world, it is simply no longer possible for anyone to "figure it all out at the top." The old model, "the top thinks and the local acts," must now give way to integrating thinking and acting at all levels. While the challenge is great, so is the potential payoff. "The per-

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Peter M. Senge is Director of the Systems Thinking and Organizational Learning program at the MIT Sloan School of Management.

son who figures out how to harness the collective genius of the people in his or her organization," according to former Citibank CEO Walter Wriston, "is going to blow the competition away."

Adaptive Learning and Generative Learning

The prevailing view of learning organizations emphasizes increased adaptability. Given the accelerating pace of change, or so the standard view goes, "the most successful corporation of the 1990s," according to *Fortune* magazine, "will be something called a learning organization, a consummately adaptive enterprise."[3] As the Shell study shows, examples of traditional authoritarian bureaucracies that responded too slowly to survive in changing business environments are legion.

But increasing adaptiveness is only the first stage in moving toward learning organizations. The impulse to learn in children goes deeper than desires to respond and adapt more effectively to environmental change. The impulse to learn, at its heart, is an impulse to be generative, to expand our capability. This is why leading corporations are focusing on *generative* learning, which is about creating, as well as *adaptive* learning, which is about coping.[4]

The total quality movement in Japan illustrates the evolution from adaptive to generative learning. With its emphasis on continuous experimentation and feedback, the total quality movement has been the first wave in building learning organizations. But Japanese firms' view of serving the customer has evolved. In the early years of total quality, the focus was on "fitness to standard," making a product reliably so that it would do what its designers intended it to do and what the firm told its customers it would do. Then came a focus on "fitness to need," understanding better what the customer wanted and then providing products that reliably met those needs. Today, leading edge firms seek to understand and meet the "latent need" of the customer—what customers might truly value but have never experienced or would never think to ask for. As one Detroit executive commented recently, "You could never produce the Mazda Miata solely from market research. It required a leap of imagination to see what the customer *might* want."[5]

Generative learning, unlike adaptive learning, requires new ways of looking at the world, whether in understanding customers or in understanding how to better manage a business. For years, U.S. manufacturers sought competitive advantage in aggressive controls on inventories, incentives against overproduction, and rigid adherence to production forecasts. Despite these incentives, their performance was eventually eclipsed by Japanese firms who saw the challenges of manufacturing differently. They realized that eliminating delays in the production process was the key to reducing instability and improving cost, productivity, and service. They worked to build networks of relationships with trusted suppliers and to redesign physical production processes so as to reduce delays in materials procurement, production set up, and in-process inventory—a much higher-leverage approach to improving both cost and customer loyalty.

As Boston Consulting Group's George Stalk has observed, the Japanese saw the significance of delays because they saw the process of order entry, production scheduling, materials procurement, production, and distribution *as an integrated system*. "What distorts the system so badly is time," observed Stalk—the multiple delays between events and responses. "These distortions reverberate throughout the system, producing disruptions, waste, and inefficiency."[6] Generative learning requires seeing the systems that control events. When we fail to grasp the systemic source of problems, we are left to "push on" symptoms rather than eliminate underlying causes. The best we can ever do is adaptive learning.

The Leader's New Work

"I talk with people all over the country about learning organizations, and the response is always very positive," says William O'Brien, CEO of the Hanover Insurance companies. "If this type of organization is so widely preferred, why don't people create such organizations? I think the answer is leadership. People have no real comprehension of the type of commitment it requires to build such an organization."[7]

Our traditional view of leaders—as special people who set the direction, make the key decisions, and energize the troops—is deeply rooted in an individualistic and nonsystemic worldview. Especially in the West, leaders are *heroes*—great men (and occasionally women) who rise to the fore in times of crisis. So long as such myths prevail, they reinforce a focus on short-term events and charismatic heroes rather than on systemic forces and collective learning.

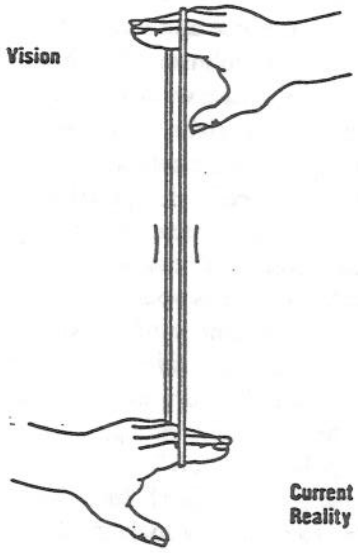
Leadership in learning organizations centers on subtler and ultimately more important work. In a learning organization, leaders' roles differ dramatically from that of the charismatic decision maker. * Leaders are designers, teachers, and stewards. These roles require new skills: the ability to build shared vision, to bring to the surface and challenge prevailing mental models, and to foster more systemic patterns of thinking. In short, leaders in learning organizations are responsible for *building organizations* where people are continually expanding their capabilities to shape their future—that is, leaders are responsible for learning.

Creative Tension: The Integrating Principle

Leadership in a learning organization starts with the principle of creative tension.[8] Creative tension comes from seeing clearly where we want to be, our "vision," and telling the truth about where we are, our "current reality." The gap between the two generates a natural tension (see Figure 1).

Creative tension can be resolved in two basic ways: by raising current reality toward the vision, or by lowering the vision toward current reality. Individuals, groups, and organizations who learn how to work with creative tension learn how to use the energy it generates to move reality more reliably toward their visions.

Figure 1 The Principle of Creative Tension



The principle of creative tension has long been recognized by leaders. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind, so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half truths . . . so must we . . . create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism."[9]

Without vision there is no creative tension. Creative tension cannot be generated from current reality alone. All the analysis in the world will never generate a vision. Many who are otherwise qualified to lead fail to do so because they try to substitute analysis for vision. They believe that, if only people understood current reality, they would surely feel the motivation to change. They are then disappointed to discover that people "resist" the personal and organizational changes that must be made to alter reality. What they never grasp is that the natural energy for changing reality comes from holding a picture of what might be that is more important to people than what is.

But creative tension cannot be generated from vision alone; it demands an accurate picture of current reality as well. Just as King had a dream, so too did he continually strive to "dramatize the shameful conditions" of racism and prejudice so that they could no longer be ignored. Vision without an understanding of current reality will more likely foster cynicism than creativity. The principle of creative tension teaches that *an accurate picture of current reality is just as important as a compelling picture of a desired future.*

Leading through creative tension is different than solving problems. In problem solving, the energy for change comes from attempting to get away from an aspect of current reality that is undesirable. With creative tension, the energy for change comes from the vision, from what we want to create, juxtaposed with current reality. While the distinction may seem small, the consequences are not. Many people and organizations find themselves motivated to change only when their problems are bad enough to cause them to change. This works for a while, but the change process runs out of steam as soon

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proactive
reactive

as the problems driving the change become less pressing. With problem solving, the motivation for change is extrinsic. With creative tension, the motivation is intrinsic. This distinction mirrors the distinction between adaptive and generative learning.

New Roles

The traditional authoritarian image of the leader as "the boss calling the shots" has been recognized as oversimplified and inadequate for some time. According to Edgar Schein, "Leadership is intertwined with culture formation." Building an organization's culture and shaping its evolution is the "unique and essential function" of leadership.[10] In a learning organization, the critical roles of leadership—designer, teacher, and steward—have antecedents in the ways leaders have contributed to building organizations in the past. But each role takes on new meaning in the learning organization and, as will be seen in the following sections, demands new skills and tools.

1.

Leader as Designer

Imagine that your organization is an ocean liner and that you are "the leader." What is your role?

I have asked this question of groups of managers many times. The most common answer, not surprisingly, is "the captain." Others say, "The navigator, setting the direction." Still others say, "The helmsman, actually controlling the direction," or, "The engineer down there stoking the fire, providing energy," or, "The social director, making sure everybody's enrolled, involved, and communicating." While these are legitimate leadership roles, there is another which, in many ways, eclipses them all in importance. Yet rarely does anyone mention it.

The neglected leadership role is the *designer* of the ship. No one has a more sweeping influence than the designer. What good does it do for the captain to say, "Turn starboard 30 degrees," when the designer has built a rudder that will only turn to port, or which takes six hours to turn to starboard? It's fruitless to be the leader in an organization that is poorly designed.

The functions of design, or what some have called "social architecture," are rarely visible; they take place behind the scenes. The consequences that appear today are the result of work done long in the past, and work today will show its benefits far in the future. Those who aspire to lead out of a desire to control, or gain fame, or simply to be at the center of the action, will find little to attract them to the quiet design work of leadership.

But what, specifically, is involved in organizational design? "Organization design is widely misconstrued as moving around boxes and lines," says Hanover's O'Brien. "The first task of organization design concerns designing the governing ideas of purpose, vision, and core values by which people will live." Few acts of leadership have a more enduring impact on an organization than building a foundation of purpose and core values.

In 1982, Johnson & Johnson found itself facing a corporate nightmare when bottles of its best-selling Tylenol were tampered with, resulting in several deaths. The corporation's immediate response was to pull all Tylenol off the shelves of retail outlets. Thirty-one million capsules were destroyed, even though they were tested and found safe. Although the immediate cost was significant, no other action was possible given the firm's credo. Authored almost forty years earlier by president Robert Wood Johnson, Johnson & Johnson's credo states that permanent success is possible only when modern industry realizes that:

- service to its customers comes first;
- service to its employees and management comes second;
- service to the community comes third; and
- service to its stockholders, last.

Such statements might seem like motherhood and apple pie to those who have not seen the way a clear sense of purpose and values can affect key business decisions. Johnson & Johnson's crisis management in this case was based on that credo. It was simple, it was right, and it worked.

If governing ideas constitute the first design task of leadership, the second design task involves the policies, strategies, and structures that translate guiding ideas into business decisions. Leadership theorist Philip Selznick calls policy and structure the "institutional embodiment of purpose."[11] "Policy making (the rules that guide decisions) ought to be separated from decision making," says Jay Forrester.[12] "Otherwise, short-term pressures will usurp time from policy creation."

Traditionally, writers like Selznick and Forrester have tended to see policy making and implementation as the work of a small number of senior managers. But that view is changing. Both the dynamic business environment and the mandate of the learning organization to engage people at all levels now make it clear that this second design task is more subtle. Henry Mintzberg has argued that strategy is less a rational plan arrived at in the abstract and implemented throughout the organization than an "emergent phenomenon." Successful organizations "craft strategy" according to Mintzberg, as they continually learn about shifting business conditions and balance what is desired and what is possible.[13] The key is not getting the right strategy but fostering strategic thinking. "The choice of individual action is only part of . . . the policymaker's need," according to Mason and Mitroff.[14] "More important is the need to achieve insight into the nature of the complexity and to formulate concepts and world views for coping with it."

Behind appropriate policies, strategies, and structures are effective learning processes; their creation is the third key design responsibility in learning organizations. This does not absolve senior managers of their strategic responsibilities. Actually, it deepens and extends those responsibilities. Now, they are not only responsible for ensuring that an organization have well-developed strategies and policies, but also for ensuring that processes exist whereby these are continually improved.

In the early 1970s, Shell was the weakest of the big seven oil companies. Today, Shell and Exxon are arguably the strongest, both in size and financial health. Shell's ascendance began with frustration. Around 1971 members of Shell's "Group Planning" in London began to foresee dramatic change and unpredictability in world oil markets. However, it proved impossible to persuade managers that the stable world of steady growth in oil demand and supply they had known for twenty years was about to change. Despite brilliant analysis and artful presentation, Shell's planners realized, in the words of Pierre Wack, that they "had failed to change behavior in much of the Shell organization."[15] Progress would probably have ended there, had the frustration not given way to a radically new view of corporate planning.

As they pondered this failure, the planners' view of their basic task shifted: "We no longer saw our task as producing a documented view of the future business environment five or ten years ahead. Our real target was the microcosm (the 'mental model') of our decision makers." Only when the planners reconceptualized their basic task as fostering learning rather than devising plans did their insights begin to have an impact. The initial tool used was "scenario analysis," through which planners encouraged operating managers to think through how they would manage in the future under different possible scenarios. It mattered not that the managers believed the planners' scenarios absolutely, only that they became engaged in ferreting out the implications. In this way, Shell's planners conditioned managers to be mentally prepared for a shift from low prices to high prices and from stability to instability. The results were significant. When OPEC became a reality, Shell quickly responded by increasing local operating company control (to enhance maneuverability in the new political environment), building buffer stocks, and accelerating development of non-OPEC sources—actions that its competitors took much more slowly or not at all.

Somewhat inadvertently, Shell planners had discovered the leverage of designing institutional learning processes, whereby, in the words of former planning director de Geus, "Management teams change their shared mental models of their company, their markets, and their competitors."[16] Since then, "planning as learning" has become a byword at Shell, and Group Planning has continually sought out new learning tools that can be integrated into the planning process. Some of these are described below.

2.

Leader as Teacher

"The first responsibility of a leader," writes retired Herman Miller CEO Max de Pree, "is to define reality."[17] Much of the leverage leaders can actually exert lies in helping people achieve more accurate, more insightful, and more *empowering* views of reality.

Leader as teacher does *not* mean leader as authoritarian expert whose job it is to teach people the "correct" view of reality. Rather, it is about helping everyone in the organization, oneself included, to gain more insightful views of current reality. This is in line with a popular emerging view of leaders as coaches, guides, or facilitators.[18] In learning organizations, this teaching role is developed further by virtue of explicit attention to people's mental models and by the influence of the systems perspective.

The role of leader as teacher starts with bringing to the surface people's mental models of important issues. No one carries an organization, a market, or a state of technology in his or her head.

What we carry in our heads are assumptions. These mental pictures of how the world works have a significant influence on how we perceive problems and opportunities, identify courses of action, and make choices.

One reason that mental models are so deeply entrenched is that they are largely tacit. Ian Mitroff, in his study of General Motors, argues that an assumption that prevailed for years was that, in the United States, "Cars are status symbols. Styling is therefore more important than quality."[19] The Detroit automakers didn't say, "We have a *mental model* that all people care about is styling." Few actual managers would even say publicly that all people care about is styling. So long as the view remained unexpressed, there was little possibility of challenging its validity or forming more accurate assumptions.

But working with mental models goes beyond revealing hidden assumptions. "Reality," as perceived by most people in most organizations, means pressures that must be borne, crises that must be reacted to, and limitations that must be accepted. Leaders as teachers help people *restructure their views of reality* to see beyond the superficial conditions and events into the underlying causes of problems—and therefore to see new possibilities for shaping the future.

Specifically, leaders can influence people to view reality at three distinct levels: events, patterns of behavior, and systemic structure.

Systemic Structure
(Generative)
↓
Patterns of Behavior
(Responsive)
↓
Events
(Reactive)

The key question becomes *where do leaders predominantly focus their own and their organization's attention?*

Contemporary society focuses predominantly on events. The media reinforces this perspective, with almost exclusive attention to short-term, dramatic events. This focus leads naturally to explaining what happens in terms of those events: "The Dow Jones average went up sixteen points because high fourth-quarter profits were announced yesterday."

Pattern-of-behavior explanations are rarer, in contemporary culture, than event explanations, but they do occur. "Trend analysis" is an example of seeing patterns of behavior. A good editorial that interprets a set of current events in the context of long-term historical changes is another example. Systemic, structural explanations go even further by addressing the question, "What causes the patterns of behavior?"

In some sense, all three levels of explanation are equally true. But their usefulness is quite different. Event explanations—who did what to whom—doom their holders to a reactive stance toward change. Pattern-of-behavior explanations focus on identifying long-term trends and assessing their implications. They at least suggest how, over time, we can respond to shifting conditions. Structural explanations are the most powerful. Only they address the underlying causes of behavior at a level such that patterns of behavior can be changed.

By and large, leaders of our current institutions focus their attention on events and patterns of behavior, and, under their influence, their organizations do likewise. That is why contemporary organizations are predominantly reactive, or at best responsive—rarely generative. On the other hand, leaders in learning organizations pay attention to all three levels, but focus especially on systemic structure; largely by example, they teach people throughout the organization to do likewise.

3. *Leader as Steward*

This is the subtlest role of leadership. Unlike the roles of designer and teacher, it is almost solely a matter of attitude. It is an attitude critical to learning organizations.

While stewardship has long been recognized as an aspect of leadership, its source is still not widely understood. I believe Robert Greenleaf came closest to explaining real stewardship, in his seminal book *Servant Leadership*.[20] There, Greenleaf argues that "The servant leader *is* servant first. . . . It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve *first*. This conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is leader first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions."

Leaders' sense of stewardship operates on two levels: stewardship for the people they lead and stewardship for the larger purpose or mission that underlies the enterprise. The first type arises from a keen appreciation of the impact one's leadership can have on others. People can suffer economically, emotionally, and spiritually under inept leadership. If anything, people in a learning organization are more vulnerable because of their commitment and sense of shared ownership. Appreciating this naturally instills a sense of responsibility in leaders. The second type of stewardship arises from a leader's sense of personal purpose and commitment to the organization's larger mission. People's natural impulse to learn is unleashed when they are engaged in an endeavor they consider worthy of their fullest commitment. Or, as Lawrence Miller puts it, "Achieving return on equity does not, as a goal, mobilize the most noble forces of our soul."[21]

Leaders engaged in building learning organizations naturally feel part of a larger purpose that goes beyond their organization. They are part of changing the way businesses operate, not from a vague philanthropic urge, but from a conviction that their efforts will produce more productive organizations, capable of achieving higher levels of organizational success and personal satisfaction than more traditional organizations. Their sense of stewardship was succinctly captured by George Bernard Shaw when he said,

> This is the true joy in life, the being used for a purpose you consider a mighty one, the being a force of nature rather than a feverish, selfish clod of ailments and grievances complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy.

✓ New Skills

New leadership roles require new leadership skills. These skills can only be developed, in my judgment, through a lifelong commitment. It is not enough for one or two individuals to develop these skills. They must be distributed widely throughout the organization. This is one reason that understanding the *disciplines* of a learning organization is so important. These disciplines embody the principles and practices that can widely foster leadership development.

Three critical areas of skills (disciplines) are building shared vision, surfacing and challenging mental models, and engaging in systems thinking.[22]

1. *Building Shared Vision*

How do individual visions come together to create shared visions? A useful metaphor is the hologram, the three-dimensional image created by interacting light sources.

If you cut a photograph in half, each half shows only part of the whole image. But if you divide a hologram, each part, no matter how small, shows the whole image intact. Likewise, when a group of people come to share a vision for an organization, each person sees an individual picture of the organization at its best. Each shares responsibility for the whole, not just for one piece. But the component pieces of the hologram are not identical. Each represents the whole image from a different point of view. It's something like poking holes in a window shade; each hole offers a unique angle for viewing the whole image. So, too, is each individual's vision unique.

When you add up the pieces of a hologram, something interesting happens. The image becomes more intense, more lifelike. When more people come to share a vision, the vision becomes more real in the sense of a mental reality that people can truly imagine achieving. They now have partners, co-creators; the vision no longer rests on their shoulders alone. Early on, when they are nurturing an individual vision, people may say it is "my vision." But, as the shared vision develops, it becomes both "my vision" and "our vision."

The skills involved in building shared vision include the following:

- **Encouraging Personal Vision.** Shared visions emerge from personal visions. It is not that people only care about their own self-interest—in fact, people's values usually include dimensions that concern family, organization, community, and even the world. Rather, it is that people's capacity for caring is *personal.*
- **Communicating and Asking for Support.** Leaders must be willing to continually share their own vision, rather than being the official representative of the corporate vision. They also must be prepared to ask, "Is this vision worthy of your commitment?" This can be difficult for a person used to setting goals and presuming compliance.
- **Visioning as an Ongoing Process.** Building shared vision is a never-ending process. At any one point there will be a particular image of the future that is predominant, but that image will evolve. Today, too many managers want to dispense with the "vision business" by going off and writing the Official Vision Statement. Such statements almost always lack the vitality, freshness, and excitement

of a genuine vision that comes from people asking, "What do we really want to achieve?"

• **Blending Extrinsic and Intrinsic Visions.** Many energizing visions are extrinsic—that is, they focus on achieving something relative to an outsider, such as a competitor. But a goal that is limited to defeating an opponent can, once the vision is achieved, easily become a defensive posture. In contrast, intrinsic goals like creating a new type of product, taking an established product to a new level, or setting a new standard for customer satisfaction can call forth a new level of creativity and innovation. Intrinsic and extrinsic visions need to coexist; a vision solely predicated on defeating an adversary will eventually weaken an organization.

• **Distinguishing Positive from Negative Visions.** Many organizations only truly pull together when their survival is threatened. Similarly, most social movements aim at eliminating what people don't want: for example, anti-drugs, anti-smoking, or anti-nuclear arms movements. Negative visions carry a subtle message of powerlessness: people will only pull together when there is sufficient threat. Negative visions also tend to be short term. Two fundamental sources of energy can motivate organizations: fear and aspiration. Fear, the energy source behind negative visions, can produce extraordinary changes in short periods, but aspiration endures as a continuing source of learning and growth.

2. *Surfacing and Testing Mental Models*

Many of the best ideas in organizations never get put into practice. One reason is that new insights and initiatives often conflict with established mental models. The leadership task of challenging assumptions without invoking defensiveness requires reflection and inquiry skills possessed by few leaders in traditional controlling organizations.[23]

• **Seeing Leaps of Abstraction.** Our minds literally move at lightning speed. Ironically, this often slows our learning, because we leap to generalizations so quickly that we never think to test them. We then confuse our generalizations with the observable data upon which they are based, treating the generalizations *as if they were data.* The frustrated sales rep reports to the home office that "customers don't really care about quality, price is what matters," when what actually happened was that three consecutive large customers refused to place an order unless a larger discount was offered. The sales rep treats her generalization, "customers care only about price," as if it were absolute fact rather than an assumption (very likely an assumption reflecting her own views of customers and the market). This thwarts future learning because she starts to focus on how to offer attractive discounts rather than probing behind the customers' statements. For example, the customers may have been so disgruntled with the firm's delivery or customer service that they are unwilling to purchase again without larger discounts.

• **Balancing Inquiry and Advocacy.** Most managers are skilled at articulating their views and presenting them persuasively. While important, advocacy skills can become counterproductive as managers rise in responsibility and confront increasingly complex issues that require collaborative learning among different, equally knowledgeable people. Leaders in learning organizations need to have both inquiry *and* advocacy skills.[24]

Specifically, when advocating a view, they need to be able to:

—explain the reasoning and data that led to their view;

—encourage others to test their view (e.g., Do you see gaps in my reasoning? Do you disagree with the data upon which my view is based?); and

—encourage others to provide different views (e.g., Do you have either different data, different conclusions, or both?).

When inquiring into another's views, they need to:

—actively seek to understand the other's view, rather than simply restating their own view and how it differs from the other's view; and

—make their attributions about the other and the other's view explicit (e.g., Based on your statement that . . . ; I am assuming that you believe . . . ; Am I representing your views fairly?).

If they reach an impasse (others no longer appear open to inquiry), they need to:

—ask what data or logic might unfreeze the impasse, or if an experiment (or some other inquiry) might be designed to provide new information.

• **Distinguishing Espoused Theory from Theory in Use.** We all like to think that we hold certain views, but often our actions reveal deeper views. For example, I may proclaim that people are trustworthy, but never lend friends money and jealously guard my possessions. Obviously, my deeper mental model (my theory in use), differs from my espoused theory. Recognizing gaps between espoused views and theories in use (which often requires the help of others) can be pivotal to deeper learning.

- **Recognizing and Defusing Defensive Routines.** As one CEO in our research program puts it, "Nobody ever talks about an issue at the 8:00 business meeting exactly the same way they talk about it at home that evening or over drinks at the end of the day." The reason is what Chris Argyris calls "defensive routines," entrenched habits used to protect ourselves from the embarrassment and threat that come with exposing our thinking. For most of us, such defenses began to build early in life in response to pressures to have the right answers in school or at home. Organizations add new levels of performance anxiety and thereby amplify and exacerbate this defensiveness. Ironically, this makes it even more difficult to expose hidden mental models, and thereby lessens learning.

The first challenge is to recognize defensive routines, then to inquire into their operation. Those who are best at revealing and defusing defensive routines operate with a high degree of self-disclosure regarding their own defensiveness (e.g., I notice that I am feeling uneasy about how this conversation is going. Perhaps I don't understand it or it is threatening to me in ways I don't yet see. Can you help me see this better?)

3. *Systems Thinking*

We all know that leaders should help people see the big picture. But the actual skills whereby leaders are supposed to achieve this are not well understood. In my experience, successful leaders often *are* "systems thinkers" to a considerable extent. They focus less on day-to-day events and more on underlying trends and forces of change. But they do this almost completely intuitively. The consequence is that they are often unable to explain their intuitions to others and feel frustrated that others cannot see the world the way they do.

One of the most significant developments in management science today is the gradual coalescence of managerial systems thinking as a field of study and practice. This field suggests some key skills for future leaders:

- **Seeing Interrelationships, Not Things, and Processes, Not Snapshots.** Most of us have been conditioned throughout our lives to focus on things and to see the world in static images. This leads us to linear explanations of systemic phenomenon. For instance, in an arms race each party is convinced that the other is *the cause* of problems. They react to each new move as an isolated event, not as part of a process. So long as they fail to see the interrelationships of these actions, they are trapped.
- **Moving beyond Blame.** We tend to blame each other or outside circumstances for our problems. But it is poorly designed systems, not incompetent or unmotivated individuals, that cause most organizational problems. Systems thinking shows us that there is no outside—that you and the cause of your problems are part of a single system.
- **Distinguishing Detail Complexity from Dynamic Complexity.** Some types of complexity are more important strategically than others. Detail complexity arises when there are many variables. Dynamic complexity arises when cause and effect are distant in time and space, and when the consequences over time of interventions are subtle and not obvious to many participants in the system. The leverage in most management situations lies in understanding dynamic complexity, not detail complexity.
- **Focusing on Areas of High Leverage.** Some have called systems thinking the "new dismal science" because it teaches that most obvious solutions don't work—at best, they improve matters in the short run, only to make things worse in the long run. But there is another side to the story. Systems thinking also shows that small, well-focused actions can produce significant, enduring improvements, if they are in the right place. Systems thinkers refer to this idea as the principle of "leverage." Tackling a difficult problem is often a matter of seeing where the high leverage lies, where a change—with a minimum of effort—would lead to lasting, significant improvement.
- **Avoiding Symptomatic Solutions.** The pressures to intervene in management systems that are going awry can be overwhelming. Unfortunately, given the linear thinking that predominates in most organizations, interventions usually focus on symptomatic fixes, not underlying causes. This results in only temporary relief, and it tends to create still more pressures later on for further, low-leverage intervention. If leaders acquiesce to these pressures, they can be sucked into an endless spiral of increasing intervention. Sometimes the most difficult leadership acts are to refrain from intervening through popular quick fixes and to keep the pressure on everyone to identify more enduring solutions.

While leaders who can articulate systemic ex-

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planations are rare, those who *can* will leave their stamp on an organization. One person who had this gift was Bill Gore, the founder and long-time CEO of W.L. Gore and Associates (makers of Gore-Tex and other synthetic fiber products). Bill Gore was adept at telling stories that showed how the organization's core values of freedom and individual responsibility required particular operating policies. He was proud of his egalitarian organization, in which there were (and still are) no "employees," only "associates," all of whom own shares in the company and participate in its management. At one talk, he explained the company's policy of controlled growth: "Our limitation is not financial resources. Our limitation is the rate at which we can bring in new associates. Our experience has been that if we try to bring in more than a 25 percent per year increase, we begin to bog down. Twenty-five percent per year growth is a real limitation; you can do much better than that with an authoritarian organization." As Gore tells the story, one of the associates, Esther Baum, went home after this talk and reported the limitation to her husband. As it happened, he was an astronomer and mathematician at Lowell Observatory. He said, "That's a very interesting figure." He took out a pencil and paper and calculated and said, "Do you realize that in only fifty-seven and a half years, everyone in the world will be working for Gore?"

Through this story, Gore explains the systemic rationale behind a key policy, limited growth rate—a policy that undoubtedly caused a lot of stress in the organization. He suggests that, at larger rates of growth, the adverse effects of attempting to integrate too many new people too rapidly would begin to dominate. (This is the "limits to growth" systems archetype explained below.) The story also reaffirms the organization's commitment to creating a unique environment for its associates and illustrates the types of sacrifices that the firm is prepared to make in order to remain true to its vision. The last part of the story shows that, despite the self-imposed limit, the company is still very much a growth company.

The consequences of leaders who lack systems thinking skills can be devastating. Many charismatic leaders manage almost exclusively at the level of events. They deal in visions and in crises, and little in between. Under their leadership, an organization hurtles from crisis to crisis. Eventually, the worldview of people in the organization becomes dominated by events and reactiveness. Many, especially those who are deeply commited, become burned out. Eventually, cynicism comes to pervade the organization. People have no control over their time, let alone their destiny.

Similar problems arise with the "visionary strategist," the leader with vision who sees both patterns of change and events. This leader is better prepared to manage change. He or she can explain strategies in terms of emerging trends, and thereby foster a climate that is less reactive. But such leaders still impart a responsive orientation rather than a generative one.

Many talented leaders have rich, highly systemic intuitions but cannot explain those intuitions to others. Ironically, they often end up being authoritarian leaders, even if they don't want to, because only they see the decisions that need to be made. They are unable to conceptualize their strategic insights so that these can become public knowledge, open to challenge and further improvement.

New Tools

Developing the skills described above requires new tools—tools that will enhance leaders' conceptual abilities and foster communication and collaborative inquiry. What follows is a sampling of tools starting to find use in learning organizations.

Systems Archetypes

One of the insights of the budding, managerial systems-thinking field is that certain types of systemic structures recur again and again. Countless systems grow for a period, then encounter problems and cease to grow (or even collapse) well before they have reached intrinsic limits to growth. Many other systems get locked in runaway vicious spirals where every actor has to run faster and faster to stay in the same place. Still others lure individual actors into doing what seems right locally, yet which eventually causes suffering for all.[25]

Some of the system archetypes that have the broadest relevance include:

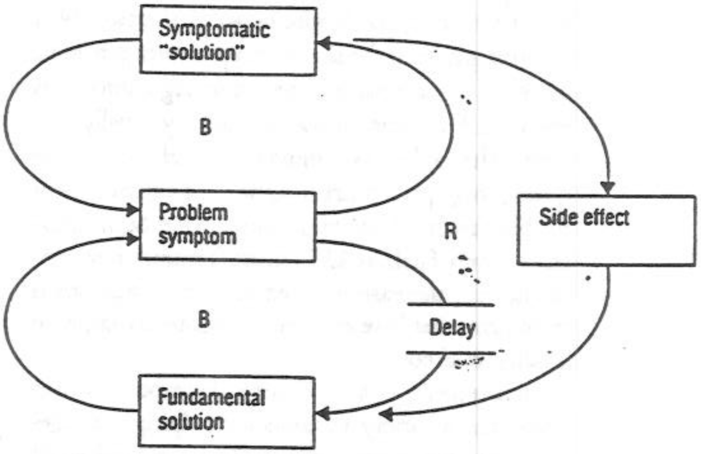
- **Balancing Process with Delay.** In this archetype, decision makers fail to appreciate the time delays involved as they move toward a goal. As a result, they overshoot the goal and may even produce recurring cycles. Classic example: Real estate developers who keep starting new projects until the market has gone soft, by which time an eventual glut is guaranteed by the properties still under construction.

- Limits to Growth. A reinforcing cycle of growth grinds to a halt, and may even reverse itself, as limits are approached. The limits can be resource constraints, or external or internal responses to growth. Classic examples: Product life cycles that peak prematurely due to poor quality or service, the growth and decline of communication in a management team, and the spread of a new movement.
- Shifting the Burden. A short-term "solution" is used to correct a problem, with seemingly happy immediate results. As this correction is used more and more, fundamental long-term corrective measures are used less. Over time, the mechanisms of the fundamental solution may atrophy or become disabled, leading to even greater reliance on the symptomatic solution. Classic example: Using corporate human resource staff to solve local personnel problems, thereby keeping managers from developing their own interpersonal skills.
- Eroding Goals. When all else fails, lower your standards. This is like "shifting the burden," except that the short-term solution involves letting a fundamental goal, such as quality standards or employee morale standards, atrophy. Classic example: A company that responds to delivery problems by continually upping its quoted delivery times.
- Escalation. Two people or two organizations, who each see their welfare as depending on a relative advantage over the other, continually react to the other's advances. Whenever one side gets ahead, the other is threatened, leading it to act more aggressively to reestablish its advantage, which threatens the first, and so on. Classic examples: Arms race, gang warfare, price wars.
- Tragedy of the Commons.[26] Individuals keep intensifying their use of a commonly available but limited resource until all individuals start to experience severely diminishing returns. Classic examples: Sheepherders who keep increasing their flocks until they overgraze the common pasture; divisions in a firm that share a common salesforce and compete for the use of sales reps by upping their sales targets, until the salesforce burns out from overextension.
- Growth and Underinvestment. Rapid growth approaches a limit that could be eliminated or pushed into the future, but only by aggressive investment in physical and human capacity. Eroding goals or standards cause investment that is too weak, or too slow, and customers get increasingly unhappy, slowing demand growth and thereby making the needed investment (apparently) unnecessary or impossible. Classic example: Countless once-successful growth firms that allowed product or service quality to erode, and were unable to generate enough revenues to invest in remedies.

The Archetype template is a specific tool that is helping managers identify archetypes operating in their own strategic areas (see Figure 2).[27] The template shows the basic structural form of the archetype but lets managers fill in the variables of their own situation. For example, the shifting the burden template involves two balancing processes ("B") that compete for control of a problem symptom. The upper, symptomatic solution provides a short-term fix that will make the problem symptom go away for a while. The lower, fundamental solution provides a more enduring solution. The side effect feedback ("R") around the outside of the diagram identifies unintended exacerbating effects of the symptomatic solution, which, over time, make it more and more difficult to invoke the fundamental solution.

Several years ago, a team of managers from a leading consumer goods producer used the shifting the burden archetype in a revealing way. The problem they focused on was financial stress, which

Figure 2 **"Shifting the Burden" Archetype Template**



In the "shifting the burden" template, two balancing processes (B) compete for control of a problem symptom. Both solutions affect the symptom, but only the fundamental solution treats the cause. The symptomatic "solution" creates the additional side effect (R) of deferring the fundamental solution, making it harder and harder to achieve.

could be dealt with in two different ways: by running marketing promotions (the symptomatic solution) or by product innovation (the fundamental solution). Marketing promotions were fast. The company was expert in their design and implementation. The results were highly predictable. Product innovation was slow and much less predictable, and the company had a history over the past ten years of product-innovation mismanagement. Yet only through innovation could they retain a leadership position in their industry, which had slid over the past ten to twenty years. What the managers saw clearly was that the more skillful they became at promotions, the more they shifted the burden away from product innovation. But what really struck home was when one member identified the unintended side effect: the last three CEOs had all come from advertising function, which had become the politically dominant function in the corporation, thereby institutionalizing the symptomatic solution. Unless the political values shifted back toward product and process innovation, the managers realized, the firm's decline would accelerate—which is just the shift that has happened over the past several years.

2. *Charting Strategic Dilemmas*

Management teams typically come unglued when confronted with core dilemmas. A classic example was the way U.S. manufacturers faced the low cost-high quality choice. For years, most assumed that it was necessary to choose between the two. Not surprisingly, given the short-term pressures perceived by most managements, the prevailing choice was low cost. Firms that chose high quality usually perceived themselves as aiming exclusively for a high quality, high price market niche. The consequences of this perceived either-or choice have been disastrous, even fatal, as U.S. manufacturers have encountered increasing international competition from firms that have chosen to consistently improve quality *and* cost.

In a recent book, Charles Hampden-Turner presented a variety of tools for helping management teams confront strategic dilemmas creatively.[28] He summarizes the process in seven steps:

- **Eliciting the Dilemmas.** Identifying the opposed values that form the "horns" of the dilemma, for example, cost as opposed to quality, or local initiative as opposed to central coordination and control. Hampden-Turner suggests that humor can be a distinct asset in this process since "the admission that dilemmas even exist tends to be difficult for some companies."
- Mapping. Locating the opposing values as two axes and helping managers identify where they see themselves, or their organization, along the axes.
- Processing. Getting rid of nouns to describe the axes of the dilemma. Present participles formed by adding "ing" convert rigid nouns into processes that imply movement. For example, central control versus local control becomes "strengthening national office" and "growing local initiatives." This loosens the bond of implied opposition between the two values. For example, it becomes possible to think of "strengthening national services from which local branches can benefit."
- **Framing/Contextualizing.** Further softening the adversarial structure among different values by letting "each side in turn be the frame or context for the other." This shifting of the "figure-ground" relationship undermines any implicit attempts to hold one value as intrinsically superior to the other, and thereby to become mentally closed to creative strategies for continuous improvement of both.
- Sequencing. Breaking the hold of static thinking. Very often, values like low cost and high quality appear to be in opposition because we think in terms of a point in time, not in terms of an ongoing process. For example, a strategy of investing in new process technology and developing a new production-floor culture of worker responsibility may take time and money in the near term, yet reap significant long-term financial rewards.
- Waving/Cycling. Sometimes the strategic path toward improving both values involves cycles where both values will get "worse" for a time. Yet, at a deeper level, learning is occurring that will cause the next cycle to be at a higher plateau for both values.
- Synergizing. Achieving synergy where significant improvement is occurring along all axes of all relevant dilemmas. (This is the ultimate goal, of course.) Synergy, as Hampden-Turner points out, is a uniquely systemic notion, coming from the Greek *syn-ergo* or "work together."

3 *"The Left-Hand Column": Surfacing Mental Models*

The idea that mental models can dominate business decisions and that these models are often tacit and even contradictory to what people espouse can be very threatening to managers who pride themselves on rationality and judicious decision making. It is important to have tools to help managers discover for themselves how their mental models operate to undermine their own intentions.

One tool that has worked consistently to help managers see their own mental models in action is the "left-hand column" exercise developed by Chris Argyris and his colleagues. This tool is especially helpful in showing how we leap from data to generalization without testing the validity of our generalizations.

When working with managers, I start this exercise by selecting a specific situation in which I am interacting with other people in a way that is not working, that is not producing the learning that is needed. I write out a sample of the exchange, with the script on the right-hand side of the page. On the left-hand side, I write what I am thinking but not saying at each stage in the exchange (see sidebar).

The left-hand column exercise not only brings hidden assumptions to the surface, it shows how they influence behavior. In the example, I make two key assumptions about Bill: he lacks confidence and he lacks initiative. Neither may be literally true, but both are evident in my internal dialogue, and both influence the way I handle the situation. Believing that he lacks confidence, I skirt the fact that I've heard the presentation was a bomb. I'm afraid that if I say it directly, he will lose what little confidence he has, or he will see me as unsupportive. So I bring up the subject of the presentation obliquely. When I ask Bill what we should do next, he gives no specific course of action. Believing he lacks initiative, I take this as evidence of his laziness; he is content to do nothing when action is definitely required. I conclude that I will have to manufacture some form of pressure to motivate him, or else I will simply have to take matters into my own hands.

The exercise reveals the elaborate webs of assumptions we weave, within which we become our own victims. Rather than dealing directly with my assumptions about Bill and the situation, we talk around the subject. The reasons for my avoidance are self-evident: I assume that if I raised my doubts, I would provoke a defensive reaction that would only make matters worse. But the price of avoiding the issue is high. Instead of determining how to move forward to resolve our problems, we end our exchange with no clear course of action. My assumptions about Bill's limitations have been reinforced. I resort to a manipulative strategy to move things forward.

The exercise not only reveals the need for skills in surfacing assumptions, but that we are the ones most in need of help. There is no one right way to handle difficult situations like my exchange with Bill, but any productive strategy revolves around a high level of self-disclosure and willingness to have my views challenged. I need to recognize my own leaps of abstraction regarding Bill, share the events

The Left-Hand Column: An Exercise

Imagine my exchange with a colleague, Bill, after he made a big presentation to our boss on a project we are doing together. I had to miss the presentation, but I've heard that it was poorly received.

Me: How did the presentation go?

Bill: Well, I don't know. It's really too early to say. Besides, we're breaking new ground here.

Me: Well, what do you think we should do? I believe that the issues you were raising are important.

Bill: I'm not so sure. Let's just wait and see what happens.

Me: You may be right, but I think we may need to do more than just wait..

Now, here is what the exchange looks like with my "left-hand column":

What I'm Thinking	What Is Said
Everyone says the presentation was a bomb.	Me: How did the presentation go?
Does he really not know how bad it was? Or is he not willing to face up to it?	Bill: Well, I don't know. It's too early to say. Besides, we're breaking new ground here.
	Me: Well, what do you think we should do? I believe that the issues you were raising are important.
He really is afraid to see the truth. If he only had more confidence, he could probably learn from a situation like this.	Bill: I'm not so sure. Let's just wait and see what happens.
I can't believe he doesn't realize how disastrous that presentation was to our moving ahead.	Me: You may be right, but I think we may need to do more than just wait.
I've got to find some way to light a fire under the guy.	

Learning Organizations

20

Senge

Learning at Hanover Insurance

Hanover Insurance has gone from the bottom of the property and liability industry to a position among the top 25 percent of U.S. insurance companies over the past twenty years, largely through the efforts of CEO William O'Brien and his predecessor, Jack Adam. The following comments are excerpted from a series of interviews Senge conducted with O'Brien as background for his book.

Senge: Why do you think there is so much change occurring in management and organizations today? Is it primarily because of increased competitive pressures?

O'Brien: That's a factor, but not the most significant factor. The ferment in management will continue until we find models that are more congruent with human nature.

One of the great insights of modern psychology is the hierarchy of human needs. As Maslow expressed this idea, the most basic needs are food and shelter. Then comes belonging. Once these three basic needs are satisfied, people begin to aspire toward self-respect and esteem, and toward self-actualization—the fourth- and fifth-order needs.

Our traditional hierarchical organizations are designed to provide for the first three levels, but not the fourth and fifth. These first three levels are now widely available to members of industrial society, but our organizations do not offer people sufficient opportunities for growth.

Senge: How would you assess Hanover's progress to date?

O'Brien: We have been on a long journey away from a traditional hierarchical culture. The journey began with everyone understanding some guiding ideas about purpose, vision, and values as a basis for participative management. This is a better way to begin building a participative culture than by simply "letting people in on decision making." Before there can be meaningful participation, people must share certain values and pictures about where we are trying to go. We discovered that people have a real need to feel that they're part of an enobling mission. But developing shared visions and values is not the end, only the beginning.

Next we had to get beyond mechanical, linear thinking. The essence of our jobs as managers is to deal with "divergent" problems—problems that have no simple answer. "Convergent" problems—problems that have a "right" answer—should be solved locally. Yet we are deeply conditioned to see the world in terms of convergent problems. Most managers try to force-fit simplistic solutions and undermine the potential for learning when divergent problems arise. Since everyone handles the linear issues fairly well, companies that learn how to handle divergent issues will have a great advantage.

The next basic stage in our progression was coming to understand inquiry and advocacy. We learned that real openness is rooted in people's ability to continually inquire into their own thinking. This requires exposing yourself to being wrong—not something that most managers are rewarded for. But learning is very difficult if you cannot look for errors or incompleteness in your own ideas.

What all this builds to is the capability throughout an organization to manage mental models. In a locally controlled organization, you have the fundamental challenge of learning how to help people make good decisions without coercing them into making *particular* decisions. By managing mental models, we create "self-concluding" decisions—decisions that people come to themselves—which will result in deeper conviction, better implementation, and the ability to make better adjustments when the situation changes.

Senge: What concrete steps can top managers take to begin moving toward learning organizations?

O'Brien: Look at the signals you send through the organization. For example, one critical signal is how you spend your time. It's hard to build a learning organization if people are unable to take the time to think through important matters. I rarely set up an appointment for less than one hour. If the subject is not worth an hour, it shouldn't be on my calendar.

Senge: Why is this so hard for so many managers?

O'Brien: It comes back to what you believe about the nature of your work. The authoritarian manager has a "chain gang" mental model: "The speed of the boss is the speed of the gang. I've got to keep things moving fast, because I've got to keep people working." In a learning organization, the manager shoulders an almost sacred responsibility: to create conditions that enable people to have happy and productive lives. If you understand the effects the ideas we are discussing can have on the lives of people in your organization, you will take the time. ■

and reasoning that are leading to my concern over the project, and be open to Bill's views on both. The skills to carry on such conversations without invoking defensiveness take time to develop. But if both parties in a learning impasse start by doing their own left-hand column exercise and sharing them with each other, it is remarkable how quickly everyone recognizes their contribution to the impasse and progress starts to be made.

Learning Laboratories: Practice Fields for Management Teams

One of the most promising new tools is the learning laboratory or "microworld": constructed microcosms of real-life settings in which management teams can learn how to learn together.

The rationale behind learning laboratories can best be explained by analogy. Although most management teams have great difficulty learning (enhancing their collective intelligence and capacity to create), in other domains team learning is the norm rather than the exception — team sports and the performing arts, for example. Great basketball teams do not start off great. They learn. But the process by which these teams learn is, by and large, absent from modern organizations. The process is a continual movement between practice and performance.

The vision guiding current research in management learning laboratories is to design and construct effective practice fields for management teams. Much remains to be done, but the broad outlines are emerging.

First, since team learning in organizations is an individual-to-individual and individual-to-system phenomenon, learning laboratories must combine meaningful business issues with meaningful interpersonal dynamics. Either alone is incomplete.

Second, the factors that thwart learning about complex business issues must be eliminated in the learning lab. Chief among these is the inability to experience the long-term, systemic consequences of key strategic decisions. We all learn best from experience, but we are unable to experience the consequences of many important organizational decisions. Learning laboratories remove this constraint through system dynamics simulation games that compress time and space.

Third, new learning skills must be developed. One constraint on learning is the inability of managers to reflect insightfully on their assumptions, and to inquire effectively into each other's assumptions. Both skills can be enhanced in a learning laboratory, where people can practice surfacing assumptions in a low-risk setting. A note of caution: It is far easier to design an entertaining learning laboratory than it is to have an impact on real management practices and firm traditions outside the learning lab. Research on management simulations has shown that they often have greater entertainment value than educational value. One of the reasons appears to be that many simulations do not offer deep insights into systemic structures causing business problems. Another reason is that they do not foster new learning skills. Also, there is no connection between experiments in the learning lab and real life experiments. These are significant problems that research on learning laboratory design is now addressing.

Developing Leaders and Learning Organizations

In a recently published retrospective on organization development in the 1980s, Marshall Sashkin and N. Warner Burke observe the return of an emphasis on developing leaders who can develop organizations.[29] They also note Schein's critique that most top executives are not qualified for the task of developing culture.[30] Learning organizations represent a potentially significant evolution of organizational culture. So it should come as no surprise that such organizations will remain a distant vision until the leadership capabilities they demand are developed. "The 1990s may be the period," suggest Sashkin and Burke, "during which organization development and (a new sort of) management development are reconnected."

I believe that this new sort of management development will focus on the roles, skills, and tools for leadership in learning organizations. Undoubtedly, the ideas offered above are only a rough approximation of this new territory. The sooner we begin seriously exploring the territory, the sooner the initial map can be improved—and the sooner we will realize an age-old vision of leadership:

> The wicked leader is he who the people despise.
> The good leader is he who the people revere.
> The great leader is he who the people say, "We
> did it ourselves."
>
> —Lao Tsu ■

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2

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

THE BUREAUCRACY BUSTERS

They're throwing away organization charts in favor of ever-changing constellations of teams, projects, and alliances. The goal: unleashing employee creativity.

■ *By Brian Dumaine*

IF YOU WERE TO ASK A CEO in the year 2000 to take out his Montblanc and draw the organization chart of his company, what he'd sketch would bear little resemblance to even the trendiest flattened pyramid around today. Yes, the corporation of the future will still retain some vestiges of the old hierarchy and maybe a few traditional departments to take care of the boringly rote. But spinning around the straight lines will be a vertiginous pattern of constantly changing teams, task forces, partnerships, and other informal structures. Picture one of those overhead camera shots in a Busby Berkeley musical: Dozens of leggy dancers form a flower on stage, disband into chaos, and then regroup to form a flag or a fluegelhorn. Like the dancers, in tomorrow's corporation teams variously composed of shop-floor workers, managers, technical experts, suppliers, and customers will join together to do a job and then disband, with everyone going off to the next assignment.

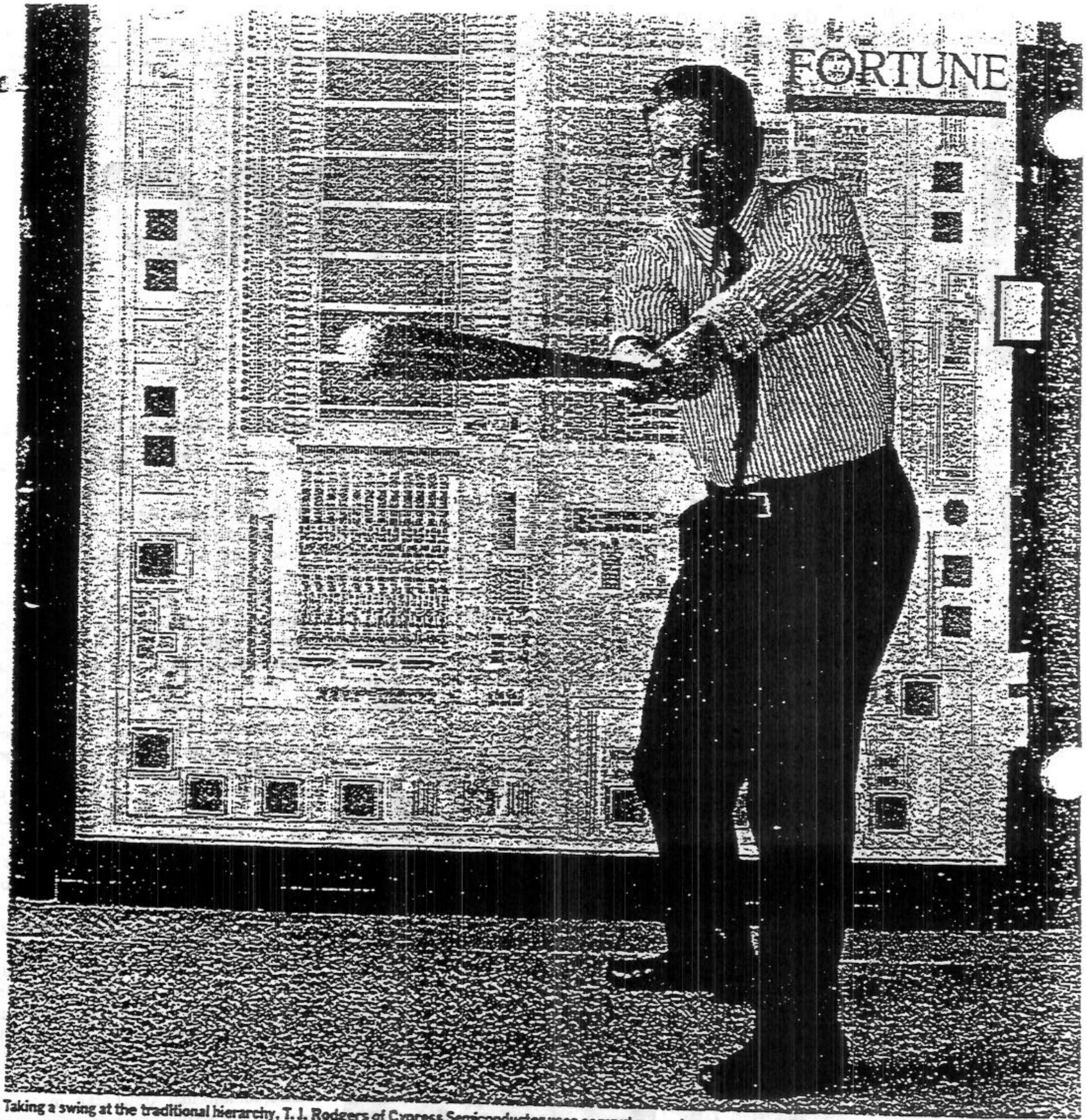
Call this new model the adaptive organization. It will bust through bureaucracy to serve customers better and make the company more competitive. Instead of looking to the boss for direction and oversight, tomorrow's employee will be trained to look closely at the work process and to devise ways to improve upon it, even if this means temporarily leaving his regular job to join an ad hoc team attacking a problem. Says Raymond Gilmartin, CEO of Becton Dickinson, a New Jersey maker of high-tech medical equipment: "Forget structures invented by the guys at the top. You've got to let the task form the organization."

Becton Dickinson chief Raymond Gilmartin thinks of an organization as a hierarchy of ideas, not people.

So far, the adaptive organization exists more as an ideal than as a reality. But you can see aspects of it taking shape not only at Becton Dickinson but also at companies such as Apple Computer, Cypress Semiconductor, Levi Strauss, Xerox, and AES (formerly Applied Energy Services), a builder of co-generation plants. Last year, for instance, an informal Xerox team made up of people from accounting, sales, distribution, and administration saved the company $200 million in inventory costs. Cypress, a San Jose, California, maker of specialty computer chips, has developed a computer system that keeps track of all its 1,500 employees as they crisscross between different functions, teams, and projects. Apple is developing a computer network called Spider that, like a high-tech version of the dossiers Mr. Phelps used to choose his *Mission: Impossible* team, instantly tells a manager whether an

REPORTER ASSOCIATE *James A. Anderson*

INFORMATION SERVICE



Taking a swing at the traditional hierarchy, T. J. Rodgers of Cypress Semiconductor uses computers, not managers, to track employees' efforts.

employee is available to join his project, what the employee's skills are, and where he's located in the corporation.

If you look hard at your own organization, you'll probably see something quite similar already going on. In every outfit of more than a few people, there exists an informal organization—social scientists sometimes call it an emergent organization—that operates alongside the formal one. It consists of the alliances between people and the power relationships that actually get work done. It may be as simple as some workers banding together to go outside channels to do a job despite the obstacles set in their way by a pigheaded bureaucrat. This isn't new. What is new is that corporations are finally realizing the need to recognize the informal organization, free it up, and provide it the resources it needs.

The adaptive organization incorporates the informal organization and draws its power from the same fund of energy. It provides openings for the creativity and initiative too often found only in small, entrepreneurial companies. It does this by aligning what the corporation wants—innovation, improvement—with what turns people on, namely a chance to use their heads and expand their skills. Traditional hierarchies usually have the opposite effect. Says Paul Allaire, Xerox's new CEO (see box): "When people know some order or memo is eventually going to come down from above and demand something different than what they want to do, it's easy to say, 'Hell, I've

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE LANGE

been burned enough times. I'm not going to do anything until I'm told to do it.' "

Some influential CEOs like Allaire now believe that unleashing this kind of energy is the best hope for U.S. competitiveness, better than any quality program. That's a thought to be taken seriously, coming as it does from the CEO of a company that won the Baldrige award in 1989. Explains Allaire: "We're never going to outdiscipline the Japanese on quality. To win, we need to find ways to capture the creative and innovative spirit of the American worker. That's the real organizational challenge."

Many managers point out, and rightly so, that giving people this kind of freedom raises troublesome questions. If no one's watching over workers, how do you prevent them from heading in the wrong direction, or running off the rails? Who decides which person ends up on which team and for how long? How do you judge the performance of someone who is constantly rotating from team to team? What happens to careers where there's no clear ascent up the old hierarchical ladder? For some answers, read on.

In considering whether this model is for you, says professor Paul Lawrence, an organizational theorist at the Harvard business school, begin by imagining a spectrum with a traditional hierarchy at one end and the adaptive organization at the other. Generally speaking, companies in stable, slow-growth industries like oil, paper, and forest products should stay near the hierarchical end of the spectrum. Hierarchies were designed for stable situations, and if yours is one of those increasingly rare companies lucky enough to be in a relatively predictable market, it probably doesn't pay to change. By contrast, companies in fast-changing markets like computers, telecommunications, publishing, autos, and specialty steel probably need to move as far as possible toward the adaptive end of the line.

WHAT WILL the adaptive organization look like? No one knows for sure, but that hasn't stopped an excited assortment of academics and consultants from trying to describe it. Raymond Miles, a management professor at Berkeley, likens it to a network where managers work much as switchboard operators do, coordinating the activities of

CAN HE MAKE XEROX ROCK?

If Paul Allaire gets his way, and CEOs often do, the rock & roll is going to start soon at Xerox's headquarters in Stamford, Connecticut. Says Allaire, 52: "We changed a lot in the 1980s, but in the next five years we'll have to change so much it will make the last ten look like a practice run."

Allaire, who succeeded David Kearns as CEO last year, plans to take a hammer to the bureaucratic walls that keep R&D, marketing, and manufacturing from capitalizing on each other's innovations. After all, why shouldn't Xerox exploit its own ideas as successfully as outsiders did? It was Xerox scientists who created the software that helped launch such startups as Apple, 3Com, and Sun Microsystems.

In Allaire's vision, Xerox, now officially dubbed the "Document Company," will concentrate on helping office workers create, use, and share reports, memos, and databases—not just push copiers. Says he, in a strong Massachusetts accent: "I have to change the company substantially to be more market driven. If we do what's right for the customer, our market share and our return on assets will take care of themselves."

The chief first learned about pleasing the customer when his father, who ran a quarry outside of Worcester, Massachusetts, taught him to hurl a few extra shovelfuls of gravel onto every order. After college and business school, he joined Xerox in 1966 as a financial analyst and in 1975 began an eight-year stint running Rank Xerox, the company's London-based overseas subsidiary. Allaire's successful restructuring of that operation—he cut staff 40% and reduced costs by $200 million—helped win him the CEO job.

Allaire doesn't give a hoot for most CEO perks. He drives himself to work and, when he takes a ski trip, flies coach. Nor is he a workaholic. While his day typically runs from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., he makes it a rule to work only the occasional Sunday and never on Saturday. In off hours, he likes to read books on politics—currently Tom Wicker's new study of Nixon, *One of Us*—or go riding with his wife, Kay, his two children, Brian and Christiana, and his horse, Patrick.

While he idolizes GE chief Jack Welch for his tough-mindedness, Allaire couldn't have a more different management style. Allaire is a listener who quietly sits in meetings, sizes things up, and then gets people quickly on to the next issue. But don't let the mild manner fool you. Says Leonard Vickers, a Xerox senior VP: "A mild rebuke from Paul is like a tongue-lashing from other people. You immediately get the point."

It will take years to find out whether Allaire can change Xerox. Wall Street, however, seems to be betting things will improve, especially since the new CEO has started to sell some of the money-losing financial service businesses the company picked up in the mid-Eighties. Although Xerox's stock is selling below its 1987, pre-market-crash high of $85 a share, it nearly doubled over the past several months to a recent price of $56.

CEO Paul Allaire: Breaking through to focus on the customer employees, suppliers, customers, and joint-venture partners. Charles Sabel, a sociologist at MIT, dubs it the Möbius strip organization, after the geometric form that has no identifiable top or bottom, beginning or end. Sabel means to suggest a body that constantly turns in on itself, in an endless cycle of creation and destruction.

No matter what you call them, all these designs for an organization have one thing in common: fluidity. The adaptive organization will work much the same way that big construction firms such as Bechtel, Fluor, and Brown & Root do, gathering handpicked groups of employees and outside contractors with the right skills for each new dam, refinery, or airport.

ABOUT FOUR YEARS AGO, Becton Dickinson found itself worrying about the competition despite a history of fast growth and annual revenues of around $2 billion. To regain its edge, the maker of high-tech diagnostic systems such as blood analyzers started exploring ways to let its informal organization bust out. While the company still maintains traditional functions like marketing, sales, and manufacturing, it now encourages its people to take the initiative and form teams to innovate and go after business in new ways. Explains CEO Gilmartin: "We're creating a hierarchy of ideas. You say, 'This is the right thing to do here,' not 'We're going to do this because I'm boss.' "

Instead of directing strategy from the top, Gilmartin lays out a very broad vision—develop proprietary ideas and beat the competition to market with them—and then lets his 15 divisions develop their own business strategies. Part of the point is to send a message to employees that there is no rigid master plan.

Left on their own, Gilmartin's division heads structure their businesses to meet their needs. Says Chuck Baer, head of the company's consumer products division: "We reorganized ourselves by the way we work. We organized cross-functional teams that include not only our own people but also vendors, suppliers, and people from other divisions. We set the strategy and the team carries it out."

This is harder than it sounds, and less than completely democratic. In 1990, Becton Dickinson developed a new instrument called the Bactec 860, designed to process blood samples. A team leader was assigned and immediately put together a project team of engineers, marketers, manufacturers, and suppliers. While the group eventually launched the Bactec 860 some 25% faster than its previous best efforts, Gilmartin wasn't satisfied.

There was still too much time-wasting debate between marketing and engineering over product specifications, he found. Marketing argued that Bactec 860 needed more features to please the customer, while engineering countered that the features would take too long to design and be too costly. Further inquiry led management to the nub of the problem: Because the team leader reported to the head of engineering, he didn't have sufficient clout to resolve the conflict between the two sides. Today the company makes sure all its team leaders have access to a division head, which gives them the authority to settle disputes between different functions.

In an adaptive organization, a skilled scientist or marketer who's a leader on one project may have to turn around and be a follower on the next.

What's to keep an informal system from veering off in the wrong direction? Xerox's Allaire believes something as simple as that old rag "focus on the customer" is often enough to steer by. A few years ago, for instance, Xerox prided itself on its ability to ship a copier from its factory to a customer faster than the competition. Only one problem: That wasn't what Xerox's customers cared about. They wanted to know when the copier would arrive, to have it installed on schedule, in working order, and to be presented with an accurate bill. Unfortunately, Xerox didn't have much grasp of how to do that. When a customer asked when his copier would arrive, the salesperson would typically answer "two weeks" because he had no better information. Says Allaire: "It was a real embarrassment."

Allaire assigned a seasoned middle manager to tackle the problem. Taking the initiative, the manager pulled a group of people out of their regular jobs in such functions as distribution, accounting, and sales. The team developed a system that tracks each copier through the distribution process and makes sure that it and the accompanying paperwork check out. Changing the process helped Xerox boost its customer satisfaction, as measured by a company survey, from 70% to 90%. Says Allaire: "You can't get people to focus on only the bottom line. You have to give them an objective like 'satisfy the customer' that everyone can relate to. It's the only way to break down those barriers and get people from different functions working together."

It's not a one-shot deal either. Soon after Xerox revamped its distribution system, it tackled inventory by forming a so-called coordinating group that cuts across hierarchical lines. The team found that no one was coordinating the flow of copiers through the manufacturing process, into the warehouse, and out the door. At every stage each department was ordering extra inventory, out of fear of being caught short. The coordinating team took a look at the whole chain, set in place procedures to make sure everyone along the line could always get as many copiers as they needed, and cut inventory costs by $200 million a year.

When people move from one team to another, they and their companies have to think about careers and pay in new ways. It's likely that tomorrow's workers and managers, instead of slowly climbing the ladder, will make more lateral moves, picking up expertise in different functions like marketing or manufacturing. For those who do well on teams, Becton Dickinson is trying out so-called lateral promotions, rotating, say, a financial person into a marketing or manufacturing job. In one division last year, the company rotated ten managers out of 50. These people got a raise and change of title, just as they would with a regular promotion, but they weren't necessarily put in charge of any more people.

WORKING in an environment where teams constantly band and disband requires new sets of skills. Stuart Winby, an organizational expert hired by Hewlett-Packard to ponder the future, argues that a team leader should be trained to spend the first two or three days designing the right way to get the job done. He'd decide who would best fit the team, what reward system is appropriate, and what information technology is necessary.

Apple is working on a new computer system that should help leaders find the right people for their teams. Now being developed in the company's Advanced Technology Lab in Cupertino, California, the Spider system combines a network of personal computers with a video-conferencing system and a database of employee records. A manager assembling a team can call up profiles of employees who work anywhere from Columbus to Cameroon. On the screen he'll see a color photo of the person, where he works, who reports to him, whom he reports to, and his skills. If the manager wants to interview a candidate in, say, Frankfurt, he can call him over the Spider network and talk with him in living color on the computer screen.

BUT HOW to get the candidate's boss to part with him, even for a temporary assignment? The experts don't have this one figured out completely, though they suspect that much barter will go on in the adaptive organization. One manager may be willing to run short-handed for a while, knowing that when he really needs the manpower he'll get it from elsewhere in the organization.

Another hallmark of the adaptive organization is its openness to outsiders. A greater appreciation of flexibility within seems to encourage a greater use of alliances, partnerships, joint ventures, and other relationships with parties from outside. While some companies that haven't embraced other aspects of the adaptive organization are also moving in this direction, they don't seem to do so with the same gusto.

One key to doing it right, says C. K. Prahalad, a professor at the University of Michigan and a consultant, is the company's ability to recognize its core competencies. A core competency, by his definition, is what a company does best. If its strength is engineering and design, for example, it might want to farm out manufacturing. Says Apple executive vice president Al Eisenstat: "If I can lop off one area of activity and say, 'Gee, I can join with such and such a company,' then I can focus my resources on what I do best."

Companies such as Apple, Nike, and IBM (with respect to its PCs) have set themselves up as design, engineering, and marketing companies, farming out much of their manufacturing to those who can do it cheaper and better. Says Jay Galbraith, a management professor at the University of Southern California: "These companies control the flow of product from the factory to the retailer. They act like they own the place, but they don't."

To work smoothly with outsiders, companies must learn to stop thinking like xenophobes and open themselves to the larger world. As Jack Welch of GE puts it, tomorrow's organization will be boundaryless. It will work with outsiders as closely as if they were insiders. For instance, Apple has the Delta consulting firm of New York City hooked into the California company's computer network. Anyone at the New York firm can send a message to CEO John Sculley just as easily as an Apple employee could.

SO HERE YOU ARE in the year 2000, and you've got a constantly changing, adaptive organization. How will you keep track of all this chaos? At Cypress Semiconductor, CEO T. J. Rodgers has a computer system that allows him to stay abreast of every employee and team in his fast-moving, decentralized, constantly changing organization. Each employee maintains a list of ten to 15 goals like "Meet with marketing for new product launch" or "Make sure to check with Customer X." Noted next to each goal is when it was agreed upon, when it's due to be finished, and whether it's finished yet or not.

This way it doesn't take layers of expensive bureaucracy to check who's doing what, whether someone has got a light enough workload to be put on a new team, and who's having trouble. Rodgers says he can review the goals of all 1,500 employees in about four hours, which he does each week. He looks only for those falling behind, and then calls not to scold but to ask if there's anything he can do to help them get the job done. On the surface the system may seem bureaucratic, but it takes only about a half-hour a week for employees to review and update their lists.

The toughest part of moving toward the adaptive organization may be selling it to managers. Says Michael Beer, a management professor at the Harvard business school: "It's a fundamental change in the way people think, work, and feel. It's gut wrenching." Xerox's Allaire concurs: "The hardest person to change is the line manager. After he's worked like a dog for five or ten years to get promoted, we have to say to him or her, 'All those reasons you wanted to be a manager? Wrong. You cannot do to your people what was done to you. You have to be a facilitator or a coach and, by the way,

Wearing jeans every day helps Levi's Eaton narrow the gap between the brass and employees.

After discovering that workers were scared to act because some mysterious "they" wouldn't like it, Sant of AES started a "Theybusters" campaign.

we're still going to hold you accountable for the bottom line.' "

In its efforts to become more adaptive, Becton Dickinson ran across much the same challenge. The company had dutifully created cross-functional teams and lectured everyone on the evils of bureaucracy. Even so, nothing seemed to change—the company still had too many middle managers who weren't willing to cede control to others. Says Jim Wessel, a vice president: "We had to get over the mind-set that said, 'I'm not in control, so it must be out of control.' "

A RESTRUCTURING at Becton Dickinson serendipitously solved the problem by overloading the middle layers with responsibility. Managers found themselves working 14 hours a day just to keep up with the increased workload. According to Wessel: "After about a year of this, they said, 'I can't go on.' And then they started delegating."

Kenan Sahin, president of Kenan Systems Corp., a Cambridge, Massachusetts, software consulting firm, argues that in an adaptive organization, managers will have to change gears readily, following the lead of the person who knows most about the subject. Says he: "Before, when markets were slower, leaders had time to absorb information from experts. Now markets and technologies are becoming so complex, the experts will have to do the leading." In Sahin's vision, a skilled scientist or engineer or marketer who's a leader on one project may have to turn around and be a follower on the next.

AES, the builder and operator of co-generation plants, already takes this principle further than most companies. As part of encouraging everyone from the bottom ranks up to take more initiative, CEO Roger Sant invented something called work week. Once a year, every senior manager in the company must spend a week working in one of the company's generating plants. The employees get to pick what job the boss does. Two years ago, for example, Sant ended up driving a front-end loader, a piece of heavy equipment AES uses to scoop coal onto conveyor belts. Says the chief executive: "It was a mess; there was coal all over the yard."

Work week helped Sant descry some of the obstacles to a more open organization. At one point, workers in the plant told him they couldn't do something because "they" didn't want them to do it. "Who's 'they'?" asked Sant. "You know, 'they,' " replied the workers. Sant quickly realized there was no "they," just old, inefficient work habits and memories of being throttled by bureaucracy. In response, Sant started a "Theybusters" campaign, with appropriate buttons and posters. The result was some surprising employee initiatives: For example, one AES worker figured out how to avoid costly plant shutdowns by using tennis balls to temporarily stop leaks in a pollution-control system.

Toward the same end—getting managers and employees to understand how much they have in common in pursuit of personal and corporate goals—Levi Strauss conducts what it terms leadership week. The company sends a top manager, a trainer, and 20 employees off site for up to a week. During that time, people perform a series of exercises designed to explore, among other things, why people work. All right, to make money. But the company believes there's more to it than that.

In one exercise, employees write their own obituaries, which tends to focus the attention wonderfully on what legacy a person would like to leave behind. Says Bill Eaton, a member of the Levi Strauss executive management committee who, like everyone else in the company, prefers to wear you-know-whats to the office: "People are driven not by little business achievements like how many jeans you got shipped through the door, but by things you've done to help other people grow."

Through leadership week, Lynne Southard, a Levi middle manager, realized that she was spending too much time as a slave to rules and regulations and not enough time helping along her employees. Says she: "I learned that leadership is like raising a kid. I clap for my child every time he takes a step." You have to be prepared, however, for the child to take an occasional tumble. Last year, for instance, one of Southard's people failed to buy enough fabric to meet a production run of jeans. It cost the company dearly. Says Southard: "We sat down and found out what went wrong and how to prevent it in the future in a nonthreatening way. Unlike in the old days, there was no blaming and finger pointing."

HOW NICE, you may say, and how touchy-feely. But what does it do for the company? Well, reply the managers who have tried it, it just may give the organization the flexibility first to spot and then to respond to the challenges of the ever-quickening future. And along the way, they add, you can pick up a gratifying measure of personal satisfaction. As Levi Strauss's Eaton testifies, "On a day-to-day basis, my passion comes from backing people's efforts, getting them what they need to do the job, educating them, and working with them as a member of the team." If you like how that sounds, why not start ripping up your organization chart now? ▪

Corporate Cultures

The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life

Terrence E. Deal and Allan A. Kennedy

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Strong Cultures: The New "Old Rule" for Business Success

S. C. Allyn, a retired chairman of the board, likes to tell a story about his company—the National Cash Register Corporation. It was August 1945, and Allyn was among the first allied civilians to enter Germany at the end of the war. He had gone to find out what had happened to an NCR factory built just before the war but promptly confiscated by the German military command and put to work on the war effort. He arrived via military plane and traveled through burned-out buildings, rubble, and utter desolation until he reached what was left of the factory. Picking his way through bricks, cement, and old timbers, Allyn came upon two NCR employees whom he hadn't seen for six years. Their clothes were torn and their faces grimy and blackened by smoke, but they were busy clearing out the rubble. As he came closer, one of the men looked up and said, "We knew you'd come!" Allyn joined them in their work and together the three men began cleaning out the debris and rebuilding the factory from the devastation of war. The company had even survived the ravages of a world war.

A few days later, as the clearing continued, Allyn and his co-workers were startled as an American tank rumbled up to the site. A grinning GI was at its helm. "Hi," he said, "I'm NCR, Omaha. Did you guys make your quota this month?" Allyn and the GI

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

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embraced each other. The war may have devastated everything around them, but NCR's hard driving, sales-oriented culture was still intact.

This story may sound unbelievable, but there are hundreds like it at NCR and every other company. Together they make up the myths and legends of American business. What do they mean? To us these stories mean that businesses are human institutions, not plush buildings, bottom lines, strategic analysis, or five-year plans. NCR was never just a factory to the three men who dug it out of the rubble. Nor was it to others like them. Rather it was a living organization. The company's real existence lay in the hearts and minds of its employees. NCR was, and still is, a corporate culture, a cohesion of values, myths, heroes, and symbols that has come to mean a great deal to the people who work there.

Culture, as *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* defines it, is "the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action, and artifacts and depends on man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations." Marvin Bower, for years managing director of McKinsey & Company and author of *The Will to Manage,* offered a more informal definition—he described the informal cultural elements of a business as "the way we do things around here."

Every business—in fact every organization—has a culture. Sometimes it is fragmented and difficult to read from the outside—some people are loyal to their bosses, others are loyal to the union, still others care only about their colleagues who work in the sales territories of the Northeast. If you ask employees why they work, they will answer "because we need the money." On the other hand, sometimes the culture of an organization is very strong and cohesive; everyone knows the goals of the corporation, and they are working for them. Whether weak or strong, culture has a powerful influence throughout an organization; it affects practically everything—from who gets promoted and what decisions are made, to how employees dress and what sports they play. Because of this impact, we think that culture also has a major effect on the success of the business.

Today, everyone seems to complain about the decline in American productivity. The examples of industries in trouble are numerous and depressing. Books proclaim that Japanese management practices are the solution to America's industrial malaise.

But we disagree. We don't think the answer is to mimic the Japanese. Nor do we think the solution lies with the tools of "scientific" management: MBAs' analyses, portfolio theories, cost curves, or econometric models. Instead we think the answer is as American as apple pie. American business needs to return to the original concepts and ideas that made institutions like NCR, General Electric, International Business Machines (IBM), Procter & Gamble, 3M, and others great. We need to remember that people make businesses work. And we need to relearn old lessons about how culture ties people together and gives meaning and purpose to their day-to-day lives.

The early leaders of American business such as Thomas Watson of IBM, Harley Procter of Procter & Gamble, and General Johnson of Johnson & Johnson believed that strong culture brought success. They believed that the lives and productivity of their employees were shaped by where they worked. These builders saw their role as creating an environment—in effect, a culture—in their companies in which employees could be secure and thereby do the work necessary to make the business a success. They had no magic formulas. In fact, they discovered how to shape their company's culture by trial and error. But all along the way, they paid almost fanatical attention to the culture of their companies. The lessons of these early leaders have been passed down in their own companies from generation to generation of managers; the cultures they were so careful to build and nourish have sustained their organizations through both fat and lean times. Today these corporations still have strong cultures and still are leaders in the marketplace.

We think that anyone in business can learn a lot from these examples. A major reason the Japanese have been so successful, we think, is their continuing ability to maintain a very strong and cohesive culture throughout the entire country. Not only do individual businesses have strong cultures, but the links among business, the banking industry, and the government are also cultural and also very powerful. Japan, Inc., is actually an expansion of the corporate culture idea on a national scale. Although this homogenization of values would not fit American culture on a national scale, we do think that it has been very effective for individual companies. In fact, a strong culture has almost always been the driving force behind continuing success in American business.

We came to this conclusion through our work and study—Kennedy at McKinsey & Company and Deal at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. The idea had several origins. One was at a meeting at Stanford. A group of sociologists was puzzling over the absence of relationships among variables that organizational theory said should be related. If the structure of an organization doesn't control work activities, what does it do? These questions led to new theories and views: structure and strategy may be more symbolic than substantive. The other was a McKinsey meeting. We were talking about the problems of organizations, and someone asked, "What makes for consistently outstanding company performance?" Another person offered the hypothesis that the companies that did best over the long haul were those that believed in something. The example was, "IBM means service." Others chimed in, and soon the table was full of examples:

- GE: "Progress is our most important product."
- DuPont: "Better things for better living through chemistry."
- Chubb Insurance: "Excellence in underwriting."

While the focus at that point was on slogan-like evidence of a paramount belief—which we later called a "superordinate goal"—we were struck by the fact that each of the companies named had an impressive track record in the marketplace.

Intrigued by this initial evidence of support for our somewhat unconventional hypothesis, we conducted an informal survey over the next several months by interviewing McKinsey consultants about companies or organizations* they knew on a firsthand basis. The questions we asked were:

- Does Company X have one or more visible beliefs?
- If so, what are they?
- [illegible] Do people in the organization know these beliefs? If so, who? And how many?

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*Our survey covered both profit-making companies and a few non-profit organizations we found particularly intriguing. For simplicity we refer in the text to all of these as "companies."

- How do these beliefs affect day-to-day business?
- How are the beliefs communicated to the organization?
- Are the beliefs reinforced—by formal personnel processes, recognition, rewards?
- How would you characterize the performance of the company?

In total, over a period of about six months, we developed profiles of nearly eighty companies. Here's what we found out:

- Of all the companies surveyed, only about one third (twenty-five to be precise) had clearly articulated beliefs.
- Of this third, a surprising two-thirds had qualitative beliefs, or values, such as "IBM means service." The other third had financially oriented goals that were widely understood.
- Of the eighteen companies with qualitative beliefs, all were uniformly outstanding performers; we could find no correlations of any relevance among the other companies—some did okay, some poorly, most had their ups and downs. We characterized the consistently high performers as strong culture companies.*

These strong culture companies, we thought, were on to something. And so were we. Although this was far from a scientific survey, we did have evidence that the impact of values and beliefs on company performance was indeed real. We decided to follow up this "finding" by trying to figure out how these values got there and how they were transmitted throughout the corporation. We wanted to see what had made America's great companies not merely organizations, but successful, human institutions.

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*These were: Caterpillar Tractor, General Electric, DuPont, Chubb Insurance, Price Waterhouse & Co., 3M, Jefferson-Smurfit, The Training Services Administration Agency of the British government, Digital Equipment Corporation, International Business Machines, Dana Corporation, Procter & Gamble, Hewlett-Packard, Leo Burnett Advertising Agency, Johnson & Johnson, Tandem Computer, Continental Bank, and the Rouse Corporation.

Here we stumbled onto a goldmine of evidence. Biographies, speeches, and documents from such giants of business as Thomas Watson of IBM, John Patterson (the founder of NCR), Will Durant of General Motors, William Kellogg of Kellogg's, and a host of others show a remarkable intuitive understanding of the importance of a strong culture in the affairs of their companies.

We read about Edwin Land, who built Polaroid into a successful $1 billion company (before losing control and having the company fall on hard times) and who developed a whole theory for Polaroid's culture; he called it "Semi-Topia" after the theories of Utopia. We also learned about Alfred Sloan, the manager who built General Motors into a monolith, who spent three full days every quarter reviewing person-by-person the career progression of his top 1,000 managers. And about Charles Steinmetz, the crippled Austrian dwarf who brought alternating current into electrical systems of the world while at GE, but who also adopted his lab assistant and the man's entire family. These, and many more stories, led us to one unmistakable conclusion: the people who built the companies for which America is famous all worked obsessively to create strong cultures within their organizations.

In our own research and consulting, we also found that many of the exciting, new, high-tech businesses springing up around Route 128 in Boston and Silicon Valley in California seem obsessed with culture. Consider the case of Tandem.

The Business of Culture

The Tandem Corporation, one of Silicon Valley's most highly publicized companies, is a company whose president deliberately manages the "informal," human side of the business. Founded by four former Hewlett-Packard employees, Tandem has built a highly successful company by solving a simple problem: the tendency of computers to break down. By yoking two computers together in one mainframe, Tandem offers customers the assurance that they will always have computer power available. If one of the processors breaks down, the other will carry on.

"Tandem is saying something about the product and people working together. Everything here works together. People with people; product with product; even processor with processor, within the product. Everything works together to keep us where we are." The quotation is not from Jim Treybig, Tandem's chief executive officer. It came from one of Tandem's managers, and the same sentiment is echoed through the ranks of the employees:

"I feel like putting a lot of time in. There is a real kind of loyalty here. We are all working in this together—working a process together. I'm not a workaholic—it's just the place. I love the place."

"I don't want anything in the world that would hurt Tandem. I feel totally divorced from my old company, but not Tandem."

These employees seem to be describing an ideal corporation, one most managers would give their eyeteeth to create. And by most standards, Tandem is enormously successful. It is growing at the rate of 25 percent per quarter, with annual revenues over $100 million. The turnover rate is nearly three times below the national average for the computer industry. Tandem's loyal employees like their jobs and the company's product. They are led by a talented group of experienced managers, a group which so far has been able to handle the phenomenal growth of the company.

Only time will tell whether Tandem can maintain its pattern of high performance. While it is easy to attribute the success of the company to fast growth and lack of competition, other things at work internally at Tandem suggest an interesting rival explanation—that the strong culture of Tandem produces its success. Here is how.

A Widely Shared Philosophy. Tandem is founded on a well-ordered set of management beliefs and practices. The philosophy of the company emphasizes the importance of people: "that's Tandem's greatest resource—its people, creative action, and fun." This ethic is widely shared and exemplified by slogans that everyone knows and believes in:

> "It's so nice, it's so nice, we do it twice."
>
> "It takes two to Tandem."
>
> "Get the job done no matter what it takes."
>
> "Tandemize it—means make it work."

The slogans are broadcast by T-shirts, bulletin boards, and word of mouth.

Top management spends about half of its time in training and in communicating the management philosophy and the essence of the company. Work is underway on a book that will codify the philosophy for future generations of workers at Tandem. "The philosophy is our future," one senior manager notes:

> "It mostly tells the 'whats' and 'hows' for selecting people and growing managers. Even though everything else around here changes, I don't want what we believe in and what we want to change."

At Tandem the management philosophy is not an afterthought, it's a principle preoccupation.

The Importance of People. Tandem has no formal organizational chart and few formal rules. Its meetings and memos are almost non-existent. Jobs are flexible in terms of duties and hours. The absence of name tags and reserved parking spaces suggests a less well-defined hierarchy than is typical in the corporate world. Despite this, the organization works and people get their jobs done.

What keeps employees off each other's toes and working in the same direction? One possibility is the unwritten rules and shared understandings. As one person put it: "There are a lot of unwritten rules. But there is also a lot of freedom to make a jerk out of yourself. Most of the rules are philosophical rules." Another is dispersed authority:

> "The open door policy gives me access to anyone—even the president."
>
> "Everyone here, managers, vice-presidents, and even janitors, communicate on the same level. No one feels better than anyone else."

Tandem seems to maintain a balance between autonomy and control without relying heavily on centralized or formalized procedures, or rigid status hierarchies.

Heroes: The President and the Product. Jim Treybig is a hero at Tandem, and his employees confirm it:

> "Jimmy is really a symbol here. He's a sign that every person here is a human being. He tries to make you feel part of the organization from the first day you are here. That's something people talk about."
>
> "The one thing you have to understand about the company—Treybig's bigger than life."

Treybig shares the hero's limelight with the Tandem Continuous 10 Computer—the backbone product of the company. The computer design is the company's logo and provides the metaphor for the "working together" philosophy.

> "The product is phenomenal, everyone is proud to be part of it."
>
> "When a big order was shipped, everyone in the plant was taking pictures. There were 'oh's' and 'ah's'. People were applauding. Can you believe it? For a computer."

Treybig and the computer share the main spotlight. But there are countless other heroes at Tandem—people whose achievements are regularly recognized on bulletin boards as "Our Latest Greatests."

Ritual and Ceremony. Tandem is renowned for its Friday afternoon "beer-busts" which everyone attends. But the ritual does more than help people wind down after a busy work week. It serves as an important vehicle for informal communication and mingling across groups.

Tandem's emphasis on ritual, ceremony, and play is not confined to beer-busts, however. There is a golf course, exercise room, and swimming pool. Company-wide celebrations are staged on important holidays. These provide opportunities for employees to develop a spirit of "oneness" and symbolize that Tandem cares about employees.

Tandem's attention to ritual and ceremony begins in its personnel selection interviews. During the hiring process, potential employees are called back two or three times for interviews and must accept the position before salary negotiations take place. The interviews have been likened to an "inquisition." The message conveyed to prospective employees is "we take longer, and take care of people we hire—because we really care." The impact of this process is significant.

> "They had me here for four interviews. That's about four hours, for a position of stock clerk. It was clear that they were choosy about the people they hired. That said something about what they thought I was. They thought I was good."

Treybig personally appears at each orientation to welcome new employees and to explain the company's motivation and commitment philosophy. His appearance reinforces the honor of being accepted to work at Tandem. It's no surprise that people at Tandem feel special—after all, they were made to feel that way before they were hired. Moreover, they feel special because the company and its product are special. And their feelings are expressed in an unusual display of loyalty and commitment to the company.

> "My goals follow the company's. It's the company and I. I think that's pretty true of everyone. We all want to see it work. You have to have it all or don't have any of it."

Employees see their work as linked to Tandem's success:

> "My job is important, and if I don't do it, Tandem doesn't make a buck."

Tandem is a unique company. And much of its success appears as intimately tied to its culture as to its product and marketplace position. The company has explicit values and beliefs which its employees share. It has heroes. It has storytellers and stories. It has rituals and ceremonies on key occasions. Tandem appears to have a strong culture which creates a bond between the company and employees, and inspires levels of productivity unlike most

other corporations. Established heroes, values, and rituals are crucial to a culture's continued strength, and Tandem has kept them. The trick is in sustaining the culture so that it in turn drives the company.

Will Tandem's culture last? Although Tandem is neither big enough nor old enough to judge whether or not it will ultimately take a place in the annals of great American business, we think it is off to a good start. Indeed, other companies like IBM and P&G have already succeeded in sustaining and evolving culture over generations. These strong culture companies truly are the giants of American industry. Yet, their cultures began taking shape in a way that was very similar to Tandem.

The Elements of Culture

What is it about Tandem's organization that exerts such a grip on its employees? Why do other strong culture companies seem to inspire such loyalty? As we continued our research, we delved into the organizational literature to understand better the elements that make up a strong culture. What is it that determines the kind of culture a company will have in the first place? And how will that culture work in the day-to-day life of a company? Although we examine each one in depth later in the book, let's summarize the elements now:

Business Environment. Each company faces a different reality in the marketplace depending on its products, competitors, customers, technologies, government influences, and so on. To succeed in its marketplace, each company must carry out certain kinds of activities very well. In some markets that means selling; in others, invention; in still others, management of costs. In short, the environment in which a company operates determines what it must do to be a success. This business environment is the single greatest influence in shaping a corporate culture. Thus, companies that depend for success on their ability to sell an undifferentiated product tend to develop one type of culture—what we call a work hard/play hard culture—that keeps its sales force selling. Companies that spend a great deal of research and development money before they even know if the final product will be successful or not tend to develop a different culture—one that we call a bet-your-company culture—designed to make sure decisions are thought through before actions are taken.

Values. These are the basic concepts and beliefs of an organization; as such they form the heart of the corporate culture. Values define "success" in concrete terms for employees—"if you do this, you too will be a success"—and establish standards of achievement within the organization. The strong culture companies that we investigated all had a rich and complex system of values that were shared by the employees. Managers in these companies talked about these beliefs openly and without embarrassment, and they didn't tolerate deviance from the company standards.

Heroes. These people personify the culture's values and as such provide tangible role models for employees to follow. Some heroes are born—the visionary institution builders of American business—and some are "made" by memorable moments that occur in day-to-day corporate life. Smart companies take a direct hand in choosing people to play these heroic roles, knowing full well that others will try to emulate their behavior. Strong culture companies have many heroes. At General Electric, for instance, the heroes include Thomas Edison, the inventor; Charles Steinmetz, the compleat engineer; Gerald Swope and now Jack Welch, the CEO entrepreneurs; and a legion of lesser-known but equally important internal figures: the inventor of the high-torque motor that powered the electric toothbrush; the chief engineer of the turbine works; the export salesman who survived two overseas revolutions; the international manager who had ghosts exorcised from a factory in Singapore; and many others. These achievers are known to virtually every employee with more than a few months' tenure in the company. And they show every employee "here's what you have to do to succeed around here."

The Rites and Rituals. These are the systematic and programmed routines of day-to-day life in the company. In their mundane manifestations—which we call rituals—they show employees the kind of behavior that is expected of them. In their extravaganzas—which we call ceremonies—they provide visible and potent examples of what the company stands for. Strong culture companies go to the trouble of spelling out, often in copious detail, the routine behavioral rituals they expect their employees to follow.

The Cultural Network. As the primary (but informal) means of communication within an organization, the cultural network is the "carrier" of the corporate values and heroic mythology. Storytellers, spies, priests, cabals, and whisperers form a hidden hierarchy of power within the company. Working the network effectively is the only way to get things done or to understand what's really going on.

The Importance of Understanding Culture

Companies that have cultivated their individual identities by shaping values, making heroes, spelling out rites and rituals, and acknowledging the cultural network have an edge. These corporations have values and beliefs to pass along—not just products. They have stories to tell—not just profits to make. They have heroes whom managers and workers can emulate—not just faceless bureaucrats. In short, they are human institutions that provide practical meaning for people, both on and off the job.

We think that people are a company's greatest resource, and the way to manage them is not directly by computer reports, but by the subtle cues of a culture. A strong culture is a powerful lever for guiding behavior; it helps employees do their jobs a little better, especially in two ways:

A strong culture is a system of informal rules that spells out how people are to behave most of the time. By knowing what exactly is expected of them, employees will waste little time in deciding how to act in a given situation. In a weak culture, on the other hand, employees waste a good deal of time just trying to figure out what they should do and how they should do it. The impact of a strong culture on productivity is amazing. In the extreme, we estimate that a company can gain as much as one or two hours of productive work per employee per day.

A strong culture enables people to feel better about what they do, so they are more likely to work harder. When a sales representative can say "I'm with IBM," rather than "I peddle typewriters for a living," he will probably hear in response, "Oh, IBM is a great company, isn't it?" He quickly figures out that he belongs to an outstanding company with a strong identity. For most people, that means a great deal. The next time they have the choice of working an extra half hour or sloughing off, they'll probably work. Overall, this has an impact on productivity too.

Unlike workers ten or twenty years ago, employees today are confused. According to psychologist Frederick Herzberg, they feel cheated by their jobs; they allow special interests to take up their time; their life values are uncertain; they are blameful and cynical; they confuse morality with ethics. Uncertainty is at the core of it all. Yet strong culture companies remove a great degree of that uncertainty because they provide structure and standards and a value system in which to operate. In fact, corporations may be among the last institutions in America that can effectively take on the role of shaping values. We think that workers, managers, and chief executive officers should recognize this and act on it.

People at all stages of their careers need to understand culture and how it works because it will likely have a powerful effect on their work lives. People just starting their careers may think a job is just a job. But when they choose a company, they often choose a way of life. The culture shapes their responses in a strong, but subtle way. Culture can make them fast or slow workers, tough or friendly managers, team players or individuals. By the time they've worked for several years, they may be so well conditioned by the culture they may not even recognize it. But when they change jobs, they may be in for a big surprise.

Take an up-and-coming executive at General Electric who is being wooed by Xerox—more money, a bigger office, greater responsibility. If his first reaction is to grab it, he's probably going to be disappointed. Xerox has a totally different culture than GE. Success (and even survival) at Xerox is closely tied to an ability to maintain a near frenetic pace, the ability to work and play hard, Xerox-style.

By contrast, GE has a more thoughtful and slow-moving culture. The GE culture treats each business activity seriously—

almost as though each activity will have an enormous impact on the company. Success at GE is a function of being able to take work seriously, a strong sense of peer group respect, considerable deference for authority, and a sense of deliberateness. A person of proven success at GE will bring these values to Xerox because past experience in GE's culture has reinforced them. But these same values may not be held in high esteem elsewhere.

Bright young comers at GE could, for example, quickly fizzle out at Xerox—and not even understand why. They'll be doing exactly what they did to succeed at GE—maybe even working harder at it—but their deliberate approach to issues large and small will be seen by insiders at Xerox as a sign that they "lack smarts." Their loss of confidence, self-esteem, and ability will be confusing to them and could significantly derail their careers. For Xerox, the loss of productivity could be appreciable.

This is no imaginary scenario. It happens again and again at Xerox, General Electric, and many other companies when managers ignore the influence of culture on individual approaches to work. Culture shock may be one of the major reasons why people supposedly "fail" when they leave one organization for another. Where they fail, however, is not necessarily in doing the job, but in not reading the culture correctly.

People who want to get ahead within their own companies also need to understand—at least intuitively—what makes their culture tick. If product quality is the guiding value of your company, then you'd better be thinking about getting into manufacturing where you can contribute to the work on quality control teams. If you're a marketing whiz in a company where all of the heroes are number crunchers, then you may have a problem. You can start taking accounting courses, or you can start trying to find a more compatible environment. Unless the culture itself is in a state of change—shifting, say, from a financial emphasis to a marketing orientation—then the chances are very slim for any single person who is out of step with the culture to make it to the very top.

Aside from considerations of personal success, managers must understand very clearly how the culture works if they want to accomplish what they set out to do. If you're trying to institute a competitive, tough approach to marketing in a company that is full of hail-fellow-well-met salesmen, then you have your work cut out for you. Even if everyone agrees with what you want to do, you must know how to manage the culture—for instance, create new role model heroes—in order to teach your legion of easy-going salesmen the new rules of the game.

Finally, senior executives and especially chief executive officers may be missing out on one of the key ingredients for their companies' eventual success by ignoring either the influence of culture on corporate success or their own central role in shaping it. Their culture may be rich with lore or starved for shared values and stories. It may be coherent and cohesive, or fragmented and poorly understood. It may create meaning or contribute to blind confusion. It may be rich, fiery, focused, and strong; or weak, cold, and diffuse. Understanding the culture can help senior executives pinpoint why their company is succeeding or failing. Understanding how to build and manage the culture can help the same executives make a mark on their company that lasts for decades.

Can every company have a strong culture? We think it can. But to do that, top management first has to recognize what kind of culture the company already has, even if it is weak. The ultimate success of a chief executive officer depends to a large degree on an accurate reading of the corporate culture and the ability to hone it and shape it to fit the shifting needs of the marketplace.

In reading this book, we can imagine that many managers will ask themselves, is culture too "soft"? Can serious managers actually take the time to deal with it? Indeed, we believe that managers must. Management scientists sometimes argue that corporations are so complex and vulnerable to diverse external and internal forces that managers' freedom to act and lead is limited. Their argument is plausible, but our experience does not support it. By and large, the most successful managers we know are precisely those who strive to make a mark through creating a guiding vision, shaping shared values, and otherwise providing leadership for the people with whom they work.

It all comes down to understanding the importance of working with people in any organization. The institution builders of old knew the value of a strong culture and they worked hard at it. They saw themselves as symbolic players-actors in their corporations. They knew how to orchestrate, even dramatize events to drive their lessons home. They understood how corporations shape personal lives and were not shy about suggesting the standards that people should live by. If we are to have such great institutions tomorrow, the managers of today will have to take up this challenge again.

Our goal in this book is to provide business leaders with a primer on cultural management. In showing how several excellent companies* manage their cultures, this book is meant to be suggestive only, not hard and fast or prescriptive. Our aim is to heighten the awareness of our readers, to jog them into thinking about the workplace in its role as a mediator of behavior, and to show the positive effects of culture-building. Along the way, we hope to instill in our readers a new law of business life: In Culture There is Strength.

*You may see several companies—such as General Electric—and several individuals—such as Thomas Watson—named again and again throughout the book. This is because we consider them the absolutely best examples we could find to illustrate our ideas. Managers could do worse than to emulate these examples.

2

Values: The Core of the Culture

Values are the bedrock of any corporate culture.* As the essence of a company's philosophy for achieving success, values provide a sense of common direction for all employees and guidelines for their day-to-day behavior. These formulas for success determine (and occasionally arise from) the types of corporate heroes, and the myths, rituals, and ceremonies of the culture. In fact, we think that often companies succeed because their employees can identify, embrace, and act on the values of the organization.

These values may be grand in scope ("Progress is our most important product"), or narrowly focused ("Underwriting excellence"). They can capture the imagination ("The first Irish multinational"). They can tell people how to work together ("It takes two to Tandem"). Or they can simply drive ("15 percent period-to-period sales and earnings growth"). If they are strong, they command everyone's attention: "What people really care about around here is quality." If they are weak, they may often be ignored: "It's not the same company since the old man stepped down. Nowadays everyone around here is just more or less doing his own thing."

"Rational" managers rarely pay much attention to the value system of an organization. Values are not "hard," like organizational structures, policies and procedures, strategies, or budgets. Often they are not even written down. And when someone does try to set them down in a formal statement of corporate philosophy, the product often bears an uncomfortable resemblance to the Biblical beatitudes—good and true and broadly constructive, but not all that relevant to Monday morning.

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*Much of the original work on the ideas expressed in this chapter was done by McKinsey consultant Julien Phillips.

We think that society today suffers from a pervasive uncertainty about values, a relativism that undermines leadership and commitment alike. After all, in this fast-paced world, who really *does* know what's right? On the philosophical level, we find ourselves without convincing responses. But the everyday business environment is quite different. Even if ultimate values are chimerical, particular values clearly make sense for specific organizations operating in specific economic circumstances. Perhaps because ultimate values seem so elusive, people respond positively to practical ones. Choices must be made, and values are an indispensable guide in making them.

Moreover, it is clear that organizations have, in fact, gained great strength from shared values—with emphasis on the "shared." If employees know what their company stands for, if they know what standards they are to uphold, then they are much more likely to make decisions that will support those standards. They are also more likely to feel as if they are an important part of the organization. They are motivated because life in the company has meaning for them.

Since organizational values can powerfully influence what people actually do, we think that values ought to be a matter of great concern to managers. In fact, shaping and enhancing values can become the most important job a manager can do. In our work and study, we have found that successful companies place a great deal of emphasis on values. In general, these companies shared three characteristics:

- They stand for something—that is, they have a clear and explicit philosophy about how they aim to conduct their business.
- Management pays a great deal of attention to shaping and fine-tuning these values to conform to the economic and business environment of the company and to communicating them to the organization.
- These values are known and shared by all the people who work for the company—from the lowliest production worker right through to the ranks of senior management.

What are these values that hold a company and its workforce together? Where do they come from? And more important, how do they influence the successful operation of an organization?

The Corporate Character

For those who hold them, shared values define the fundamental character of their organization, the attitude that distinguishes it from all others. In this way, they create a sense of identity for those in the organization, making employees feel special. Moreover, values are a reality in the minds of most people throughout the company, not just the senior executives. It is this sense of pulling together that makes shared values so effective. Let's look at a few:

- *Caterpillar*: "24-hour parts service anywhere in the world"—symbolizing an extraordinary commitment to meeting customers' needs.
- *Leo Burnett Advertising Agency*: "Make great ads"—commitment to a particular concept of excellence.
- *American Telephone & Telegraph*: "Universal service"—an historical orientation toward standardized, highly reliable service to all possible users, now being reshaped into values more relevant to a newly competitive marketplace.
- *DuPont*: "Better things for better living through chemistry"—a belief that product innovation, arising out of chemical engineering, is DuPont's most distinctive value.
- *Sears, Roebuck*: "Quality at a good price"—the mass merchandiser for middle America.
- *Rouse Company*: "Create the best environment for people"—a dominating concern to develop healthy and pleasant residential communities, not just to build subdivisions.
- *Continental Bank*: "We'll find a way" (to meet customer needs).
- *Dana Corporation*: "Productivity through people"—enlisting the ideas and commitment of employees at every level in support of Dana's strategy of competing largely on cost and dependability rather than product differentiation.
- *Chubb Insurance Company*: "Underwriting excellence"—an overriding commitment to excellence in a critical function.
- *Price Waterhouse & Company*: "Strive for technical perfection" (in accounting).

Most of these phrases sound utterly platitudinous to the outsider. Indeed, many of them are little more than slogans that might be (and often were) used in advertising campaigns. What makes them more than slogans is the degree to which these phrases capture something people in the organization deeply believe in. Within each of these corporations, these words take on rich and concrete meaning.

We call these phrases "core values" because they become the essence of the organization's philosophy. These slogan-like themes are only the most visible parts of a complex system that includes a whole range of beliefs about how the organization should achieve success. These values and beliefs are closely linked to the basic concept of the business and provide guidelines for employees to follow in their work.

For example, if you are in the business of selling cars—as is Joe Girard, the world's most successful car salesman—and if your experience in the marketplace leads you to think that taking care of your customers is *the key way* to get them to come back again, then you will put this philosophy to work. Girard's core value is "customer service." From this basic concept, Girard has developed a number of beliefs—that you should studiously respond to all customer complaints, make sure their service problems are handled, even send them cards at Christmas and on their birthdays. In some months Girard sends out more than 13,000 cards to customers. He puts his values and beliefs into action, and he sells more automobiles every year than any single car salesman in the world.

In the case of one person, it is easy to see how one basic value backed by enormous energy can make for success. What is harder to understand is how this same principle applies in a larger corporation. Companies are, after all, only collections of individuals. If they all believe and behave as Joe Girard does, they will undoubtedly succeed at what they set out to do. And that is the real challenge for management: to make thousands and thousands of people Joe Girard-like figures who have a strongly ingrained sense of the company's value.

The Pepsi-Cola Company seems to have met this challenge by fostering the values of competition. As *Business Week* recently reported, "Once the company was content in its No. 2 spot, offering Pepsi as a cheaper alternative to Coca-Cola. But today, a new employee at PepsiCo quickly learns that beating the competition, whether outside or inside the company, is the surest path to success. . . . Because winning is the key value at Pepsi, losing has its penalties. Consistent runners-up find their jobs gone. Employees know that they must win merely to stay in place—and must devastate the competition to get ahead."

Dana Corporation, on the other hand, has a very different, but still successful, set of values. As a competitor in the long-established automobile-parts manufacturing business, it has virtually doubled its productivity over the past seven years, a period when the overall growth of American productivity has been slowing. Dana did not accomplish this record with massive capital investment, with sophisticated industrial-engineering studies, or with management-imposed speed-up measures. Instead, it relied on its people, right down to the shop-floor level. Management continually stressed the value of productivity to company success. It put this value into action by creating a multitude of task forces and other special activities; by giving its people practical opportunities to generate productivity; by listening to ideas and then implementing them; and by consistently, visibly, and frequently rewarding success. "Productivity through people" is no mere advertising phrase to the employees of Dana Corporation.

Procter & Gamble: Forging a Value System

Although a value system may be most visible in the few words that make up an advertising slogan, many successful companies have a very rich tradition of values, beliefs, and themes that have developed over the years. Where do these values come from? They mostly come from experience, from testing what does and doesn't work in the economic environment. But individual people within an organization also have strong influence in shaping the standards and beliefs of the organization.

In Chapter 1 we looked briefly at the values of Tandem, a relatively new, fast-growth company. Now let's look at a different kind of corporation, one that has been able to sustain its strong philosophy—and its success—over 150 years of growth.

By almost any measure, the Procter & Gamble Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, is one of the best models of persistent long-term attention to building a strong culture company, particularly in its emphasis on values. First, let's look at a brief history:

In 1837, upon the suggestion of their father-in-law, William Procter and James Gamble joined forces in a partnership. The candle and soap industry they entered that year was a highly competitive one; there were eighteen direct competitors in the Cincinnati market alone and many more across the burgeoning country. In P&G's early years, candles were the company's principle source of income, and the company enjoyed a modest success. By the 1870s, however, the growing popularity of oil lamps for illumination left Procter and Gamble justifiably worried about the future of their candle-making business. To protect their future, they redoubled their efforts to become a leader in the soap market. In 1878, James N. Gamble, son of the founder and a chemist by education, perfected the formula for a new, white soap.

It was cousin Harley Procter's job to sell the soap. He sensed it could be a good product, so he spent weeks trying to come up with the right name. In church one Sunday it came to him while reciting Psalms 45:8—"All thy garments smell of myrrh and aloe, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces whereby they have made thee glad." Ivory soap was born.

Realizing the opportunity this invention offered the company, Harley employed the creative use of the new medium of display advertising to turn Ivory into the first nationally branded soap product. The company's major growth had begun.

The initial success with Ivory soap was followed up some thirty-three years later by the introduction of Crisco shortening; as a substitute for lard, it was a radically new product at the time. Then came Camay (1923), Tide and Prell (1946), Joy (1949), Cheer (1950), then Crest and Comet (1956), Head & Shoulders (1960), Pampers (1961), Safeguard (1963), and, more recently, Downy, Mr. Clean, and Top Job. As any consumer can attest, to this day these products are leaders in the market segments they serve.

What was it that made this company so strong in the field of consumer packaged goods? What is it about P&G that has allowed it to sustain its enviable track record so long and so consistently through good economic times and bad? Was it being first to the market with a new product? Perhaps true in the early days but certainly not relevant for products like Tide and Charmin. Was it an absence of competition in its main markets? Certainly never true in any of the markets P&G served. Was it a better strategy than Colgate or others? We doubt there are that many degrees of strategic freedom available to allow P&G to differentiate itself in all the diverse markets it serves.

We believe P&G's success can be traced most directly back to a very strong culture, founded on a set of beliefs and values. The first and most basic of these values is "do what is right." As William Cooper Procter said at the time he handed the reins of management to Richard R. Deupree, the first non-Procter or Gamble to run the company: "Always try to do what's right. If you do that, nobody can really find fault." This rule has lived to this day, being passed on to every head of P&G since Cooper—and every new employee as well.

Where did this and other beliefs and values come from? There was no visionary among the early Procters and Gambles to codify the value system and drum it into the heads of employees. Rather these values evolved over years and years of trial and error as many people worked to figure out just how such a business should be run. Let's see how a few of these key values evolved.

"THE CONSUMER IS IMPORTANT"

From the earliest days of P&G, its founding fathers always had an eye clearly fixed on what might be important to customers. One morning in 1851, William Procter noticed that a wharfhand was painting black crosses on P&G's candle boxes. Asking why this was done, Procter learned that the crosses allowed illiterate wharfhands to distinguish the candle boxes from the soap boxes. Another artistic wharfhand soon changed the black cross to a circled star. Another replaced the single star with a cluster of stars. And then a quarter moon was added with a human profile. Finally, P&G painted the moon and stars emblem on all boxes of their candles.

At some later date, P&G decided that the "man in the moon" was unnecessary so they dropped it from their boxes. Immediately P&G received a message from New Orleans that a jobber had refused delivery of an entire shipment of P&G candles. Since these boxes lacked the full "moon and stars" design, the jobber thought they were imitations. P&G quickly recognized the value of the "moon and stars" emblem and brought it back into use by registering it as a trademark. It was the beginning of brand name identification for P&G and the first of many times that P&G listened to its customers.

P&G paid attention to customers because over the years they learned that the more they did so, the greater the payback to the company. Certainly, the customers discovered and launched Ivory soap. Soon after it was introduced, P&G learned from its customers that Ivory floated. Initially, P&G managers were so surprised by this they assumed it was an accident in the mixing of the soap. So it was, but customers kept asking for the "floating soap" so P&G incorporated the "mistake" into their regular production.

P&G continued listening to customers, who helped them develop all of their major products. Their experience through the years has taught them step-by-step that such attention always pays off. P&G calls this mania "consumerism: a response, after comprehensive market research, to what consumers need and want." Over the company's history, consumerism has taken many forms, from testing kitchens for Crisco in 1912; to hiring housewives to provide consumer feedback on liquid dish detergents in 1922; to large-scale, door-to-door sampling efforts for Camay in the 1920s. Today, P&G conducts over 1.5 million telephone interviews annually. That's the equivalent of 1,000 Gallup polls each year.

In short, P&G is a culture that glories in listening and listening well to consumers. Furthermore, they have developed more ways to listen to customers than anyone else. And why wouldn't they, they've spent years learning how.

"THINGS DON'T JUST HAPPEN, YOU HAVE TO MAKE THEM HAPPEN"

P&G is the largest consistent advertiser among the giant consumer-products companies. For the last century, managers at P&G have believed that advertising works and they bet their company's future on it. How did they develop this trust in the media's efficacy? Again the answer did not come easily, but through years and years of hard work.

It all started with Harley Procter and his Ivory soap. For several years, Harley had been arguing with his relatives-colleagues in the company to convince them that media advertising could sell more soap. Finally, he convinced them to take the first step and allocate $11,000 to this new and unproven medium.

Harley decided to emphasize the purity of Ivory in his first advertising effort. To do this he hired a science consultant from New York who both defined purity and went on to determine that, given this definition, Ivory was 99.44 percent pure. Armed with this statistic, Harley began advertising Ivory. The results of this brilliant innovation were twofold: booming sales for P&G and the birth of modern advertising. Like listening to consumers, it worked.

But getting hooked on advertising in a company like P&G does not mean standing still. When P&G begins to believe in something like advertising, given such bedrock cultural values as "make it happen," they keep testing, keep trying new ideas, keep evolving the basic idea year by year. In 1923, P&G was first to capitalize on the use of what was then a brand-new advertising medium—radio. Starting with informational radio spots, P&G went on to invent the daytime soap opera. Thirty years later, P&G did the same for television.

"WE WANT TO MAKE EMPLOYEE INTERESTS OUR OWN"

Even as early as the late 1880s, and with a hot, new product in Ivory, William Cooper Procter had a problem: how to keep P&Gers not just productive but loyal, too, and how to express the company's sense of responsibility to its people.

In 1883, Procter started working for P&G at the lowest level of menial factory labor—loading the soap mixers, a job that wasn't just for show. At work, Procter lived the life of a laborer to its fullest, even eating lunch with the other workers while sitting on the factory floor. During this early work, Procter developed a firsthand understanding of the perspectives and concerns of the P&G workers. This understanding was to serve as a foundation for his insistence on improved labor relations.

In 1884, Procter finally persuaded his father and uncle to give workers Saturday afternoons off without loss of pay, a radical proposal at the time. However, growing labor unrest across the country quickly proved Procter's plan to be grossly inadequate. He wrestled with this problem for two years, then suggested that profit-sharing might develop greater loyalty and respect among P&G workers. Again failure—Procter's profit-sharing plan realized no gains in productivity and loyalty; workers simply viewed the payments they received as extra salary. Undaunted, he tinkered with it over several years, and in 1903 devised a scheme to couple profit-sharing with the purchase of P&G stock—the company would add $1 for every $1 invested by a worker up to an amount equal to the worker's annual salary. Its success emboldened Procter to establish ongoing two-way communications between management and workers by instituting the Employee Conference Plan (1918) and creating one seat for a worker representative from each domestic plant on P&G's board of directors (1919). Then he shortened the workday from ten to eight hours. Still not content in his efforts to improve worker relations and realizing his action would benefit all involved, Procter singlehandedly abolished job uncertainty at P&G by guaranteeing employment for workers. To do this he took the enormous risk of developing direct distribution (in other words, a sales force), thus bypassing the distributors who previously had created highly uneven demand.The risk succeeded and, even during the Depression, P&G was able to keep its workers on the payrolls.

So Procter & Gamble has a long history of working hard on the "right" things: James Gamble perfecting his soap, Harley Procter forging a new field of advertising, and William Cooper Procter establishing the principle that the interests of the company and those of its employees were inseparable. All along, P&G paid scrupulous attention to its customers. These values were formed and refined by years of experience in the marketplace. They didn't just appear overnight. Although P&G is a highly successful company, it has had its share of problems; Rely tampons are only the most recent example. Still, its continuing experiences in the marketplace have evolved into a rich and varied culture that has sustained it through difficult times.

The evolution of a value structure like P&G's is the core element in all the strong culture companies we studied. The stronger the culture, the richer and more complex the value system, the longer the chain of evidence that these values really do produce results.

The Influence of Corporate Values

As we've seen with P&G, a corporation's values will affect all aspects of the company—from what products get manufactured to how workers are treated. Companies that are guided by strong shared values tend to reflect those values in the design of their formal organization. The most readily recognizable case is the company that believes that the way to put its values to work is to control costs tightly. Generally, its financial vice president and controller will be leading members of the top-management group, and very frequently the divisional controllers will report directly to the corporate controller rather than to the division head. Almost always, its dominant management systems will be those for budget development and operation control, and even its longer-range planning will be geared to the needs of financial control.

A company with values geared primarily to the external marketplace, like P&G, will probably have several very senior marketing vice presidents in its top-management structure, and it is likely to rely on some version of product managers or brand managers to handle product marketing. It will surely have rather elaborate systems for gathering and shifting data on customer tastes, customer response to its products, and initiatives by its competitors.

The values and beliefs of an organization indicate what matters are to be attended to most assiduously—for instance, current operations in one company, external relations in a second, longer-term strategy in a third. They suggest what kind of information is taken most seriously for decision-making purposes—experienced judgment of "old hands" in one organization, detailed "number-crunching" in another. They define what kind of people are most respected—engineers versus marketing men versus financial types.

Values also play a very important role in determining how far one can rise within an organization. If product development is the company's overriding ethic, the best people will want to work in the company's research and development laboratories. If customer service is the important value, the go-getters won't want to be in finance but in a sales or field service function. The company will tend to reinforce the primacy of that value by promoting a disproportionate share of the people in these jobs.

Shared values and beliefs also play an important role in communicating to the outside world what to expect of a company. The philosophy at Sears, for instance, marks its corporate personality consistently to suppliers and customers alike: the Sears value—"Quality at a good price"—encourages buyers to become crusaders in driving down the cost of products. Many companies depend on Sears for most of their business, yet these companies often live in fear of the giant retailer. "That price isn't good enough," Sears buyers will say. "We want to sell a muffler for $19.95 and buy it from you for $9.95 and that's it." The producer can argue that the steel costs $7.14 and that something in addition must be charged to manufacture the muffler, but then Sears will only threaten to take their business someplace else. After all, Sears sells more mufflers than anyone in the world. So the producer huffs and puffs and figures how to make a muffler for $9.95. That's the way Sears does its purchasing and it's infamous for it. Yet that's part of its image for its customers: Sears gets the lowest prices for quality products.

Delta Airlines' value as "the people company" is expressed in its slogan, "The Delta Family Feeling." As only a caring family would, Delta pays higher salaries than the industry average and thus attracts the best employees—people whom the company works very hard to get and to whom it gives significant responsibilities for delivering quality service. It was only natural, therefore, that when Delta braced itself for the last recession, senior management, in effect, told shareholders and the financial community, "Now that times are tough, you'll have to pay. We're not going to earn what we could over the long term if we let go of people now; our people are very important to our long-term performance; they're what makes this place work. So, shareholders, it's your time to give a pint of blood; until this recession is over, our earnings and maybe even our dividends are going to be down because we are not going to lay our people off." Such a move was acceptable only because Delta had communicated the sanctity of this value of "family" over a long period of time. Shared values are what has made Delta great.

In 1982, while other carriers made cutbacks of 15,000 workers, Delta held firm. As a result, the company gained considerable loyalty from its employees. In the past, non-unionized employees have carried luggage and handled the ticket counters to help the airline get through the slumps so that regular employees would not be laid off.

Delta points up the importance of a company's living by its values, even in a difficult situation. Yet the example also underlines the all-or-nothing stakes involved. Once a company tries to shape values, the company is often locked in—the actions of management must be consistent, because the inconsistencies will be noticed and magnified out of proportion. In creating values that will work, managers are forced to live life as they say they would . . . whatever the circumstances.

How do shared values affect organizational performance? In broad terms, they act as an informal control system that tells people what is expected of them. More specifically, shared values affect performance in three main ways:

Managers and others throughout the organization give extraordinary attention to whatever matters are stressed in the corporate value system—and this in turn tends to produce extraordinary results. An oil company produces crude and petroleum products much more efficiently than others because efficient operation is what it values and what its managers concentrate on. One of this company's principal competitors values trading and financial management most highly. Accordingly, its managers worry less about production operations and concentrate instead on squeezing every cent of potential revenues from their sales.

Down-the-line managers make marginally better decisions, on average, because they are guided by their perception of the shared values. When a manager at Dana is confronted by a close question—like making a particular investment in increased productivity versus one in new product development—the manager is likely to opt for productivity.

People simply work a little harder because they are dedicated to the cause. "I'm sorry I'm so late getting home, but the customer had a problem and we never leave a customer with a problem."

Risks and Pitfalls of Strong Values

The power of values is that people care about them. This power can be a problem as well as a source of strength. If managers choose to build or reinforce the shared values of the group of people they work with, they had better recognize the risks they are assuming:

The risk of obsolescence. What if the environment changes? One of the most serious risks of a potent system of shared values is that economic circumstances can change while shared values continue to guide behavior in ways no longer helpful to the organization's success. When a company with strongly held values finds that it has lost marketplace or economic relevance, it generally has great difficulty adjusting successfully. Witness AT&T's current difficulty in adapting to a newly competitive marketplace.

"Universal Service" is AT&T's slogan, which Theodore Vail, a former chairman of the company, first articulated. For a long time, that label served AT&T well because it was, until recently, a regulated entity that only needed to make its regulators happy to receive rate increases. As elected or appointed officials, regulators were naturally influenced by their constituencies; given AT&T's phenomenally good strategy to get a phone to everyone who wanted it ("Universal Service"), the company could consistently ask governmental regulators for rate increases and get them. After all, the mass of voters were well served and treated equally, even if equality meant the inefficiency of installing one telephone at the dead end of a desolate country road. Wherever the unconnected in America wanted a telephone, a line would be installed shortly thereafter.

Yet in clinging to this value, AT&T has had tremendous difficulty in adapting to a newly competitive, deregulated environment. Week in, week out over the past several years, newspapers have announced yet another element of the proposed realignment of the company. In the business press, especially, there have been repeated stories about the Bell system's "new marketing thrust." A different reality is apparent, however, when a repairman who visited one of our homes spent two full hours regaling us with his version of the demise of the company. His diatribe concluded with a recommendation that we buy a non-Bell answering device. And indeed, while AT&T continues to struggle to adapt, companies like MCI and Rolm have started to move in on its market, particularly in switchboard systems especially tailored for use in small offices and commercial long-distance phone calls.

With a monopoly franchise, a paramount goal of universal service made sense and worked. (The United States does have the best telephone system in the world, in case you hadn't noticed.) But it also fostered a preoccupation with total system integrity that has inhibited AT&T's ability to identify and meet the needs of particular market segments—a serious limitation now that competitors have been allowed to enter the marketplace. Senior management perceives the threat very clearly and understands what must be done, but the mentality and work practices of down-the-line employees are so strongly tied to the obsolete value system that it will take years for the company to adapt itself fully to the new circumstances.

The consequences of obsolescence are serious enough to give some managers pause in their pursuit of shared values. But they should look at the other side of the coin as well: would AT&T have been as successful in the past had it lacked such strongly held values? Almost certainly not.

The risk of resistance to change. Barring an environmental upheaval that forces everyone to adapt or perish, can an institution of true believers ever change? Look at Sears, Roebuck. It faced no fundamental transformation in its environment like that in telecommunications, but its management nonetheless saw an opportunity to become an up-scale merchandiser on the department store model. The market was large and growing rapidly, and margins were undoubtedly fatter.

Yet no sooner had Sears set out on this road than it faltered. Its army of loyal employees, who had cut their eyeteeth on delivering value to middle-American consumers, simply did not know how to run a Macy's-style operation. As a result, performance lagged, and the appealing strategy had to be abandoned.

Sears is by no means an isolated example. In a glamour growth company, one of the authors spent two years trying to help the CEO in a determined effort to cut out excessive overhead in the face of increasingly strong cost competition. Overall, fewer than 1,000 overhead positions were eliminated, and many of those were soon added back. Because of the powerful growth mentality that persisted in the company, cost reduction simply would not fly.

The risk of inconsistency. What if managerial behavior contradicts professed values? In one company we know, the CEO speaks frequently and eloquently about the value of serving customers better. But when the year-end approaches, he demands financial performance—the customer be hanged. Given the demonstrated primacy of clearly articulated financial objectives, it is no wonder that very few people in the organization buy into the customer-service rhetoric.

In a second company, a large bank, top management talks constantly about the need to become more entrepreneurial in response to the changing regulatory and competitive environment. When budget time comes around, however, new ventures are held to the same targets of financial return and cost growth as established divisions. Not surprisingly, evidence of real entrepreneurship is very hard to find.

In order to build a strong culture top management must be convinced that it can adhere faithfully and visibly to the values it intends to promote. Any inconsistency in adhering to or failing to promote the company's enunciated values will begin to undermine the strength of the culture.

In Part II of the book, we discuss in more detail how companies can avoid the risks and pitfalls of stong values by constantly tuning them to the business environment. But the point we want to make here is that values do their share of day-to-day business. What brings values to life is the awareness of everyone in the organization about these values and why they are important. It's not just values, it is the extensive sharing of them that makes a difference.

How do values come to be shared in a company? Through the reinforcement provided by all the other elements of the company's culture, but primarily by the culture's lead players—its heroes.

7

Diagnosis: Learning to Read Cultures

A culture is its heroes, values, networks. It is all these things, but something else besides. Culture is a money-in-the-pocket investment—for CEOs, financial analysts, even job seekers. Experience tells you only so much about a company; its culture tells more. One can, in fact, predict a company's performance by diagnosing the character of its heroes, values, and so on.

Culture, even roughly defined, has a very strong influence on a company's behavior over time. And that influence is predictable. CEOs and senior managers can read a culture for early warning signals of people out of synch with the aims of their business. Investment analysts can turn to culture for greater accuracy in forecasting. Even executives in search of new opportunities would do well to match-make their personality to that of a company. Yet where should the neophyte cultural observer begin?

Although any superficial analysis runs the risk of being incomplete or even wrong, surprisingly much can be learned in a limited amount of time about a company's culture. How? By using the techniques consultants rely on. The process begins at the surface and proceeds inward, toward the company's unconscious. Almost like a psychoanalyst, the culture analyst places a company on the couch. Here are the most basic routes we follow:

Study the physical setting. However irrelevant to the conduct of business, a company's investment in bricks and mortar—its building—inevitably says something about its culture. After all, building investments are made or at least overseen by senior management. As much as they'd like to avoid the thought, most senior managers recognize that the buildings will likely outlive them;

thus they try to create a setting that makes a statement to the world about their company, both deliberate and otherwise.

A company that is proud of itself and its culture will reflect this pride through its environment. Around the world, city after city proudly displays its IBM building—a bright, clean, modern statement about a proud company. General Electric's fortress-like headquarters in Fairfield, Connecticut, is a monument to corporate stability and importance. Citibank's gleaming Citicorp Center expresses the company's sense that, "we're important and we're different." (Citicorp is located in a section of Manhattan not frequented by banks). Digital Equipment's refurbished mill site conveys that they're a modern company, but their roots are in New England—thus they respect tradition. Contrast these bold statements of strong culture companies with the nondescript locations of many other companies.

Consistency among sites is also important. A slightly more subtle look at a company's culture can be gleaned by contrasting sites. Today it is not uncommon for corporate headquarters to look spiffy—senior executives do know how to look after themselves, after all. But are division sites consistent with the standards of headquarters? Are sales offices in say, Toledo, tucked into the upstairs level of a warehouse? Is the factory in upstate New York in danger of collapsing? The careful observer must factor in elements of age or use of environs, but usually the signs are unmistakeable.

One should also look for consistency across classes of employees. Department by department, physical settings indicate a company's attitude toward different classes of employees. When NCR's John Patterson discovered the terrible working conditions in his plants, he immediately refurbished them and planted grass and trees in an attempt to make people proud they worked for NCR. Similarly, the Ivorydale complex of P&G was a model of its kind when it was built before the turn of the century. Contrast this with Ford's River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan: This massive industrial complex stood for decades, to some a stark reminder that workers were tools of industrial progress to be used, coerced, and discarded when no longer needed.

Culture is a human phenomenon. Strong culture companies care about all of their people and take pains to see they are all treated appropriately. Discrepancies in the way physical sites are arranged for different classes of employees is one sure sign of a weak or fragmented culture.

Read what the company says about its culture. The company's own statements about itself—annual reports, quarterly statements, press releases, comments to financial analysts—reveal more than one would expect. The rule seems to be: if you've got it, flaunt it. Companies with strong cultures recognize the importance of their values and their people and they continually report this to the world. When Wheelabrator-Frye goes to the trouble of producing a child's version of its annual report, people recognize that the company is a bastion of conservative free enterprise thought and has a culture that strongly reflects this religion. By contrast, companies with weak or fragmented cultures make much ado about the business and its performance—almost as though it operated without the help of human hands. What the company says about itself should be carefully checked for consistency. It is often possible to track company statements over time and watch how its culture evolves, a procedure called content analysis. It can be done by simply tabulating the number of times a particular phrase or belief is articulated in the annual report. The surprise is that even such a simplistic analysis will show a clear trend in the evolution of a company's beliefs about itself.

Yet published statements are only a clue to the culture, and not a very definitive one. All too often management says it believes in certain things, but a careful review of other clues suggests the belief is little more than lip service.

Test how the company greets strangers. Your first exposure to the company will be its reception area. Is it formal or informal? Relaxed or busy? Elegant or nondescript? Whatever the case, you must assume it reflects the values of the culture.

For example, around New England and the Midwest, the receptionist will, almost invariably, have other duties (such as casual typing) than simply greeting visitors. This reflects the ethic that at work you must be busy. By contrast, in New York City the emphasis is often more on the receptionist's style; appearance is all important. The receptionist's attitude tells you still more about how work gets done. In a very service-conscious company, you might have your coat taken and be offered coffee. In a more bureaucratic environment, you probably will have to endure an elaborate sign-up procedure. In a tough-guy company, you may be ignored while you cool your heels waiting. The message is, "You don't look like a star, so why should I pay attention to you."

While you wait, observe what is happening around you. Are procedures rigorously followed for everyone who passes through the lobby—employee or visitor? Tom Watson at IBM and Ed Land at Polaroid were occasionally stopped from entering company buildings because they did not have the right badge with them—though the receptionist knew perfectly well who they were. Companies with strong cultures take their rituals *very* seriously.

In testing the culture, we usually strike up a conversation with the receptionist. We ask what the company is like and whether it's a good place to work. True, no one tells us they hate the people around them. But the way these questions are answered are important, because they are *rehearsed answers.* If the receptionist dwells on the wonderful opportunities available in the company and explains that three relatives work there, you will get a vastly different impression than if you're told it's steady work and only five minutes from home.

Interview company people. In almost any company, an employee with even a few months tenure can respond adequately. We look for both consensual and conflicting perceptions. In taking our own diagnostic profile of a culture, here's what we ask:

- Tell me about the history of the company. What were its beginnings? People are generally eager to recount the past. Often their facts—if you bother to check—will be wrong. Instead they communicate the mythology of the company as they understand it (and as it was passed to them).
- Why is the company a success? What explains its growth? People tell us what they think is important in the company. They may not be substantively correct, but they are reflecting their impressions of what the culture values.
- What kind of people work here? Who really gets ahead in the long term? Since culture is fundamentally a human phenomenon, people are most eloquent in characterizing their fellow workers. What they invariably describe is their picture of a hero in the culture.

- What kind of a place is this to work in? What is an average day like? How do things get done? The answers will typically characterize the important rituals, meetings, or bureaucratic procedures. You can be sure these elements are taken seriously. If the response is hierarchical—"the boss is a good person to work for"—assume that this bet-your-company aspect of cultural life is important.

Observe how people spend their time. What people do is determined by what they value. Comparisons between what people say and do is a good measure of cultural cohesion.

Having gathered such clues, use them to determine the direction of the company. If, for example, a culture is focused inward—in other words, all the beliefs, heroes, and rituals relate to internal matters and political debates—then it is predictable that it will be slow to respond to events that occur outside it in the marketplace. This in turn will warrant a closer look at whether the company's growth is real or merely an appearance. It will help an observer distinguish which manufacturers within related industries will survive, and which won't. Knowing corporate culture, an investment analyst could gain important insight into a company's aims. Assume, for example, such an analyst is debating the strengths of a recently opened GE division. The analyst knows orders are being cancelled, that the business is foundering. Experience would tell the analyst to pass on this company. But knowledge of GE's culture would create an expectation that GE would carry out its commitment and work toward making the division strong. GE's culture is built upon sticking with a business and making it work—just as it almost never walks away from a customer.

DIAGNOSING CULTURE FROM THE INSIDE

A company insider can go much deeper in diagnosing culture, and with much greater precision. But there are a few pitfalls to achieving an accurate reading of one's own company's culture.

Objectivity is of the first importance. It is easy to analyze the shortcomings and strengths of a competitor company. But to understand your own company's culture you have to make one important distinction: Forget whether you believe that "X" is the right way to make business decisions. Concentrate on how you and your colleagues typically make the decision. To be an effective observer of your own culture you must avoid making value judgements about what is important and what is not. Just observe what is—not what you think should be—and remember that the patterns are subtle.

On the job, this distinction tends to get muddied. When we consider what is important, we point to the product, the budget, what we got done yesterday. But how did we deal with the last issue concerning the product, or the budget, or yesterday's chores?

Culture deals with people—what they think, what they feel, what they do with their time. Five minutes spent gossiping with a friend in accounting may have had a greater influence on a product decision than did fifteen minutes in a meeting on the subject.

With these admonitions in mind, what are some of the tools an insider might use to sharpen perspective on a company's culture?

Understand career path progression of employees. Who gets ahead? If all important positions are filled by ex-salespersons, then it is pretty clear what the culture believes in and values.

What does an employee have to do to get promoted? Does the culture reward competence in key skills, performance against objective criteria, tenure, and loyalty? The beliefs of the culture are primarily shaped by people's perceptions of what it takes to get ahead. If you've already made it and you know the reason was that you were a good team player, not a superstar performer, that is what you will look for in others and what others will emulate. John DeLorean was most critical of a GM practice he characterized as "promotion of the unobvious candidate" as a symbol of the deterioration in GM's culture through the 1960s and 1970s.

How long do people stay in jobs—particularly middle-management jobs? Tenure is critical in assessing culture. Short tenures mean people are motivated to make their mark quickly (and hence get promoted again) and will steer clear of longer-term, slower-payback activities. In such a culture a short-term focus will likely dominate.

Look at the content of what is being discussed or written about. People in management spend an enormous amount of time reading and writing memos, but what are the memos about? Take your in-box some week and simply tabulate what's in it by subject matter. You may surprise yourself.

Similarly everyone spends a lot of time in meetings. Forget the stated purpose of the meeting. Instead, keep track of what is actually discussed—and who talks, and to whom. Track how much time is spent on each subject. However surprising the result—and we guarantee you will be surprised—you'll discover that the culture spends its time on what it values most.

Pay particular attention to the anecdotes and stories that pass through the cultural network. When people want to share their experience, they relate it through anecdotes and stories. The same stories told by many different people are especially significant.

Ask yourself what was the point of any given story. Inventory the anecdotes to determine how many relate to customers, to political infighting in the company, to individual initiative taken and rewarded (or punished). You will then have indisputable evidence of what this culture thinks is important. Its accuracy outdoes almost any other barometer.

How do you interpret these findings? When do the signs, stories, meetings, settings, and so much more signal a weak culture? To find out, the diagnostic profile must be taken one step further.

Signs of a Culture in Trouble

Throughout this book we have written extensively about the characteristics of companies with strong cultures. We have not elaborated on the opposite—companies with weak cultures. Nor can we, because the truth of the matter is that companies with weak cultures simply lack some or all of the characteristics of their stronger counterparts, specifically:

- Weak cultures have no clear values or beliefs about how to succeed in their business; *or*
- They have many such beliefs but cannot agree among themselves on which are most important; *or*

- Different parts of the company have fundamentally different beliefs.
- The heroes of the culture are destructive or disruptive and don't build upon any common understanding about what is important.
- The rituals of day-to-day life are either disorganized—with everybody doing their own thing—or downright contradictory—with the left hand and the right hand working at cross purposes.

What are the symptoms of cultural malaise we worry about most?

Inward focus. Companies invariably get in trouble when they stop paying attention to what is going on in the real world, particularly when they start doing things to placate the boss or to look good or to score points off others around them. Such short-sighted actions can take the form of overemphasis on internal budgets, financial analysis, or sales quotas and no talk about customers, competitors, trends, or other real-world matters. If you find that a large portion of people's time is spent serving internal masters—politics, apple-polishing, etc.—beware. When a culture focuses inward, the company is in great danger in the marketplace. It is usually only a question of time before the company's economic performance suffers.

Short-term focus. The great American businesses are great because they have survived and prospered for decades, through good economic times and bad. Setting high performance standards is important for success in any business. But if all the time and attention in a company is devoted to meeting short-term targets, then sustainable business receives no support. Again, the cultural clue is what people spend their time on. How much time spent on short-term results is too much? You be the judge.

Morale problems. A culture gets in trouble when its people are chronically unhappy. Before long, unhappy people leave. Therefore one of the indicators to watch closely in companies is turnover. Some turnover is inevitable. But if turnover is high or trending upward, something is wrong in the culture. This can happen in a division or across a whole company. It can happen in a function or a location. When we recently spoke to someone in a seemingly successful company, we asked, "How's the job?" He replied, "Ah, it's a job." Morale problems stemming from cultural malaise are often first expressed as just such subtle signals. In later stages, weak culture employees become readily and loudly critical of the organization.

Often a useful technique for recognizing this problem is a confidential survey of employees. People can be very eloquent in characterizing the problem in the culture around them if you just take the time to ask.

Fragmentation/Inconsistency. Often these differences within a culture are visible: different standards of dress and speech, different physical settings, different work habits and rituals. The problem with fragmented cultures is that they do not mesh well when they need to. When people from the different cultures come together, each listens to different drummers, and confusion and frustration results from their inability to see eye to eye on matters that need to be discussed and resolved. The frustration in turn deadens motivation and affects performance. When a division expresses discontent about how "headquarters" works and/or tells jokes about what goes on there, it may be a strong sign that the cultures of the parts are not integrated into a coherent whole. It is not surprising to us, for example, that conglomerate performance has been spotty at best. There must be so much energy lost to misunderstanding and frustration in these diverse organizations that it is a wonder any work ever gets done.

Emotional outbursts. The final and most serious symptom of a culture in trouble is rampant emotionalism, to a degree outside the norm for the company. A company's culture is like a security blanket for its people. It tells them what to do and reassures them that if they do it they will be not just accepted by the people around them, but also rewarded. When the culture is weak or in trouble, people get frightened. And this fright shows up in emotional outbursts in the workplace, such as denouncement of a company policy at a meeting or visible displays of anger, and through evidence of dissolution in personal affairs—such as a wave of divorces or drinking problems. When these become apparent in a company, usually there is something seriously and urgently wrong with the culture.

To be watched even more carefully is the evolution of strong and sometimes destructive subcultures. A CEO's tools for understanding subcultures are, of course, the same as those all of us should use to look at the culture itself; the trick is in deciding when differences among parts of the company are healthy and not divisive.

In any company, there will be strong variations in the behavior of different parts of the company. For example, different divisions will have different cultures to some extent, depending on the different requirements for success in their basic businesses. In addition, different functions will have different subcultures: you don't pay finance people to be the risk-taking macho-types you may want in marketing. Then too, different age cohorts in the company will vary because of differing social and other influences on them in their formative years. Older employees will see the world differently than youngsters; similarly, older businesses probably set different standards that the newest divisions.

When do these natural cultural differences become problems for the larger company culture? There are several trouble signs to watch for:

When subcultures become ingrown. If there is no regular formal or informal commerce among subcultures, they can become ingrown and begin to work to the detriment of the company as a whole. Watch out for transfer programs and regular signs of open access to different subcultures.

When subculture clashes surface. A clear sign of subcultures becoming too strong is when they publicly try to undermine each other—meetings where finance tries to "show up" marketing; campaigns by a group of young turk engineers to overstep the authority of their older bosses. A healthy tension among subcultures is desirable, but when the tension becomes pronounced and destructive it can signal a problem.

When subcultures become exclusive. A sure sign of problems arising is when subcultures take on the perquisite of exclusive clubs—restrictions on membership, arbitrary exclusion of individuals, rituals for members only. Companies work best when all employees pull together, not when some place their own collective interests over others.

When subculture values preempt shared company values. In any company with a strong culture, any employee at any time can tell you what the company stands for or believes in. When subcultures start touting their beliefs as superior to overall corporate beliefs it is all too easy for the tail to wag the cultural dog.

Balancing the legitimate differences of subcultures with the legitimate and desirable elements of a company's culture as a whole is one of the trickiest parts of diagnosing and managing culture. At a minimum, managers must know what is happening in existing subcultures and be alert to new ones that may emerge.

Cultural diagnosis will give managers a fix on the state of the culture, particularly whether it is weak or strong, focused or fragmented. Given this fix, a manager can then sharpen the focus of his or her managerial efforts. Managing culture differs from managing other aspects of business such as presiding over strategy, pricing issues, and so on. To see where these differences lie, let's now turn to the role of the symbolic manager.

MANAGING THE NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION

Practices and Principles

Peter F. Drucker

Including interviews with Frances Hesselbein, Max De Pree,
Philip Kotler, Dudley Hafner, Albert Shanker,
Leo Bartel, David Hubbard, Robert Buford,
and Roxanne Spitzer-Lehmann

HarperCollins*Publishers*

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The Commitment

The non-profit organization exists to bring about a change in individuals and in society. The first thing to talk about is what missions work and what missions don't work, and how to define the mission. For the ultimate test is not the beauty of the mission statement. The ultimate test is right action.

The most common question asked me by non-profit executives is: What are the qualities of a leader? The question seems to assume that leadership is something you can learn in a charm school. But it also assumes that leadership by itself is enough, that it's an end. And that's misleadership. The leader who basically focuses on himself or herself is going to mislead. The three most charismatic leaders in this century inflicted more suffering on the human race than almost any trio in history: Hitler, Stalin, and Mao. What matters is not the leader's charisma. What matters is the leader's mission. Therefore, the first job of the leader is to think through and define the mission of the institution.

SETTING CONCRETE ACTION GOALS

Here is a simple and mundane example—the mission statement of a hospital emergency room: "It's our mission to give assurance to the afflicted." That's simple and clear and direct. Or take the mission of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.: to help girls grow into proud, self-confident, and self-respecting young women. There is an Episcopal church on the East Coast which defines its mission

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

as making Jesus the head of this church and its chief executive officer. Or the mission of the Salvation Army, which is to make citizens out of the rejected. Arnold of Rugby, the greatest English educator of the nineteenth century, who created the English public school, defined its mission as making gentlemen out of savages.

My favorite mission definition, however, is not that of a non-profit institution, but of a business. It's a definition that changed Sears from a near-bankrupt, struggling mail-order house at the beginning of the century into the world's leading retailer within less than ten years: It's our mission to be the informed and responsible buyer—first for the American farmer, and later for the American family altogether.

Almost every hospital I know says, "Our mission is health care." And that's the wrong definition. The hospital does not take care of health; the hospital takes care of illness. You and I take care of health by not smoking, not drinking too much, going to bed early, watching our weight, and so on. The hospital comes in when health care breaks down. An even more serious failing of this mission is that nobody can tell you what action or behavior follows from saying: "Our mission is health care."

A mission statement has to be operational, otherwise it's just good intentions. A mission statement has to focus on what the institution really tries to do and then do it so that everybody in the organization can say, This is *my* contribution to the goal.

Many years ago, I sat down with the administrators of a major hospital to think through the mission statement of the emergency room. It took us a long time to come up with the very simple, and (most people thought) too obvious statement that the emergency room was there to give assurance to the afflicted. To do that well, you have to know what really goes on. And, much to the surprise of the physicians and nurses, it turned out that in a good emergency room, the function is to tell eight out of ten people there is nothing wrong that a good night's sleep won't take care of. You've been shaken up. Or the baby has the flu. All right, it's got convulsions, but there is nothing seriously wrong with the child. The doctors and nurses give assurance.

We worked it out, but it sounded awfully obvious. Yet translating that mission statement into action meant that everybody who comes in is now seen by a qualified person in less than a minute. That is the mission; that is the goal. The rest is implementation. Some people are immediately rushed to intensive care, others get a lot of tests, and yet others are told: "Go back home, go to sleep, take an aspirin, and don't worry. If these things persist, see a physician tomorrow." But the first objective is to see everybody, almost immediately—because that is the only way to give assurance.

The task of the non-profit manager is to try to convert the organization's mission statement into specifics. The mission may be forever—or at least as long as we can foresee. As long as the human race is around, we'll be miserable sinners. As long as the human race is around, there will be sick people. And, as long as the human race is around, there will be alcoholics and drug addicts and the unfortunate. For hundreds of years we've had schools of one kind or another trying to get a little knowledge into seven-year-old boys and girls who would rather be out playing.

But the goal can be short-lived, or it might change drastically because a mission is accomplished. A hundred years ago, one of the great inventions of the late nineteenth century was the tuberculosis sanatorium. That mission has been accomplished, at least in developed countries. We know how to treat TB with antibiotics. And so managers of non-profits also have to build in review, revision, and organized abandonment. The mission is forever and may be divinely ordained; the goals are temporary.

One of our most common mistakes is to make the mission statement into a kind of hero sandwich of good intentions. It has to be simple and clear. As you add new tasks, you deemphasize and get rid of old ones. You can only do so many things. Look at what we are trying to do in our colleges. The mission statement is confused—we are trying to do fifty different things. It won't work, and that's why the fundamentalist colleges attract so many young people. Their mission is very narrow. You and I may quarrel with it and say it's too narrow, but it's clear. It enables the students to understand. And it also enables the faculty to know. And it enables that administration to say, We aren't going to teach accounting.

As you add on, you have to abandon. But you also have to think through which are the few things we can accomplish that will do the most for us, and which are the things that contribute either marginally or are no longer of great significance. A hundred years ago, about the greatest contribution the hospital could make was in obstetrics, though it took a long time before the population accepted that, because childbirth at home in the growing city was perceived to be, well, dangerous, what with infection and untrained people. Well, now I would say that not every hospital should do obstetrics, and a great many don't. Partly because it's become so much safer, so much more predictable. But also because if anything does go wrong, it's so much more critical, so you need a concentration of resources. In a suburban community there just might not be enough volume to do a really good job. So perhaps you don't abandon obstetrics, but you phase it out slowly. On the other hand, fifty or sixty years ago, before the psychotropic drugs, no hospital could do much for mental diseases. Today, almost a majority of people who are mentally sick or endangered can be taken care of in the community hospital, with short-term stays for depression and so on. You can make a major contribution there.

So you constantly look at the state-of-the-art. You look at the opportunities in the community. The hospital isn't going to sell shoes and it's not going into education on a big scale. It's going to take care of the sick. But the specific objective may change. Things that were of primary importance may become secondary or even totally irrelevant. You must watch this constantly, or else very soon you will become a museum piece.

THE THREE "MUSTS" OF A SUCCESSFUL MISSION

Look at strength and performance. Do better what you already do well—if it's the right thing to do. The belief that every institution can do everything is just not true. When you violate the values of an institution, you are likely to do a poor job. In the 1960s, all of us in academia rushed into the urban problem. We were totally incompetent: our values don't fit what are political issues; academicians don't understand power. At the same time, hospitals rushed into what they called health education. Here are the people who come in, such as the diabetic, and before they go home maybe we can teach them how to handle their diet and their stress and so on so that they don't come back. It hasn't worked. That's not what hospitals are good at. Hospitals are *not* good at prevention; hospitals are good at taking care of damage that's already been done.

Look outside at the opportunities, the needs. Where can we, with the limited resources we have—and I don't just mean people and money, but also competence—really make a difference, really set a new standard? One sets the standard by doing something and doing it well. You create a new dimension of performance.

The next thing to look at is what we really believe in. A mission is not, in that sense, impersonal. I have never seen anything being done well unless people were committed.

All of us know the story of the Edsel automobile. Everybody thinks the Edsel failed because Ford didn't do its homework. In fact, it was the best-engineered, the best-researched, the best-everything car. There was only one thing wrong with it: nobody in the Ford Motor Company believed in it. It was contrived. It was designed on the basis of research and not on the basis of commitment. And so when it got into a little trouble, nobody supported the child. I'm not saying it could have been a success. But without that personal commitment, it certainly never could be.

And so one asks first, what are the opportunities, the needs? Then, do they fit us? Are we likely to do a decent job? Are we competent? Do they match our strengths? Do we really believe in this? This is not just true of products, it's true of services.

So, you need three things: opportunities; competence; and commitment. Every mission statement, believe me, has to reflect all three or it will fall down on what is its ultimate goal, its ultimate ✓ purpose and final test. It will not mobilize the human resources of the organization for getting the right things done.

2

Leadership Is a Foul-Weather Job

The most successful leader of this century was Winston Churchill. But for twelve years, from 1928 until Dunkirk in 1940, he was totally on the sidelines, almost discredited—because there was no need for a Churchill. Things were routine or, at any rate, looked routine. When the catastrophe came, thank goodness, he was available. Fortunately or unfortunately, the one predictable thing in any organization is the crisis. That always comes. That's when you *do* depend on the leader.

The most important task of an organization's leader is to anticipate crisis. Perhaps not to avert it, but to anticipate it. To wait until the crisis hits is already abdication. One has to make the organization capable of anticipating the storm, weathering it, and in fact, being ahead of it. That is called innovation, constant renewal. You cannot prevent a major catastrophe, but you can build an organization that is battle-ready, that has high morale, and also has been through a crisis, knows how to behave, trusts itself, and where people trust one another. In military training, the first rule is to instill soldiers with trust in their officers, because without trust they won't fight.

THE PROBLEMS OF SUCCESS

Problems of success have ruined more organizations than has failure, partly because if things go wrong, everybody knows they have to go to work. Success creates its own euphoria. You outrun your resources. And you retire on the job, which may be the most difficult thing to fight. I'm now in California instead of New York University, where I was for twenty years, in part because the Graduate Business School at NYU decided to cut back rather than grow with the growing student demand. That's why I left. When I started to build a management school at Claremont, I made sure that we did not overextend ourselves. I was very careful to ensure that we kept the faculty first rate but small, and that we used adjuncts, part-time people, then built a strong administration. And then we could run with success. If the market grows, you have to grow with it, or you become marginal.

I am arguing these days with our pastor, who wants to keep our church small. This is in a community where we have a lot of young people, students, and a lot of people in retirement homes who want to come to church. My very nice and able pastor likes to keep it small so that he knows everybody. I said to him, "Look, Father Michael, it won't work." Five years after he had come in, the church began to shrink. The lesson for the leaders of non-profits is that one has to grow with success. But one also has to make sure that one doesn't become unable to adjust. Sooner or later, growth slows down and the institution plateaus. Then it has to be able to maintain its momentum, its flexibility, its vitality, and its vision. Otherwise, it becomes frozen.

HARD CHOICES

Non-profit organizations have no "bottom line." They are prone to consider everything they do to be righteous and moral and to serve a cause, so they are not willing to say, if it doesn't produce results then maybe we should direct our resources elsewhere. Non-profit organizations need the discipline of organized abandonment perhaps even more than a business does. They need to face up to critical choices.

Some of these choices are very difficult. I have a friend, a Catholic priest, who is Vicar General of a large diocese. The bishop called him in to deal with the shortage of priests. Which services should they keep and which should they abandon? There is the terrible dilemma of Catholic schools in a big metropolitan archdiocese where 97 percent of the kids are not Catholics and aren't going to be Catholics; they're fleeing the misery of the public schools. I've been arguing with the diocese for years. Some of the priests say, "Our first task is to save souls; it's not to educate people. Let's put our few priests and nuns on our first priority." And I say, "Look, it says in the Bible, 'But the greatest of these is Charity,' and that's what you are doing. You cannot possibly leave those kids in the lurch. That's a value choice, and it's critical that it's faced up to and not pushed under the rug, as we like to do."

Once you acknowledge that, you can then innovate—provided you organize yourself to look for innovation. Non-profit institutions need innovation as much as businesses or governments. And we know how to do it.

The starting point is to recognize that change is not a threat. It's an opportunity. We know where to look for changes.[1] Here are a few examples:

Unexpected Success in Your Own Organization

Some institutions of higher education, for instance, have learned that continuing education of already highly educated adults is not a luxury, or something to bring in additional money, or good public relations. It is becoming the central thrust of our knowledge society. So, they have organized themselves and their faculties to attract the doctors, engineers, and executives who want and need to go back to school.

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[1] See my *Innovation and Entrepreneurship* (Harper & Row, 1985).

Population Changes

About twelve years ago, the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. realized that demographic shifts in the United States, with the fast growth of minorities, were creating a new frontier for the organization—new needs and the opportunity to change. They now have a 15 percent enrollment of minority kids, which explains why they kept growing even though the total number of girls of scouting age fell quite steadily during that period.

Changes in Mind-Set and Mentality

Very few factors have so altered our view of society as the women's movement of the last twenty years. What opportunities does it create? As you will see a little later on in the interview with Father Leo Bartel in Part Four, it created the opportunity in one diocese to expand dramatically despite a sharp drop in the number of priests and sisters. Another example: about fifteen years ago, one of our largest volunteer organizations, the American Heart Association, realized that, even though its original big job—research—was not yet accomplished, a new opportunity had opened to take advantage of the tremendous growth in health awareness by the American public. It decided to redirect its national forces.

The lesson is, Don't wait. Organize yourself for systematic innovation. Build the search for opportunities, inside and outside, into your organization. Look for changes as indications of an opportunity for innovation. To build all this into your system, you, as the leader of the organization, have to set the example. How can we set up systems to release energy that will allow the proper innovative decisions to be made and implemented and, at the same time, encourage the operation to go on at the necessary level while it is being changed? Let me try to outline a simple series of steps.

First, organize yourself to see the opportunity. If you don't look out the window, you won't see it. What makes this particularly important is that most of our current reporting systems don't reveal opportunities; they report problems. They report the past. Most answer questions we have already asked. So, we have to go beyond our reporting systems. And whenever you need a change, ask: If this were an opportunity for us, what would it be?

Then, to implement the innovation effectively, there are a few points you must be aware of. First, the most common mistake—the one that kills more innovations than anything else—is the attempt to build too much reinsurance into the change, to cover your flank, not to alienate yesterday. The Japanese made that mistake in the one area where their export drive failed significantly: telephones. They had the technology but tried to hedge their bets by selling switchboards that were both electromechanical (and therefore could be plugged into existing old systems) *and* electronic. The electronic switchboards force customers to tear out their old equipment, even though it may be perfectly good. But those who did go either into expansion or improvement of their existing system decided to pull out the old and go straight to the state-of-the-art.

The same sort of mistakes can be found in the pharmaceutical industry and in educational programs. Twenty years ago, a good many hospitals, seeing the trend toward taking care of patients outside the hospital, built outpatient clinics into the hospital. That didn't work. The free-standing surgical clinic, however, *did* work because it was not in the hospital.

Next, you have the problem of organizing the new. It must be organized separately. Babies don't belong in the living room, they belong in the nursery. If you put new ideas into operating units—whether it's a theological seminary or an automobile plant—the solving of the daily crisis will always take precedence over introducing tomorrow. So, when you try to develop the new within an existing operation, you are always postponing tomorrow. It must be set up separately. And yet you have to make sure the existing operations don't lose the excitement of the new entirely. Otherwise, they become not only hostile but paralyzed.

THE INNOVATIVE STRATEGY

Next, you need an innovative strategy: a way to bring the new to the marketplace. Successful innovation finds a target of opportunity. Somebody who is receptive, who welcomes the new, who wants to succeed and, at the same time, has enough stature, enough clout in the organization so that, if it works for him or her, the rest of the organization will say, Well, there must be something to it.

I am always being asked, "If you were running a metropolitan museum, or a major public library, or a relief or service agency in a community, would you have part of your organization set up some kind of small task force committed to R&D or to marketing? Some group working within the organization that would be weighing the possibilities of innovation for the organization?"

Well, the answer is yes and the answer is no. Yes, because you need a few people who do the work, who have the time to do it. It's hard work. No, because if you isolate the planning, you're going to end up overlooking perhaps the small but crucial things. Let me give you a very simple example. The executives of a big museum decided to move from the old-time museum, which kept the art works in and the people out, to the modern kind of museum, which is basically an educational community. They set up a separate planning group, which did a magnificent job planning exhibitions and publicity and so on. But being isolated from operations, the planners overlooked a few "housekeeping" details. They forgot, for instance, that you need a much bigger parking lot. Also, if you suddenly have three hundred fourth graders in, you need toilets. When they opened, you cannot imagine the pandemonium. And that's typical.

If you first plan and then try to sell, you're going to miss the important things. But you also waste years of time. Selling has to be built into planning, and that means involving the operating people. But don't forget one thing: everything new requires hard work on the part of true believers—and true believers are *not* available part time.

The Churchills may be very rare. But another group is, fortunately, quite common. These are the people who can look at a situation and say: This is not what I was hired to do or what I expected to do, but this is what the job requires—and then roll up their sleeves and go to work. I know a college president who was conned into taking his job with the usual promises by the board that it would raise the money. He came out of tax-supported state universities. He arrived with a wonderful program of faculty recruitment and educational reform, took one good look, and came to me, very unhappy. Somebody has to raise money, he said, otherwise that institution won't be there in five or ten years. And I said, You know, there is only one person who can raise money in a college—the president. And he said, I'm afraid you're right. He found an exceedingly able man on his faculty who for five years ran the school, while the president concentrated on raising money, in which he proved himself incredibly able. He saved that institution.

Let me give you another example of a rural electric cooperative, one of the large ones, founded during the 1930s when the American farmer couldn't get any power. Well, by now everybody has power, so the question is: What do we do now? There was strong sentiment on the board and in the membership for selling out to the nearest large power company. A new chief executive came in, took a look, and said: "Yes, as an electric cooperative we have fulfilled our mission, but as a community development organization, it has only begun. Here is a tremendous farm crisis [this was in the early eighties]. All kinds of basic social services need to be supplied to our farm members, and they can only be supplied by somebody with a distribution system."

He made all the difference. Farm prices are still low and depressed, but this six-county system is one of the few farm areas we have that is, I wouldn't say prosperous, but doing well because of the action this man took seeing the opportunity. And it's not that uncommon. *This* is effective crisis leadership.

HOW TO PICK A LEADER

If I were on a selection committee to choose a leader for a non-profit organization and there were a roster of men and women as candidates, what would I look for? First, I would look at what the individuals have done, what their strengths are. Most selection committees I know are overly concerned with how *poor* the candidate is. Most of the questions I get are not: What is he or she good at, but we think this person is not too good at dealing with students, or what have you. The first thing to look for is strength—you can only perform with strength—and what they have done with it.

Second, I would look at the institution and ask: What is the one immediate key challenge? It may be raising money. It may be rebuilding the morale of the organization. It may be redefining its mission. It may be bringing in new technology. If I looked today for an administrator of a large hospital, I might look for the ability to convert the hospital from a provider of sickness care to a manager of sickness-care providers, because more and more will be done outside the hospital. I would try to match the strengths with the needs.

Then I would look for—call it character or integrity. A leader sets an example, especially a strong leader. He or she is somebody on whom people, especially younger people, in the organization model themselves. Many years ago I learned from a very wise old man, who was head of a large, worldwide organization. I was about twenty, not even that—and he was in his late seventies,

famous for putting the right people into the right enterprises all over the globe. I asked him: "What do you look for?" And he said: "I always ask myself, would I want one of my sons to work under that person? If he is successful, then young people will imitate him. Would I want my son to look like this?" This, I think, is the ultimate question.

I've seen lots of businesses and all of us have seen lots of governments survive with mediocre leaders for quite a long time. In the non-profit agency, mediocrity in leadership shows up almost immediately. One difference clearly is that the non-profit has a number of bottom lines—not just one. In business, you can debate whether profit is really an adequate measuring stick; it may not be over the short term, but it is the ultimate one over the long term. In government, in the last analysis, you've got to get reelected. But in non-profit management, there is no such one determinant. You deal with balance, synthesis, a combination of bottom lines for performance.

Certainly, the non-profit executive does not have the luxury of dealing with one dominant constituency, either. In a publicly listed company, the shareholder is the ultimate constituent. In government, it is the voter. When you look at the school board, a public service agency, or a church, however, you have a multiplicity of constituencies—each of which can say no and none of which can say yes. The multiplicity of constituencies is reflected in your boards, your trustees, who are likely to be intensely involved in running the agency. You could say public schools are governmental, but the school board is not governmental. It has the constituency role. That's what causes all the difficulty for school superintendents. They are really public service agencies rather than government agencies.

You can't be satisfied in non-profit organizations with doing adequately as a leader. You have to do exceptionally well, because your agency is committed to a cause. You want people as leaders who take a great view of the agency's functions, people who take their roles seriously—not *themselves* seriously. Anybody in that leadership position who thinks he's a great man or a great woman will kill himself—and the agency.

YOUR PERSONAL LEADERSHIP ROLE

The new leader of a non-profit doesn't have much time to establish himself or herself. Maybe a year. To be effective in that short a time, the role the leader takes has to fit in terms of the mission of the institution and its values. All of us play roles—as parents, as teachers, and as leaders. To work, the role has to fit in three dimensions. First, the role has to fit you—who you are. No comic actor has ever been able to play Hamlet. The role you take also has to fit the task. And, finally, the role has to fit expectations.

One of the more brilliant young men I ever hired as a teacher completely failed in the college classroom. In teaching freshmen, he abdicated his authority, and the kids revolted. He didn't understand that nineteen-year-old freshmen in an undergraduate college expect a teacher to have authority.

You have two things to build on: the quality of the people in the organization, and the new demands you make on them. What those new demands will be can be determined by analysis, or by perception, or by a combination of both. That depends on how you operate. I am a perceptual person. I look. But I've also seen very able and effective people who are totally paper-oriented. They take a sharp pencil and come out right.

There are simply no such things as "leadership traits" or "leadership characteristics." Of course, some people are better leaders than others. By and large, though, we are talking about skills that perhaps cannot be taught but they can be learned by most of us. True, some people genuinely cannot learn the skills. They may not be important to them; or they'd rather be followers. But most of us can learn them.

The leaders who work most effectively, it seems to me, never say "I." And that's not because they have trained themselves not to say "I." They don't *think* "I." They think "we"; they think "team." They understand their job to be to make the team function. They accept the responsibility and don't sidestep it, but "we" gets the credit. There is an identification (very often, quite unconscious) with the task and with the group. This is what creates trust, what enables you to get the task done.

In Shakespeare's *Henry V,* the young prince whose father just died—he's now king—rides out. Falstaff, the old disreputable knight who has been the prince's boon companion in drinking and wenching, calls up to his "Sweet Prince Hal," and the new king rides by without even a look at him. Falstaff is cruelly hurt. He raised the prince because the old king was a very poor father and a cold one, and the young man found warmth only with that disreputable drunkard. Yet Henry is now king and has to set different standards for himself because he is visible. As a leader, you are visible; incredibly visible. And you have expectations to fulfill.

Then there is the story of the one leading German statesman before World War I who saw the catastrophe Europe was sliding into and tried desperately to reverse the trend. He was the ambassador to London in the early days of the century—a leading dove. But he resigned his ambassadorship because the new English king, Edward VII, was a notorious womanizer who liked the diplomatic corps to give him stag parties at which the most popular London courtesans would pop naked out of cakes. The ambassador said he was not willing to be a pimp when he saw himself in a mirror shaving in the morning. I don't think he could have averted World War I. Still, politically, he may have made the wrong decision. And yet, I think, it was the essence of leadership. You are visible; you'd better realize that you are constantly on trial. The rule is: I don't want to see a pimp in the mirror when I shave in the morning. If you do see one, then your people will see one, too.

"To every leader there is a season." There is profundity in that statement, but it's not quite that simple. Winston Churchill in ordinary, peaceful, normal times would not have been very effective. He needed the challenge. Probably the same is true of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was basically a lazy man. I don't think that FDR would have been a good president in the 1920s. His adrenalin wouldn't have produced. On the other hand, there are people who are very good when things are pretty routine, but who can't take the stress of an emergency. Most organizations need somebody who can lead regardless of the weather. What matters is that he or she works on the basic competences.

As the first such basic competence, I would put the willingness, ability, and self-discipline to listen. Listening is not a skill; it's a discipline. Anybody can do it. All you have to do is keep your mouth shut. The second essential competence is the willingness to communicate, to make yourself understood. That requires infinite patience. We never outgrow age three in that respect. You have to tell us again and again and again. And demonstrate what you mean. The next important competence is not to alibi yourself. Say: "This doesn't work as well as it should. Let's take it back and re-engineer it." We either do things to perfection, or we don't do them. We don't do things to get by. Working that way creates pride in the organization.

The last basic competence is the willingness to realize how unimportant you are compared to the task. Leaders need objectivity, a certain detachment. They subordinate themselves to the task, but don't identify themselves with the task. The task remains both bigger than they are, and different. The worst thing you can say about a leader is that on the day he or she left, the organization collapsed. When that happens, it means the so-called leader had sucked the place dry. He or she hasn't built. They may have been effective operators, but they have not created vision. Louis XIV was supposed to have said, *"L'état, c'est moi!"* (The state, that's me!). He died in the early eighteenth century and the long, not-so-slow slide into the French Revolution immediately began.

When effective non-profit leaders have the capacity to maintain their personality and individuality, even though they are totally dedicated, the task will go on after them. They also have a human existence outside the task. Otherwise they do things for personal aggrandizement, in the belief that this furthers the cause. They become self-centered and vain. And above all, they become jealous. One of the great strengths of Churchill and one of the great weaknesses of FDR was that Churchill, to the very end, when he was in his nineties, pushed and furthered young politicians. That is a hallmark of the truly effective leader, who doesn't feel threatened by strength. In his last years, FDR systematically cut down everybody who showed any signs of independence.

I would not want any person to give his or her life to an organization. One gives one's very best efforts. What attracts people to an organization are high standards, because high standards create self-respect and pride. Most of us want to contribute. When you look at schools where kids learn and schools where kids don't, it's not the quality of the teaching that's different. The school in which kids learn expects them to learn. Many years ago, I did a survey of Boy Scout Councils with tremendous differences in performance. In the performing ones, they expected the volunteers, the scoutmasters, and so on, to put in very hard work. And I mean hard work, not just appearing Friday night for a couple of hours. The ones with high demands attracted the volunteers and attracted and kept the boys. So it is the job of the leaders to set high standards on one condition—that they be performance-focused.

Most leaders I've seen were neither born nor made. They were self-made. We need far too many leaders to depend only on the naturals. The best example of one who surely was not born a leader, had no training, and made himself into a very effective one, was Harry Truman. When Truman became president, he was totally unprepared. An ordinary politician, he was chosen as vice president because he presented no threat to FDR. Truman not only said, "I am president now and the buck stops here," but he also asked, "What are the key tasks?" His entire preparation had been in domestic affairs. He forced himself to accept the fact that the key tasks for his administration were outside the United States and not the New Deal (much to the disappointment of the New Deal liberals, beginning with Mrs. Roosevelt). He forced himself to take a cram course in foreign affairs and to focus—painfully—on what he considered to be key tasks.

In a way, the hospital as we know it today is the creation of a totally obscure and forgotten Catholic hospital administrator of the 1930s and 1940s (who taught me all I know), Sister Justina in Evanston, Indiana. She was the first person to think through what patient care is. For her contributions she got very few thanks in her life, especially not from the physicians, but she was a born leader. She was retiring, shy, understated, very conscious of the fact that her formal education had stopped in first grade in an Irish country school. But there was a job to be done. And that, again and again, is what really makes the leaders. They are self-made.

Douglas MacArthur was a brilliant man and probably the last great strategist, but that wasn't his great strength. He built a team second to none because he put the task first. He was also unbelievably vain, with a tremendous contempt for humanity, because he was certain that no one came close to him in intelligence. Nevertheless, he forced himself in every single staff conference to start the presentation with the most junior officer. He did not allow anybody to interrupt. This contributed incredibly to his ability to build an organization that was willing to fight against the vastly superior enemy and win. It is very clear from his letters that this didn't come easily to him, never. He always had to force himself. It wasn't his nature, but it *was* the key task, and so it had to be done.

Tom Watson, Sr., the creator of IBM, began as a self-centered, imperious man—vain, with a very short fuse. He forced himself to build a team, a winning team. He once let somebody go who I thought was very able and I asked why. Watson told me: "He is not willing to educate me. I am not a technical man, I am a salesman. But this is a technical company, and if they don't educate me in technology, I can't give them the leadership they need." It's that willingness to make yourself competent in the task that's needed that creates leaders.

When Ted Houser took over in the early 1950s, Sears, Roebuck had had twenty-five years of unbroken success. Houser had been a buying strategist and a statistician, purely a figures man. He looked at the company and asked: What does it need so that it can be successful *another* twenty-five years? He concluded that it needed managers. So he forced himself into taking the leadership of Sears' manager development in a very effective and yet very quiet way. Everybody down to the manager of the smallest store knew that the chairman in Chicago was watching him, and would know whether he was developing people. Sears hasn't had a new idea since 1950, yet it remained very successful for twenty-five or thirty years, almost up to 1980, because it had the people. That's what Ted Houser built.

THE BALANCE DECISION

One of the key tasks of the leader is to balance up the long range and the short range, the big picture and the pesky little details. You are always paddling a canoe with two outriggers—balancing—while managing a non-profit. One is the balance between seeing only the big picture and forgetting the individual person who sits there—one lonely young man in need of help. I've heard of hospitals that talk health-care statistics and forget the mother with a crying baby in the emergency room. That kind of failing is fairly easy to correct. Being on the firing line a few days, a few weeks, a year, usually does it. The opposite danger is becoming the prisoner of operations. That's much harder to avoid. The effective people do it very largely through their work in associations and other organizations. The successful chief executive of one of our major community service organizations, one of the very large Scout Councils, sits on three boards of which only one is a community service organization—quite intentionally. And she also sits on an advisory committee of the city government. That way she is forced to see the same issues she faces in her own organization through the other end of the telescope. That works.

I've also seen it done on a smaller, much smaller, scale. A dean I worked with for many years, whom I considered singularly successful, went on the American Council of Deans. I said to him, "Paul, you are so busy, why do you do it?" And he said, "I'm too close to the details. Once a month, I need to see what the overall issues really are." That, too, is a fairly effective way.

Let me say there are always balancing problems in managing non-profits. This is only one example. Another, which I think is even harder to handle, is the balance between concentrating resources on one goal and enough diversification. If you concentrate, you will get maximum results. But it's also very risky. Not only may you have chosen the wrong concentration, but—in military terms—you leave your flanks totally uncovered. And there's not enough playfulness; it doesn't stir the imagination. You need that, so that there will be diversity, especially as any single task eventually becomes obsolete. But diversity can easily degenerate into splintering.

The even more critical balance, and the toughest to handle, is between being too cautious and being rash. Finally, there is timing—and this is always of the essence. You know the people who always expect results too soon and pull up the radishes to see whether they've set root, and the ones who never pull up the radishes because they're sure they're never ripe enough. Those are, in philosophical terms, Aristotelian Prudences, so to speak. How to find the right Mean.

It's actually fairly easy to deal with people who want results too soon. I'm one of them. And I've taught myself that if I expect something to happen in three months, I say, make it five. But I've also seen people who say three years when they should say three months. That's very hard to counteract. As in all Aristotelian means, the first law is "Know thyself." Know what is your degenerative tendency.

I've seen more institutions damaged by too much caution than by rashness, though I've seen both. Maybe I'm conscious of it because I was over-cautious when I ran institutions, or was part of the running. I did not take risks, especially financial risks, I should have taken. On the other hand, I've seen one of the country's universities almost ruined—Pittsburgh, in the 1950s—by a brilliant man who came in and tried to convert what was a fair metropolitan university into a world-class research institution in three years. He thought money would do it. Instead, he almost killed the university, and it has never quite recovered. I've seen the same thing in a museum and the same thing in a symphony orchestra. So, one has to have balance, and again the only advice I can give is to make sure you know your degenerative tendency and try to counteract it.

Then there is the balance decision between opportunity and risk. One asks first: is the decision reversible? If it is, one usually can take even considerable risks. In the non-profit institution, you constantly must gauge whether the financial dimension of a risk is too great. That's all I can say. One looks at the decision: Is it reversible? And what kind of risk is it? Then one asks: Is it a risk we can afford? All right, if it goes wrong, it hurts a little. Or is it a risk that, if things go wrong, will kill us? Or the trickiest of them all, the risk we can't afford not to take. I've been in a similar situation recently. I sit on a museum board—and a big collection was offered to us, way beyond our means. I said, Damn the torpedoes, let's buy it. It's the last chance we have. It'll make us a world-class museum. We'll get the money somehow. The balance decisions are what we need non-profit leaders for, whether they are paid or volunteer.

THE DON'T'S OF LEADERSHIP

Finally, there are a few major don't's for leaders. Far too many leaders believe that what they do and why they do it must be obvious to everyone in the organization. It never is. Far too many believe that when they announce things, everyone understands. No one does, as a rule. Yet very often one can't bring in people before the decision; there just isn't enough time for discussion or participation. Effective leaders have to spend a little time on making themselves understood. They sit down with their people and say: This is what we were faced with. These are the alternatives we saw, the alternatives we considered. They ask: What is your opinion? Otherwise the organization will say: Don't these dummies at the top know anything? What's going on here? Why haven't they considered this or that? But if you can say, Yes, we considered it, but still reached this decision, people will understand and will go along. They may say we wouldn't have decided that way, but at least upstairs, they just didn't shoot from the hip.

And the second don't. Don't be afraid of strengths in your organization. This is the besetting sin of people who run organizations. Of course, able people are ambitious. But you run far less risk of having able people around who want to push you out than you risk by being served by mediocrity. And finally, don't pick your successor alone. We tend to pick people who remind us of ourselves when we were twenty years younger. First, this is pure delusion. Second, you end up with carbon copies, and carbon copies are weak. The old rule both in military organizations and in the Catholic Church is that leaders don't pick their own successors. They're consulted, but they don't make the decision. I've seen many cases in business—but even more in non-profit institutions—where able people picked a good number two to succeed them. Somebody who is very able—provided you tell him or her what to do. It doesn't work. Partly out of emotional commitment, partly out of habit, the perfect number two is put into the top spot, and the whole organization suffers. The last time I saw this was in one of the world's largest community chests. Fortunately the number two who was picked by his predecessor because he was so much like her realized after a year that he didn't belong in the top job and was utterly miserable in it—and he left before either he or the organization had been badly damaged. But that is a rare exception. The last don't's are: Don't hog the credit, and Don't knock your subordinates. One of the very ablest men I've seen do this headed one of the most challenging new tasks in a non-profit organization I know. His alumni now work for everybody else but for his organization because the moment they went to work for him, he saw nothing but their weaknesses. He didn't promote any of his

people and never sang their praises. A leader has responsibility to his subordinates, to his associates.

Those are the don't's.

The most important do, I have said again and again already: Keep your eye on the task, not on yourself. The task matters, and you are a servant.

3

Defining the Market

Interview with Philip Kotler[*]

PETER DRUCKER: Philip, when you published your book *Non-profit Marketing* in 1971—it's now called *Strategic Marketing for Non-Profit Institutions* and is in its fourth edition—there was no awareness at all, am I right, on the part of non-profit institutions that they have to market and little receptivity for the idea?

PHILIP KOTLER: That's true. They were interested in doing a better job of accounting and finance, and your ideas in management were beginning to be used by them. But they had not talked about marketing. In fact, my observation is that some of them *were* doing it but without any awareness of how to do it well. I felt very strongly that marketing, like the other business functions, was generic and universal, and applied to all institutions, and that it ought to be brought into the non-profit world more consciously.

PETER DRUCKER: Since then, a good many non-profit institutions have accepted the need in theory. By and large are they translating it into practice?

PHILIP KOTLER: Different institutions took to marketing at different rates. Hospitals certainly recognized the importance of the marketing functions, but colleges are somewhat behind. Museums and the performing arts have taken to marketing. Many institutions misunderstand it. They confuse marketing with either hard selling or advertising, and therefore, don't show an aptitude for it.

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PETER DRUCKER: Well, then, how would you define marketing, especially in the non-profit institution? Most of my friends in non-profit, I think, would be somewhat nonplussed by what you just said, that they confuse it with hard selling or advertising. Most of them think that's precisely what marketing is.

PHILIP KOTLER: The most important tasks in marketing have to do with studying the market, segmenting it, targeting the groups you want to service, positioning yourself in the market, and creating a service that meets needs out there. Advertising and selling are afterthoughts. I don't want to minimize their importance. But you put it so well years ago when you shocked a number of people by saying that the aim of marketing is to make selling unnecessary.

What could marketing be if it isn't selling? The shortest definition I've heard is that it is finding needs and filling them. I would add that it produces positive value for both parties. The contrast between marketing and selling is whether you start with customers, or consumers, or groups you want to serve well—that's marketing. If you start with a set of products you have, and want to push them out into any market you can find, that's selling.

PETER DRUCKER: A good many of my non-profit friends would agree with what you just said wholeheartedly. Then they would say, But isn't the need we serve obvious? There are people who are poor and somebody has to fill their stomachs. There are people out there who live in sin and somebody has to bring the Spirit to them. They consider themselves need-driven and they don't quite understand why you have to do anything else. Is that a very one-sided view?

PHILIP KOTLER: Many organizations are very clear about the needs they would like to serve, but they often don't understand these needs from the perspective of the customers. They make assumptions based on their own interpretation of the needs out there. Let's take a hospital. The question often arises, Is it a sickness institution or a wellness institution? Most hospitals say that they are there to take care of people who are sick and to make them well. You could also argue that their real mission would be more meaningful if they set up to prevent illness. There are a lot of subtleties about needs that require interpretation and what I call customer research, consumer research. Basically, the issue is, are these organizations consumer-minded?

PETER DRUCKER: Can you give me an example of a non-profit institution that understands marketing and practices it? What do they do?

PHILIP KOTLER: Stanford University and the way it raises money from its alumni and others. Stanford took a totally market-oriented point of view. Their development office was organized with managers at the head of different alumni groups. Each group is reached in the most cost-effective way. For example, those who graduated from Stanford receive two letters, direct-mail pieces, before the university gives up on them. Those who give $25 to $75 receive three to four more letters. Those who give a little more than $75 get a telephone call, and so on. Basically, the whole development effort is based on segmenting the market and working up the most cost-effective marketing mix of tools for raising money.

PETER DRUCKER: Did Stanford do any customer research to see what the potential donors value in a university? Or did it simply say, as most colleges say, Education is good, we need your money?

PHILIP KOTLER: True, that is the problem with many sales-oriented or product-oriented organizations that think they have such a good product, they don't understand why people are not rushing to buy it or to use it. In Stanford's case, they have approached their fund-raising experimentally. They don't feel there's a universal appeal that you can make to all Stanford graduates. Different strokes for different folks works a lot better. They learned the best strokes by getting feedback and researching each market.

PETER DRUCKER: Stanford has to recruit students. That's one marketing effort. It has to attract and hold first-rate faculty, that is, people who could go to twenty other schools. And it has to develop donors and raise money. That's equally a marketing effort. You don't see any difference between the three, basically?

PHILIP KOTLER: Every organization is swimming in a sea of publics. A college will want to attract students. It will want to attract research money from government and other sources. The problem marketing has to solve is, How do I get the response I want? The answer marketing gives is that you must formulate an offer to put out to the group from which you want a response. The process of getting that answer, I call exchange thinking. What must I give in order to get? How can I add value to the other party in such a way that I add value to what I want? Reciprocity and exchange underlie marketing thinking.

PETER DRUCKER: And how important is it in this approach for the non-profit institution to differentiate itself? Stanford probably has a couple of hundred other colleges in competition; a local hospital may have three other hospitals in the same area. How important is it to differentiate yourself? And how do you do it?

PHILIP KOTLER: Marketing is now thought of as a process of segmenting, targeting, and positioning—I call it STP marketing. That's opposed to LGD marketing—lunch, golf, and dinner marketing, which may have its place, but it's not the same as doing the right job of segmenting, targeting, and positioning.

Positioning raises the question: How do we put ourselves across to a market we're interested in? How do we stand out in some way? You cannot be all things to all people. So most organizations engage in the search for their own uniqueness, what we might call a competitive advantage or advantages. That comes by cultivating certain strengths and putting them across as meaningful to the market you're going after. Let me give you an illustration. A hospital could offer the normal range of services to the patients, but, in that regard, may not be different from any other hospital. What I've seen hospitals do is identify needs in the community that were not being satisfied. For example, there may be no sports medicine program; there may be no burn unit; and so on. If the managers of these hospitals are smart, they figure out which of these needs are strong needs or which ones they can serve well. By addressing those needs, the hospital actually adds a crown jewel to itself. It adds a point of distinction. Differentiation must proceed that way. Otherwise, the customer has no reason for the choices that are going to be made.

PETER DRUCKER: So, one of the first steps in marketing for the non-profit institution is to define its markets, its publics. Think through to whom you have to market your product and your strengths. That really comes before you think through the message, does it?

PHILIP KOTLER: Yes. Let's take churches, for example, because what you said poses a real problem for churches. On the one hand, a church should go after every person who wants religious experience, and so on. It should therefore be a very diverse institution. On the other hand, marketing would suggest that it would be more successful if it defined its target group, whether it might be singles, divorced people, gay people, or whatever. The interesting thing about diversity is that most customers don't like to be with people who are not like themselves.

And there's a problem of what I call market orchestration. How do you orchestrate very diverse groups and have a successful institution? That alone puts pressure on trying to define your market. It's not everyone; but it's more than one group. The church needs well-defined groups who are looking for one or more particular satisfactions.

PETER DRUCKER: So the mission may well be universal. And yet to be successful, the institution has to think through its strategy and focus on the main target groups in marketing and delivering its service. The same thing is true for fund-raising, isn't it?

PHILIP KOTLER: Fund-raising requires careful identification of the appropriate sources of funds and the giving motives. Why does that donor give money? To whom does the donor give money? And so I would again say that consumer research is important in the process of trying to direct your efforts.

PETER DRUCKER: And to what extent do you then have to mold what you are, do what you can for the market? In the Church, for instance, there is a community of older people that's your prime community, but they really want a very different church from the one that attracts the singles; and so each church would then have to change what it does to serve its high potential market.

PHILIP KOTLER: The Church may establish different services and different ministries for its different groups. For example, it could have an early morning service for one group and a later morning service for another. I think the solution there is probably to have different leaders and lay ministries serving the different groups.

PETER DRUCKER: But you don't seem to believe that, what in reaching markets one would call "boutiques," are very successful for non-profit institutions?

PHILIP KOTLER: Translate boutiques into niches! I believe that some organizations should definitely go the route of niching versus mass production. For example, take theater groups. The city of

Chicago has over 120 performing art theatrical groups. What some of these theater groups have done is to niche into a certain class of performances. There's one that does Shakespeare only, another that does the classics in general, another that does only plays written in the last ten years. The question is, Do you want to satisfy one type of audience deeply or do you want to satisfy a number of audiences more superficially?

PETER DRUCKER: You know, I've done a fair amount of work with museums, and the really successful ones are building niches very strongly. The universal general museums of the nineteenth century, of which the Metropolitan in New York is still the leading American example, are becoming . . . well, old-fashioned. They have no real clientele. But museums can be too narrow. We have a wonderful museum here in Los Angeles of the American Indian and it's too narrow. But I think we see more and more niching, even in hospitals, where the community hospital is in a sense giving way to boutiques; there's a free-standing surgical unit, and there is a specialty hospital. I think we need product differentiation in the non-profit institution as much as we need it in business.

PHILIP KOTLER: I have to agree with you. But that does pose a problem for the nineteenth-century-type institutions. Do they break themselves up? Should General Motors split itself into five different companies? The "supermarkets," basically, see themselves as having a marketing problem. The way the Art Institute in Chicago has handled this is by forming groups of loyal donors and supporters around different art forms. There's a modern art group that has a meeting once a month, and they always have a lecturer or they see some new developments in modern art. There's another group that's Ancient Greece and Rome. And so it is possible in a major museum still to form interest groups. You know, small is beautiful. How do you help your customers to identify with something that is as ungraspable and huge as a major museum?

PETER DRUCKER: Well, we have that problem, I think, in a good many institutions. We have it in the church and the synagogue. And a good many of my friends in religious institutions have to grapple with being identifiable and yet at the same time not becoming separatist. We have it, I think, at its most extreme in the university where, if you look for the institution that has done the best marketing job, it's the fundamentalist college. Precisely because it is a boutique, it doesn't try to do anything but a very narrow specialty. And, on the other hand, the research university has done quite well. But the comprehensive universities that did so well in the fifties and sixties are beginning to, I would say, lose character in the public mind. That explains why the good liberal arts college, which we all thought was going to be in severe trouble fifteen years ago when student populations began to go down, is doing so very well. It isn't so small; twenty-five hundred students isn't tiny. But the kid can get his or her arms around it, and it has a personality, whereas the University of Minnesota or UCLA are very hard to describe. I think we will see a good deal of—not niche marketing in the non-profit section but product identification, as you would call it in a business. The market, very largely, will determine the character of the institution and the character of the product.

Why does the non-profit institution have to be interested in marketing and have to engage in marketing? Is it to be sure that it really fulfills the need? Will it satisfy the customer? Is it to know what it should focus its energies on? What are the real reasons for doing marketing for a non-profit institution?

PHILIP KOTLER: Marketing really is spurred by the presence and the increase in competition that the institution faces in a way that it never faced before. Most organizations don't get interested in marketing when they are comfortable. Suddenly they find that they don't understand their customers very well, and their customers are leaving that church, or they're not signing up for that college, or coming to that hospital. And these institutions become aware of a competitive situation.

How do you deal with a competitive situation? Well, one way some early hospitals dealt with it was to pray that the world hadn't changed and that they would just survive. Now, prayer may have its role to play, but it is not the answer. The normal answer is that maybe there's something in this thing called marketing that will help us understand why customers chose to be with us in the first place and why they're not choosing to be with us anymore.

PETER DRUCKER: Philip, it's an old theological axiom that prayer is no substitute for right action. And that's what you're telling us. Who then should really do the marketing job in the non-profit institution?

PHILIP KOTLER: The chief executive officer should, of course, be the chief marketing officer. Marketing doesn't get anywhere in an organization without the head of the organization getting interested in it, understanding it, and wishing to disseminate its logic and wisdom to the staff and people connected with the institution. Still, the CEO can't do the marketing. The work has to be delegated to someone who is skilled in handling marketing. Most institutions appoint a director of marketing or a vice-president of marketing. Those are, for example, the titles you will see in hospitals. There's a difference, of course. The director of marketing is seen as a person who has "skills will travel," and not someone who is in a policy-making or policy-influencing position. That's why I favor a vice-president of marketing position, because that person really should sit with all the other officers as they try to visualize what the future of their institution will be.

PETER DRUCKER: And how can we tell whether marketing in a non-profit institution, this church and this synagogue, this hospital and this college, is making a genuine contribution?

PHILIP KOTLER: Marketing is supposed to do the following. It is supposed to build up what I call share of mind and share of heart for the organization. At any point in time, the institution or organization has a certain level of awareness in its target market and a certain amount of favorable attitude. A good marketing program will build up more awareness and more loyalty or bonding with the public you are trying to serve. So, one way to measure the contribution of marketing is to see whether more people know about our church, and more people like our church, or whatever the institution might be. There's a cost side. Budgets have to be developed for the work that must take place. And it is very hard to gauge the impact of marketing without setting objectives. If an institution said, We would like to go from 30 percent of the target market knowing about us and 80 percent of those who know about us, liking us, to 90 percent of those who know about us liking us, then that's measurable. It's measurable through normal marketing research. So, the key to knowing whether marketing is working is to set objectives and then to see if marketing has helped the organization to realize them.

PETER DRUCKER: And the more specific the objectives, the more likely to be productive?

PHILIP KOTLER: Absolutely. The problem has arisen in hospitals lately that the hospitals have used their budgets for advertising purposes. They have spent big dollars trying to communicate to their communities that they are a friendly hospital, they are a "caring" hospital, and so on. And they are all wondering now whether those ads have really established in the minds of the community an identity for that hospital and a preference for the hospital. Some CEOs are disturbed about the results; they don't see enough net gain.

My analysis is that these hospitals have often put their budgets to the wrong use. They've gone into heavy advertising before they had a character to their hospital. Before they had a true patient focus in their hospital. And they haven't really gone into marketing in the right order. The order being: first, do some customer research to understand the market you want to serve and its needs. Second, develop segmentation and be aware of different groups

that you're going to be interacting with. Third, develop policies, practices, and programs that are targeted to satisfy those groups. And then the last step is to communicate these programs. Too many hospitals and other non-profit organizations go right into advertising before they've gone into the other three steps, and that's really doing things backwards.

PETER DRUCKER: And to talk hospitals, I know far too many that would resist to the bitter end the kind of communication their market research shows them the public wants, which is how many of the people who come in to have a hip replacement can walk after six months. Because not everybody does. If we say 98 percent can walk, that means 2 percent can't. And then we gloss it over by saying, "We love you." Patients facing major surgery have other worries than being loved. What you're saying is that you have to start out with knowing what the customers really consider value, what is important, before you communicate, rather than with telling the things you believe should be important to the customer. That's the key to effective marketing.

PHILIP KOTLER: It is. I've often said that non-profit organizations that have no marketing, or little marketing, will probably take five to ten years to really install effective marketing procedures and programs if they're fully committed to installing them. And mind you, many organizations give up after one or two years, especially if the early results are so good that they think they are already there. It takes five to ten years because marketing is more than a department, it's really everyone in the organization pursuing one goal and that is to satisfy the customer, to serve the customer. So, getting the other departments in the museum, getting the curators to understand that, getting the janitorial and the maintenance staff and the guards to understand that—it's hard and takes time.

PETER DRUCKER: What you are saying is that marketing in an organization is everybody's business, certainly everybody who has anything to do with the customer. So you are talking not about a function—though there is specific work—you're talking of a basic commitment. In talking of marketing in the non-profit organization, you are talking of the basic action that results in an organization that is both dedicated and positioned to satisfy its basic purpose.

PHILIP KOTLER: Exactly. Marketing in a non-profit organization becomes effective when the organization is very clear about what it wants to accomplish, has motivated everyone in the organization to agree to that goal and to see the worthwhileness of that goal, and when the organization has taken the steps to implement this vision in a way which is cost-effective, in a way which brings about that result.

PETER DRUCKER: So, would you agree that marketing is the work—and it is work—that brings the needs and wants and values of the customer into conformity with the product and values and behavior of the supplier, of the institution?

PHILIP KOTLER: Marketing is a way to harmonize the needs and wants of the outside world with the purposes and the resources and the objectives of the institution.

1

What Is the Bottom Line When There Is No "Bottom Line"?

Non-profit institutions tend not to give priority to performance and results. Yet performance and results are far more important—and far more difficult to measure and control—in the non-profit institution than in a business.

In a business, there is a financial bottom line. Profit and loss are not enough by themselves to judge performance, but at least they are something concrete. Whether business executives like it or not, profit certainly *will* be used to measure their performance. When non-profit executives, however, face a risk-taking decision, they must first think through the desired results—*before* the means of measuring performance and results can be determined. For each non-profit institution, the executive who leads effectively must first answer the question, How is performance for this institution to be defined? In a hospital emergency room, for instance, is performance how fast the staff sees people who come in? Is it the number of heart-attack victims who pull through the first few hours after they arrive? What is the performance of a church? One may look strictly at attendance; but there is also the impact on the community. Both are perfectly respectable ways to measure performance, yet each leads to a very different way of running the church. An organization to tackle AIDS does not have to worry about the need for its efforts. But it must be clear whether its performance is to be measured by success in prevention of the disease or in taking care of AIDS patients. If the aim is prevention, the organization has to create its own customers, the people who do not have AIDS and tend to believe that AIDS is what other people contract.

It is not enough for non-profits to say: We serve a need. The really good ones create a *want.* Museums, for instance, used to see themselves as cultural custodians. Their administrators believed in keeping art in and people out. Most museums today work hard to create customers for taste, for beauty, and for inspiration. They see themselves as educational institutions. The Cleveland Museum became one of the world's great museums not only because it had a director who was a whiz at finding great objects; he was equally adept at making patrons out of "casuals," people who just dropped in to spend an idle hour out of the rain. He used terms such as "repeat sales" to measure the performance of his institution. As he saw it, building the percentage of repeat sales built a clientele, built a community institution rather than a comfort station.

As non-profit executives begin to define the performance that makes the mission of their institution operational, two common temptations have to be resisted. First: recklessness. It's so easy to say that the cause is everything, and if people don't want to support it, too bad for them. Performance means concentrating *available* resources where the results are. It does not mean making promises you can't live up to.

But equally dangerous is the opposite—to go for the easy results rather than for results that further the mission. Avoid overemphasis on the things the institution can easily get money for, the popular issues, the easy things. Universities, for instance, often are under great pressure to accept money for a chair that administration and faculty feel actually detracts from the school's mission (we call them "Mickey Mouse chairs").

Lately, I have been worrying over a similar problem with an art museum. A patron is offering to give the museum an outstanding collection, but under conditions that would impair the museum's main mission. One possible response is to be virtuous and say no. The other is to be dishonest and sign on the dotted line, knowing that the donor won't live forever; after all, you are being dishonest in a good cause. But if we accept, we'll pay a heavy price. The whole organization will become cynical. Yet the temptation is great. If we say no, another less scrupulous museum will get that fine collection.

Both temptations have the same root: the non-profit doesn't get *paid* for performance. Even if it can charge fees for its service—the entrance fee the museum charges, for instance, or the money a well-run museum shop now earns—the non-profit cannot generally generate more than a fraction of the funds it needs to operate. In a business, performance is what the customer is willing to *pay* for. The non-profit does not get paid for performance. But it does not get money for good intentions, either.

PLANNING FOR PERFORMANCE

Performance in the non-profit institution must be *planned.* And this starts out with the mission. Non-profits fail to perform unless they start out with their mission. For the mission defines what results are in this particular non-profit institution.

And then one asks: Who are our constituencies, and what are the results for each of them?

One of the basic differences between businesses and non-profits is that non-profits always have a multitude of constituencies. It used to be that a business could plan in terms of one constituency, the customers and their satisfaction—the Japanese still do. Everybody else—employees, the community, the environment, maybe even the shareholders—were restraints. That this has changed for American business, and quite drastically, is the reason why many business executives feel the world is coming to an end. But in the non-profit institution there have always been a multitude of groups, each with a veto power. A school principal has to satisfy teachers, the school board, the taxpayers, parents, and, in a high school, the students themselves. Five constituencies, each of which sees the school differently. Each of them is essential, and each has its own objectives. Each of them has to be satisfied at least to the point where they don't fire the principal, go on strike, or rebel.

Thirty years ago, community hospitals were run basically for the physicians. Physicians were the buyers. The physician said, "I'm going to put you into this hospital," and it did not occur to the patient to say no. That's now gone. And one of the reasons hospital management is becoming so difficult is that third-party payers, the companies who pay for their employees, have now become a constituency that has to be satisfied, both medically and economically. Uncle Sam, too, has become a very powerful constituent since about two fifths of the revenue of the typical community hospital comes from Medicare. The new health providers, the health maintenance organizations (HMOs), have become constituents. And the hospital's personnel have become far more important, not because they demand more, but because so many more are now highly trained, professional people.

The success of the growing pastoral churches largely depends on their realizing that the needs of young people, young married couples, singles, and older people are different. The church has to set a performance goal with respect to each group and use competent individuals who can deliver performance. One of the country's largest and most successful churches gave up its ministry to the singles because it could not find a truly competent assistant pastor to run it.

The first—but also the toughest—task of the non-profit executive is to get all of these constituencies to agree on what the *long-term* goals of the institution are. Building around the long term is the only way to integrate all these interests.

If you focus on short-term results, they will all jump in different directions. You'll have a flea circus—as I discovered during my own dismal failure some forty years ago as an executive in an academic institution. My own thinking has always been long term. But I thought I'd win friends and influence people by giving them some short-term goodies. What I learned was that unless you integrate the vision of all constituencies into the long-range goal, you will soon lose support, lose credibility, and lose respect. After I'd been beaten to a pulp, I began to look at non-profit executives who did successfully what I had unsuccessfully tried to do. I soon learned that they start out by defining the fundamental change that the non-profit institution wants to make in society and in human beings; then they project that goal onto the concerns of each of the institution's constituencies.

This kind of planning is quite different from what business people usually mean by the term. To formulate the plan successfully, non-profit executives think through the concerns of each of the institution's constituencies. They try to understand what is really important to an elected school board, to the faculty of the school, to the parents of the students. Long-term concerns must be identified—not short-term concerns such as the parents who worry whether their Marilyn will get into the college of her choice. But for a school to be good enough so that its students have a choice where they go to college is a legitimate long-range goal for both constituencies, parents and their high school children. Integrating constituency goals into the institution's mission is almost an architectural process, a structural process. It's not too difficult to do once it's understood; but it's hard work.

MORAL VS. ECONOMIC CAUSES

The discipline of thinking through what results will be demanded of the non-profit institution can protect it from squandering resources because of confusion between moral and economic causes.

Non-profit institutions generally find it almost impossible to abandon anything. Everything they do is "the Lord's work" or "a good cause." But non-profits have to distinguish between moral causes and economic causes. A moral cause is an absolute good. Preachers have been thundering against fornication for five thousand years. Results, alas, have been nil, but that only proves how deeply entrenched evil is. The absence of results indicates only that efforts have to be increased. This is the essence of a moral cause.

In an economic cause, one asks: Is this the best application of our scarce resources? There is so much work to be done. Let's put our resources where the results are. We cannot afford to be righteous and continue this project where we seem to be unable to achieve the results we've set for ourselves.

To believe that whatever we do is a moral cause, and should be pursued whether there are results or not, is a perennial temptation for non-profit executives—and even more for their boards. But even if the cause itself is a moral cause, the specific way it is pursued better have results. There are always so many more moral causes to be served than we have resources for that the non-profit institution has a duty—toward its donors, toward its customers, and toward its own staff—to allocate its scarce resources for results rather than to squander them on being righteous. The non-profits are human-change agents. And their results are therefore always a change in people—in their behavior, in their circumstances, in their vision, in their health, in their hopes, above all, in their competence and capacity. In the last analysis, the non-profit institution, whether it's in health care or education or community service, or a labor union, has to judge itself by its performance in creating vision, creating standards, creating values and commitment, and in creating human competence. The non-profit institution therefore needs to set specific goals in terms of its *service* to people. And it needs constantly to raise these goals—or its performance will go down.

2

Don't's and Do's— The Basic Rules

There are some don't's and some do's for non-profit institutions. Disregarding them will damage and may even impair performance.

Non-profits are prone to become inward-looking. People are so convinced that they are doing the right thing, and are so committed to their cause, that they see the institution as an end in itself. But that's a bureaucracy. Soon people in the organization no longer ask: Does it service our mission? They ask: Does it fit our rules? And that not only inhibits performance, it destroys vision and dedication.

One good example of what not to do is the way a large community hospital tackled the nursing shortage. It worked out elaborate policies to make the nurses "feel better." But the nurses' turnover only increased, and the shortage of nurses grew worse. All the measures to make the nurses "feel better" only made them more conscious of the gap between what they knew they should be doing and what the hospital allowed them to do. All the measures only made the nurses more dissatisfied.

Another hospital first asked the nurses, "How do *you* define your performance?" Every nurse said, "My contribution should be patient care." But everyone also said, "You load me down with chores and paper shuffling which have nothing to do with patient care." The solution was quite simple: Hire clerks, one for each floor, who do the chores and the paperwork. This freed the nurses for what they knew they should be doing, that is, patient care. Nurses' morale rose dramatically, turnover all but disappeared, and instead of a nurse shortage, the hospital actually found itself with a surplus. Fewer nurses carried the load and they enjoyed it. In the end the hospital could substantially raise individual nurses' pay, without running a higher nursing payroll.

In every move, in every decision, in every policy, the non-profit institution needs to start out by asking, Will this advance our capacity to carry out our mission? It should start with the end result, should focus outside-in rather than inside-out.

Dissent, as we shall see shortly, is essential for effective decision making. Feuding and bickering are not. In fact, they must not be tolerated. They destroy the spirit of an organization.

Most people think that feuding and bickering bespeak "personality conflicts." They rarely do. They usually are symptoms of the need to change the organization. It may have grown very fast and in the process outgrown its structure; nobody quite knows what he or she is responsible for. Then people begin to blame each other. I've seen this happen in an organization that was serving meals to shut-ins. That's what all the volunteers thought they were doing, and so did the people who were running the organization. But over the years, the volunteers visiting the shut-ins also took on the visiting nursing care in mobile home parks, helping lonely older people get in touch with their relatives, helping them with their Social Security, taking them to physical therapy, and so on; altogether, a dozen different kinds of help for low-income, older, handicapped people. And yet the whole organization was still based around delivering meals. Then you have constant bickering about borrowing cars from people, about being late, and about all kinds of minor things.

That's a sign that you'd better look at your organization. Are you organized for yesterday rather than today? Are you organized for the kind of small, cozy family operation you were, and now you've grown from a four-room boardinghouse into a six-hundred-room hotel without any change? When the noise level rises, it's a sign of discomfort. Your organization structure and the reality of your operation aren't congruent anymore. Then you need a change in your structure.

A final *don't:* Don't tolerate discourtesy. Since the beginning of the world, young people have resented good manners as dishonesty. They think manners are substance. If you say "Good morning" while it rains outside, you are a hypocrite. But there is a law of nature that where moving bodies are in contact with one another, there is friction. And manners are the social lubricating oil that smoothes over friction. Young people always fail to see this. The only difference is that in my youth you got slapped if you were not courteous; but we didn't feel like being courteous either. One learns to be courteous—it is needed to enable different people who don't necessarily like each other to work together. Good causes do not excuse bad manners. Bad manners rub people raw; they do leave permanent scars. And good manners make a difference.

The most important *do* is to build the organization around information and communication instead of around hierarchy. Everybody in the non-profit institution—all the way up and down—should be expected to take information responsibility. Everyone needs to learn to ask two questions: What information do I need to do *my* job—from whom, when, how? And: What information do I owe others so that they can do *their* job, in what form, and when?

When I first started working some sixty years ago, there simply was no information. Organizations had to be many-layered, tight hierarchies. Now we have enormous information capacity. This means that organizations can be much flatter and have many fewer layers. That's a great improvement. For we know that each level of management is a "relay"; and each relay in an information chain cuts the message in half and doubles the "noise." But it also means that individuals in the organization have to take information responsibility. Otherwise, we'll drown in meaningless data.

Above all, people in the information-based organization need to take responsibility for upward communication.

There is an old example. A hundred years ago, two brothers, both surgeons in a small town in rural Minnesota, founded the first modern medical clinic—the Mayo Clinic. It was a total innovation, and everybody knew it could not work. Here were two country surgeons bringing in all kinds of high-powered specialists, and almost no layers of management. But it did work, perfectly. Every senior physician at Mayo reported directly to one of the two Doctors Mayo. And each month each Chief of Service sat down and wrote in full what was going on with each patient. In this report, he also discussed what changes were needed in the way the clinic was run or patients were treated, and where the clinic had to acquire new competence or improve its performance. And each Chief of Service, whether urologist or eye man, was expected to mobilize whatever team of physicians was needed across the whole Mayo organization to deal with whatever patient need existed. This was, of course, long before the computer.

In the information-based institution, people must take responsibility for informing their bosses and their colleagues, and, above all, for *educating* them. And then all members of the non-profit institution—paid staff and volunteers—need to take the responsibility for making themselves understood.

This requires that everyone think through and put down in writing what the organization should hold him or herself accountable for by way of contribution and results. Then, everybody has to make sure that this is understood from the bottom up, from the top down, and sideways.

This is also the one way to build mutual trust. Organizations are based on trust. Trust means that you know what to expect of people. Trust is mutual understanding. Not mutual love, not even mutual respect. Predictability. This is far more important in the non-profit organization, because typically it has to depend on the work of so many volunteers and on so many people whom it does not control.

But there are also teachers who have tenure or pastors who are nobody's "subordinates." Then you need mutual trust—and if you don't know what to expect from one another, you will soon feel let down by that fellow or that woman next door. People assume—rightly so in a non-profit institution—that they are all dedicated to the same cause. So, when they are betrayed, or feel betrayed, it hurts much more. It's more important in the non-profit institution than it is in a business to insist on the clarity of commitments and relationships, and on the responsibility for making yourself understood and for educating your co-workers.

Everyone believes in delegation. But it needs clear rules to become productive. It requires that the delegated task be clearly defined, that there are mutually understood goals and mutually agreed-on deadlines, both for progress reports and for the accomplishment of the task. Above all, it requires clear understanding of what the person who delegates and the person who takes on the assignment expect and are committing themselves to. Delegation further requires that delegators follow up. They rarely do—they think they have delegated, and that's it. But they are still accountable for performance. And so they have to follow up, have to make sure that the task gets done—and done right.

Finally, it is the duty of the person to whom a task is delegated to inform the delegator of anything unexpected that happens, and not to say, "But I can take care of it."

STANDARD SETTING, PLACEMENT, APPRAISAL

For each person to take responsibility for his or her own contribution and for being understood requires standards. Standards have to be concrete; for example, the standard for the emergency room of the hospital which I quoted earlier: everyone who comes in is seen by a qualified person in less than a minute.

Standards have to be set high; you cannot ease into a standard. When we went in to work in developing countries, we all made the same mistake. We said: Here are untrained, unskilled people, so let's start low. If you start low, you can never go higher. *Slow* is different from low. Sure, at the beginning of a new effort with a new person, you go slow. You make mistakes. But the standard is clear. There is a great deal to be said for the old schoolteacher of mine many years ago, who put examples of beautiful penmanship on the wall on the first day of second grade, and said: "This is how you are going to write." None of us kids could do it, and most of us never did, speaking for myself. But none of us has ever felt that sloppy handwriting is anything to be proud of.

Clear standards are particularly important in the non-profit institution that is both centrally run and a "confederation" of autonomous locals. Originally, there were only a few such organizations around—mostly very large ones. The oldest is, of course, the Catholic Diocese. Then came the American Heart Association, the Red Cross, the Scouts, and many others. Now you have hospital chains and state university systems. We have a number of large Protestant churches which staff and support several small "outreach" churches, each with its own Vestry, its own congregation, and its own locally raised budget. In all of them, the standards have to be uniform across the board. But each local organization—the council, the chapter, the parish, the diocese, the hospital—has to be autonomous and has to make its own decisions. Squaring these conflicting demands for autonomy and conformity requires, above all, clear and high standards. But this kind of confederation also requires that the central organization think through the two or three things—not just the things to say, but the things to *do.* In the Catholic Diocese, the bishop makes the critical personnel decisions; he alone appoints parish priests. The Scouts provide centrally the program material, the books for the badges, and the innovations such as the Daisy Scouts. Headquarters also provides the national image and handles public and governmental relations.

Next, such organizations need *control of standards.* That's the most difficult thing to do. That's where the chief executive officer needs not so much skill as respect, so that a local council will accept a veto from the center even though it doesn't like it. It helps if the central organization controls promotions in the system, the way the bishop does in the Catholic Diocese. But in most non-profit confederations, the local organization picks its own people. A confederation therefore requires that the top people constantly visit the organization's various locations—that they do so *personally* rather than through staff. This is a basic requirement for the voluntary confederation, which mobilizes local energies for local performance but for a common mission that transcends local boundaries.

And the people in the central organization must remind themselves all the time: We are the servants of the local chapter, the servants of the local hospital. It is part of our job to make sure they have standards; but we are their servants. They do the work. We are not their bosses; we are their conscience.

And the people in the local chapter, the local hospital, the local parish, must remind themselves all the time: we represent the larger institution. What we do or not do, and how we do it, is seen by all our constituents as the deeds, the standards, the personality of the entire organization.

Standards should be very high and goals should be ambitious. Yet they should be attainable. Indeed, they should be attained, at least by the star performers of the institution. The non-profit institution therefore needs to work hard at placing people where they can perform. It needs to place people where their strengths are relevant to the assignment. Then, one can legitimately make demands on people.

But one also needs to use the star performers to raise the sights, the vision, the expectations, and the performance capacity of the entire organization. *One features performers.* The best way—and the way that conveys the most recognition and builds the most pride—is to use star performers as the teachers of their colleagues. Put them up front at the chapter meeting and have them tell the rest of us how they obtain their outstanding results. Nothing makes as much impact on a sales force as to have a successful salesman stand up before his peers and tell them, "This is what has worked for me." And it does even more for the star performer. There is no sweeter recognition.

People need to know how they do—and volunteers more than anyone else. For if there is no paycheck, achievement is the sole reward. Once goals and standards are clearly established, appraisal becomes possible. Sure, it's the responsibility of the superior. But with clear goals and standards, the people who do the work appraise themselves.

An appraisal should always start out with what the person has done well. Never start out with the negative: You'll get to it soon enough. But one can only base performance on strengths, on what people have got rather than on what they ain't got.

And it is the function of any organization to make human strengths effective in performance and to neutralize human weaknesses. This is its ultimate test.

THE OUTSIDE FOCUS

One more basic rule: Force your people, and especially your executives, to be on the outside often enough to *know* what the institution exists for. There are no results inside an institution. There are only costs. Yet it is easy to become absorbed in the inside and to become insulated from reality. Effective non-profits make sure that their people get out in the field and actually work there again and again.

In one of the most successful large hospitals, for instance, each staff member (including accountants and engineers) works one week a year on a floor as a nurse's aide. And each of them every other year has himself or herself actually admitted under a fictitious name and spends twenty-four hours as a patient. There is an old saying that every physician needs to have been sick and a patient to be a good doctor.

And don't let people stay forever in a staff position in the office. Rotate them regularly back into work in the field. It's an old rule of effective armies that every officer rotates back into a troop command every few years.

3

The Effective Decision

Executives, whether in a non-profit institution or in a business, actually spend little time on decision making. Far more of their time is spent in meetings, with people, or in trying to get a little information. Yet it's in the decision that everything comes together. That is the make or break point of the organization. Most of the other tasks executives do, other people could do. But only executives can make the decisions. And they either make decisions effectively or they render themselves ineffective.

The least effective decision makers are the ones who constantly make decisions. The effective ones make very few. They concentrate on the important decisions. And even people who work hard on making decisions often misapply their time. They slight the important decisions and spend excessive time making easy—or irrelevant—decisions.

The most important part of the effective decision is to ask: What is the decision really about? Very rarely is a decision about what it seems to be about. That's usually a symptom.

Some twenty years ago, a Girl Scout Council in a major suburban area realized that the ethnic composition of the area was changing rapidly. It had been lily-white, and so had the Scouts. But now the area was rapidly becoming highly diverse: blacks, Hispanics, Asians were arriving in large numbers. That the Council had to offer scouting to the children of the newcomers was obvious to everyone. But so was the enormous cost of providing scouting to very poor neighborhoods. The question that seemed to demand a decision was, therefore, seen as a financial one: How do we raise the money? And the answer to that question seemed obvious: Have separate troops for different ethnic groups. Otherwise, it was feared, financial support from the affluent group, the whites, might be endangered.

Fortunately, one of the leaders then asked: What is this decision all about? Is our mission to raise money, or is it to build a nation? It was clear at once that the decision was one of basic principle, to be decided contrary to all of the Council's precedents. The answer had to be that, whatever the financial risk, we are not going to have ethnic troops. That is the past. We have to emphasize that young women are young women—not black, not white, not Italian, not Jewish, not Vietnamese—but young American women. That is what the decision was really all about. Once this was clear, the decision made itself. And the whole community accepted that decision without a murmur, once it was explained.

A major university with severe budget problems had to accept that it must cut programs. But which ones? At first, this was seen as a financial decision: where do we spend the most? The ensuing civil war within the faculty almost destroyed the institution. But then one board member said, "We are tackling the wrong issue. We should be discussing whether to put our major emphasis on the continuing education of adults or whether to stick with teaching the young. That's what this decision is about. The rest is implementation." Suddenly it became clear why people had been so hot under the collar. The decision was not about the budget but about the future of American higher education and the university's role in it, and this is something on which good people *should* disagree. Such a decision is a strategic decision, and halfway measures won't do. If the university's future is in continuing education, it is not going to cut. It has to go out and raise the money; otherwise, it has no future.

Decisions always involve risk taking. And effective decisions take a lot of time and thought. For this reason, one doesn't make unnecessary decisions. Again and again, non-profit institutions go through a painful reorganization, moving staff and activities around because two people are feuding with one another. But they have been feuding for twenty years and will keep on feuding whatever the organization structure. Leave them alone.

And don't make decisions on trivia. I live sixty miles east of Los Angeles, with four freeways into the city. They all have the same mileage; it's totally unpredictable which one will be jammed. Whether you take one or the other is not a decision. Routine decisions are decisions that have no consequences, or at least no foreseeable consequences. Don't waste time on them.

OPPORTUNITY AND RISK

The next question in decision making is opportunity versus risk. One starts out with the opportunity, not with the risk: If this works, what will it do for us? Then look at the risks. And there are three kinds of risks:

There is the risk we can afford to take. If it goes wrong, it is easily reversible with minor damage. Then there is the irreversible decision, when failure may do serious harm. Finally there is the decision where the risk is great but one cannot afford *not* to take it. Here's an example. Forty years ago a Brooklyn neighborhood in New York radically changed from white working class to a black slum. A major hospital in the area almost overnight became empty, going down to about 12 percent occupancy. Its regular physicians had left with their patients. Keeping the hospital open could not be economically justified but the community needed its services. The decision—and it was bitterly fought—was to keep the hospital open and to raise the money somehow for the three to five years until the hospital's patient base could be rebuilt. The decision came very close to total disaster. But to stay open was a risk the hospital had to take if it wanted to maintain its mission.

THE NEED FOR DISSENT

All the first-rate decision makers I've observed, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, had a very simple rule: If you have consensus on an important matter, don't make the decision. Adjourn it so that everybody has a little time to think. Important decisions are risky. They *should* be controversial. Acclamation means that nobody has done the homework.

Because it is essential in an effective discussion to understand what it is really about, there has to be dissent and disagreement. If you make a decision by acclamation, it is almost bound to be made on the apparent symptoms rather than on the real issue. You need dissent; but you have to make it productive.

About seventy years ago, an American political scientist, Mary Parker Follet, said that when you have dissent in an organization, you should never ask *who* is right. You should not even ask *what* is right. You must assume that each faction gives the right answer, but to a different question. Each sees a different reality.

A few years ago, as we saw earlier, a major hospital was torn by internal conflict within its medical staff. One group advocated moving the eye clinic out of the hospital. Most eye operations have become ambulatory and it is far more economical to do them where they do not have to carry the whole overhead of the big hospital. The other group saw such a move as the first step toward complete restructuring of the hospital. Both were right, but both saw only part of the reality.

Instead of arguing what is right, assume that each faction has the right answer. But which question is each trying to answer? Then, you gain understanding. You also gain, in many cases, the ability to bring the two together in a synthesis. Then you can say: In this case we are not deciding on ophthalmology; that is just an incident. But the decision to move the eye clinic out commits us to restructuring the hospital. If we believe that moving out of the hospital is tomorrow's right structure, let's not talk economics, whether of the hospital or of eye surgery. And everybody understands it. Look upon dissent as a means of creating understanding and mutual respect.

Emotions always run high over any decision in which the organization is at risk if that decision fails, or in one that is not easily reversible. The smart thing is to treat this as constructive dissent and as a key to mutual understanding.

If you can bring dissent and disagreement to a common understanding of what the discussion is all about, you create unity and commitment. There is a very old saying—it goes back all the way to Aristotle and later on became an axiom of the early Christian Church: In essentials unity, in action freedom, and in all things trust. And trust requires that dissent come out into the open, and that it be seen as honest disagreement.

This is particularly important for non-profit institutions, which have a greater propensity for internal conflict than businesses precisely because everybody is committed to a good cause. Disagreement isn't just a matter of your opinion versus mine, it is your good faith versus mine. Non-profit institutions, therefore, have to be particularly careful not to become riddled by feuds and distrust. Disagreements must be brought out into the open and taken seriously.

A second reason to encourage dissent is that any organization needs a nonconformist. If and when things change, it needs somebody who is willing and able to change. This is not the kind of person who says, "There is a right way and a wrong way—and our way." Rather, he or she asks, "What is the right way *now?*" You don't want only yes-men or yes-women. You want a critic—and one the organization respects.

Bringing disagreement into the open also enables non-profit executives to brush aside the unnecessary, the meaningless, the trivial conflict. It enables them to concentrate on the real issues. When you bring conflicts out in the open, a good many disappear. People realize that they are trivia and not that serious. Yes, there *is* a conflict. You here in the surgery see one thing and you here in internal medicine see another. But is this pertinent to *this* specific case? If not, you say what our teacher of religion said to us when we were thirteen: "Boys, kill each other, but not in my class." Fight it out outside; it doesn't belong here. You don't resolve the conflict, but you do make it irrelevant. If you can do that, you are way ahead.

Another example: I was present, not so long ago, at a meeting at a museum that degenerated into civil war. People were screaming at each other until one of the wise old men pointed out that the two groups were both right. One, in arguing for a big new building, assumed the kind of museum we are now building, which is a museum that is a community asset. So, members of this group assumed we were talking about a tremendous expansion. The other group assumed the opposite. It wanted to concentrate on a very small number of real masterpieces and create a standard of excellence in which every single object was the best in its class, which is very much the way the great nineteenth-century collectors went about their business. The word "museum" was the same, but that was the only thing.

Once the position of each group was understood, it became clear that the conflict had nothing to do with the matter under discussion. Sooner or later a decision will be made to go one way or the other, and then half the board will resign—maybe to start a new museum. But that wasn't what we had to decide at that meeting. Suddenly there was peace, harmony, even laughter.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

You use dissent and disagreement to resolve conflict. If you ask for disagreement openly, it gives people the feeling that they have been heard. But you also know where the objectors are and what their objections are. And in many cases you can accommodate them, so that they can accept the decision gracefully. That also enables them very often to understand the arguments of the winning side. Maybe not to *accept* them; but to see that these people are neither stupid nor malicious. They only differ. In this way you resolve conflict. You do not prevent disagreement, but you do resolve conflict.

Another way to resolve conflict is to ask the two people who most vocally oppose each other, especially if both of them are respected community members, to sit down and work out a common approach. They do this by starting out with the areas in which they agree.

The third way is by defusing the argument. You say, "Let's start out by finding out what we *agree* on." Then disagreements often turn out to be peripheral. On essentials there is common ground and you can work out things. In some cases you say, "Let's split the difference," or, "Let's postpone this," or, "Is this really that important?" You play down the areas of disagreement and play up the areas of agreement.

These are by no means new techniques; there are examples in the Old Testament. Finding common ground especially is what the elders of any tribe do to maintain unity. One cannot prevent conflict. But one can make it—I wouldn't say irrelevant, but secondary. And the best tool for this is the constructive use of dissent.

FROM DECISION TO ACTION

A decision is a commitment to action. But far too many decisions remain pious intentions. There are four common causes for this. One is that we try to "sell" the decision rather than to "market" it. In the West, we tend to make the decision fast—and then we start to "sell" it to the people in the organization. That takes three years, and by the time the decision has been "bought," it has become obsolete. Here we can learn from the Japanese. They build the implementation in *before* they make the decision. In the Japanese organization, everyone who will be affected by the decision—and especially everyone who will have to do something to carry it out—is asked to comment on the issue before that decision is made. This looks incredibly slow. Westerners watching the process climb up the walls. But then the Japanese make the decision—

the point at which we in the West begin to "sell." Not so the Japanese. Bingo! The next day everyone understands it, everyone acts on it.

A second way to lose the decision is to go systemwide immediately with the new policy or the new service. This jumps the testing stage. We disregard what Frances Hesselbein of the Girl Scouts told us in her interview in Part One of this book: Find the targets of opportunity in your non-profit institution and concentrate on them. Don't try to convert everybody right away.

I like to try the new in three different places with three different people—something I learned forty years ago from the people who introduced physical therapy in the American hospital. There was almost universal resistance to the idea. Most hospitals said it was none of their business. The innovators didn't even try to convert the non-believers. They picked three hospitals in three communities that were eager to do physical therapy: a large teaching hospital with many older people, stroke victims, and so on; a small semi-rural hospital that had lots of industrial and farming accidents; and a fair-sized suburban community hospital with a lot of ordinary cases, broken bones, arthritis, and so on. They worked only with these three hospitals for five years. By then, every hospital in the country wanted physical therapy.

But by then, also, the product had become quite different from the original design. The three pilots showed, for instance, that psychological counseling and work with the patient's family are just as important in rehabilitation as exercise and physiology—something which had not even occurred to the innovators but which made an enormous difference in effectiveness. In industry we learned long ago that we are going to be in trouble if we jump the pilot stage. We have to learn that this is just as true for social projects and services.

The third caveat: no decision has been made until someone is designated to carry it out. Someone has to be accountable—with a work plan, a goal, and a deadline. Decisions don't make themselves effective; people do.

Finally—common mistake number four—I've seen wonderful decisions come a cropper because nobody really thought through who had to do what. In what form should the decision be communicated to each person who has to implement that decision so that he or she can actually act? What training does each need? What tools? I have seen a decision couched in a brilliant mathematical model which forklift drivers in the warehouse were expected to carry out. It didn't become effective. You not only have to translate a decision into the language of the people who have to do the work; you also have to fit it into their assumptions. You have to build the new behavior into their instructions, their training, their compensation. And then you have to follow up. Don't depend on reports. Go to the warehouse and look. Otherwise, you'll find a year later that nothing has happened.

Every decision is a commitment of present resources to the uncertainties of the future. This, according to elementary probability mathematics, means that decisions will turn out to be wrong more often than right. At the least they will have to be adjusted. Practically every single decision American hospitals made in the sixties and seventies has been shot out of the water by changes in government—particularly reimbursement policies on Medicare. As a result, hospitals suddenly have a surplus of beds. But that's a normal outcome for decisions on the future.

The decision always has to be bailed out. That requires two things. First, that you think through alternatives ahead of time so that you have something to fall back on if and when things go wrong. Second, that you build into the decision the responsibility for bailing it out, instead of going in and arguing about who made what mistakes. One weakness of non-profit institutions is that they believe that they have to be infallible—far more so than businesses. Businesses somehow know mistakes are being made. In non-profit institutions, mistakes are not permitted. And so if something goes wrong, a court-martial begins. Whose fault is it? Instead, we need to ask, Who is going to bail this out? Who is going to redirect the program or operation, and how?

1

Project Management

Field studies projects combine characteristics of both management consulting and project management. *Management consulting* is the transfer of expertise so that the client organization will be more effective after the consultant's departure. The expertise may be in problem solving, process improvement, strategic planning, evaluation, and/or client learning. In any case, the consulting goal is a better-functioning organization.

Project management grows out of a different tradition—managing defense and construction projects. It is product- or systems-oriented. The goal of the typical project manager is to get the job done—on time, within budget, according to specifications. The project is a goal-oriented, coordinated effort of limited duration and is unique—unlikely to occur again in the same fashion.

Although consulting is often an individual activity, projects are done by teams and require all of the usual management functions—planning, organizing, controlling, and leading. A project team, however, unlike the traditional bureaucratic organization, is designed to be flexible and rapidly responsive to changes both within and outside the team.

A successful field study depends upon effective project management by the team. By combining the consulting approach with project management skills, the field studies team can achieve both goals—to leave behind a better-functioning organization and to complete the project on time, within budget, and according to specs.

The most important goal of all—and the reason for undertaking a field studies project in the first place—is for project team members to

Note: This chapter was prepared by Professor E. Raymond Corey, George P. Hollenbeck, and Cynthia Ingols, Harvard Business School.

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

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gain a first-class learning experience to complement and extend classroom learning. The field project becomes a laboratory for applying ideas, tools, and concepts to real-world problems. It is an exercise in managing task-focused relationships among team members, client managers, and the faculty supervisor. It gives students a chance to define issues, gather relevant data from a variety of sources, do insightful analysis, and develop creative solutions. Finally, it provides opportunities to learn about a company, an industry, and/or a field of management that is of long-term interest to the members of the project team.

This guide is intended to help student teams deal effectively with the challenges of doing consulting-type work and to enhance the learning experience—and the psychological rewards—for each team member.

We begin this first chapter with ideas for building relationships among team members and between the team and its faculty supervisor. Later sections of the chapter consider client relationships, contract negotiations, and data collection methods.

Chapter 2 takes up written and oral reports. Chapters 3 through 5 consider data sources and collection methods: field interviews, library research, and survey questionnaires. Chapter 6 provides faculty supervisors with suggestions for counseling, teaching, and grading student teams.

The first two chapters pertain to all field studies projects, while the relevance for any one project of the chapters on data collection will depend on the research design. The information, then, on data sources and data gathering techniques is included here for your use as needed.

Building Team Relationships

- *Spend a lot of time together in the beginning to learn each member's skills and agenda. You'll be able to manage the study better later.*
- *One member initially took on the role of leader; however, he tried to push all his work onto another team member and then took that person's slides to incorporate into his part of the presentation.*
- *We each have different styles, approaches, and standards. Our different perspectives on the project led to varying work loads.*
- *One member did a bit more (the other two feel a little guilty).*
- *Communication turned out to be the most important thing: communication with faculty, communication with the client, communication with other team members.*
- *Define the project well—be specific—explore the subject in depth; get team members committed to the whole project, not an individual section. We achieved that and had no problems with "turf."*

As these comments from second-year MBA students suggest, trust is the critical ingredient in strong working relationships, and communication is the path to trust. Of course, some anxiety is natural when any new team comes together. Even though most of the members of field studies teams usually know each other and have chosen to work together, they are not exempt from the concerns of the members of any newly formed team:

- How will I fit in? Will I be able to contribute as much as I would like? Will others recognize my contributions?
- What is the nature of the project? Will it be useful and interesting?
- Will the field study help my career? What about grades?
- Will there be an equitable distribution of work? Will everyone carry his or her share of the load?

These concerns are typical. Recognize that everyone is a little anxious and provide plenty of time for getting to know each other and discussing these concerns. Time and effort invested in team building will pay off in managing conflict successfully and overcoming some of the inevitable barriers to teamwork. These barriers include:

- different personal goals, priorities, and interests
- unclear project objectives
- disagreements or uncertainty over roles
- a dynamic project environment
- competition over team leadership
- personality clashes
- different work styles

Most of these barriers can be overcome; all can be recognized and managed. For most teams some conflict is inevitable; it usually occurs when expectations are violated. Whenever one person's behavior runs counter to the expectations of another, anger and frustration usually result. It is therefore important to set forth clear expectations and to discuss a process for dealing with unexpected problems as the project proceeds.

Here are some conflict management methods:

- **Withdrawing:** simply withdrawing from the fray may be effective for minor concerns or intractable issues that don't seriously affect the project. The danger is that the problem will worsen rather than diminish.
- **Smoothing:** *de*-emphasizing differences and *re*-emphasizing areas of agreement can place the conflict in perspective and enable the team to move ahead.
- **Compromising:** seeking a solution that meets everyone's needs, at least in part, may be useful if the project goals are not undermined.

However, when an optimal solution or a "right answer" is essential, a compromise may not be the best method of resolving the conflict.

- **Forcing:** mandating one solution or point of view at the expense of others is usually a last resort, inevitably resulting in a win/lose climate.
- **Confronting:** getting team members to confront issues, identify optional solutions, and make decisions as problems arise is often the most effective way of dealing with conflict.

A simple, effective tactic is the start-stop-continue exercise. In the team-building session, each person lists what he or she wishes the others in the team would start doing, stop doing, and continue doing. At their most constructive, these lists describe behaviors that can be changed (e.g., X often misses team meetings for recruitment trips; Y is always late with reports). If feedback can be focused on specific behaviors that slow or frustrate the team, then lags in productivity may be reversed.

Planning and Organizing

- *The work load was divided according to personal constraints and skills. Given the team structure, it worked out to the satisfaction of all sides.*
- *Recommendation: establish not just one overall task plan but several sequential two-week plans and hold every individual to equal burdens (equal in overall context).*
- *People have different priorities and work habits.*
- *Our initial division of work ended up with some assignments being more intellectually demanding and others more routine.*
- *Start early; form a team with complementary skills and abilities; arrange financing as soon as possible and set firm milestones to which all team members must adhere.*
- *Plan and submit a schedule for the study—it helps to manage time at all stages with all people; come prepared to interviews. Write down everything and retype everything. Three months is long enough to forget but too short to repeat interviews.*
- *Preparation and follow-up are time consuming, but worth every second.*

How to begin? As a first step, set aside a block of time to determine goals, processes, and project organization. Consider the following questions:

- What is the core task? How do we do it?
- Where do we want to be in weeks 2, 4, 6, etc.?
- What do I expect of others on the team in terms of commitment, contribution, and work relationships? What does the team want from me?
- How should decisions be made (consensus, majority, or subgroup assigned to tasks)? Who makes what kinds of decisions?
- How do we organize?

Field studies teams will usually emerge from the "getting started" phase with a statement setting forth the project and its goals, start and end dates, a budget, and project milestones. Now begins the detailed planning and organizing of the work.

Successful field studies teams have found that planning is absolutely critical to success. Finding the right balance between defining the project gradually and doing the detailed planning is an important early decision. Close off the project definition too soon, and detailed planning turns out to be a waste. Postponing planning results in costly delays in starting on the data collection.

A work breakdown structure (WBS) is the most important part of planning. Teams will find their own formats; some variant of PERT/CPM is often useful. The WBS lists the major tasks required to complete the project, how they are interrelated, who is responsible for each, the resources needed, and the information flow requirements. As a rule, the more complex the project the more critical formal planning becomes.

Here is a simple example of the first part of a WBS for a hypothetical project:

Work Breakdown Schedule for Software Team[1]

Project: To develop a plan for introducing ABC software.
Responsibility: Team start: December 1, 1989
End: May 5, 1990
Cost: $10,000

Task 1.0 Familiarize Team with ABC
  Task 1.1 Review ABC Manual and tryout on PCs
    Responsibility: Team
    Complete: December 15
    Cost: $0
  Task 1.2 Visit company and review with engineers
    Responsibility: Toni and Sue
    Complete: January 1
    Cost: $500

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[1] Reprinted by permission from Harold Kerzner and Hans J. Thamhain, *Project Management for Small and Medium Size Businesses.* © 1984 Van Nostrand Reinhold, Inc.

to the project. Not only was time wasted, but our self-confidence was diminished by his feedback and, more importantly, the manner in which it was delivered.

An early meeting between the team and the supervisor should explore both the team's and the supervisor's expectations. This is not a time to gloss over differences or uncertainties. Contracting with the faculty supervisor is part of the process. Without clear expectations on both sides, unproductive conflict is likely to occur during the project.

Although faculty supervisors have typically worked with several field study teams, each team and each project is different. If you find your needs are not being met or you have conflicts with the supervisor, don't hesitate to deal with those conflicts constructively through frank and open discussion.

Preparing a Project Proposal

Field studies projects are of two types: (1) those generated by faculty members and included in a menu of projects for selection, and (2) student-initiated studies. The latter category includes consulting-type projects for business clients, new venture feasibility and planning studies, and topical research in a field of student interest, e.g., movie film distribution in the United States.

The first step in a student-initiated project is to prepare a proposal for the approval of a prospective faculty supervisor. If approved, the proposal becomes the contract between the project team and its supervisor. Its purposes are to qualify the project for academic credit, to establish its feasibility, to define its objectives, and to outline a project plan.

As for the substance of the proposal, one field studies course description suggests the following:

1. A 2-3 page executive summary and general description of the project, including its major objectives.
2. The questions the field study is designed to answer.
3. The analysis you intend to do to help answer these questions.
4. A list of the data required for this analysis.
5. Where you expect to obtain this data from.
6. The proposed plan of action and detailed schedule of the project (activities and dates), including milestones for intermediate work products that we will review.
7. A description of the team organization and the roles team members will play.
8. A working outline of the final report that will be produced.
9. A summary of the resource requirements of the project and how they will be met.
10. Any special confidentiality requirements and how these will be handled.
11. The résumés of students who will participate in the project.

Field studies course heads in other areas may specify some variation of this proposal outline.

Project proposals are not required for faculty-generated field studies. In some cases, however, the faculty supervisor may ask that the student team submit a more definitive and detailed project statement following the initial meetings with the client.

Working with the Client: Mapping the Territory

The first meeting with managers in the client organization typically has a lengthy agenda. Thus, in planning for the contracting meeting, find out how much time the client is scheduling for it, who will be there, and any particular topics the client will want to be sure to cover.

Project team members should go into the meeting with a description of the company and the particular business unit, a preliminary statement of issues, and the name of the contact person. In addition, it's useful to do some library research to obtain any publicly available information on the company and its industry.

You should have a clear understanding of what each team member hopes to gain from the project, e.g., an opportunity to learn about a company and/or industry that may be of career interest; practice in designing and managing team projects; a chance to address a socially significant issue. Having a clear sense of what you want is essential in working with client managers to structure the issues, identify sources of information relevant for the project and for your own learning, develop the client relationship, and negotiate for access to those in the sponsoring organization who can be of greatest help to you.

Obviously, it is essential to have a clear understanding, too, of what the client hopes will come out of working with you in a consulting relationship. Client expectations should be discussed explicitly in the first meeting—and again as team members get to know managers in the client organization. Among the many possibilities on the client's agenda are these:

- **Market information**, e.g., Who are the buyers? How do they buy? What is our image among users and/or resellers of our product? How large is the market and what is its rate of growth? How do we rank with our competitors on after-sale service?

Task 1.3 Report to team on product strengths and weaknesses
Responsibility: Joe
Complete: January 7
Cost: $0

Task 2.0 Review Competitive Products
Responsibility: Ann
Dates: January 1-January 31
Cost: $1,500

In addition to serving as a key planning document, the detailed work plan becomes the basis for monitoring progress. Without an agreed-upon plan containing an appropriate level of detail, progress cannot be charted and variances identified. Regular team meetings give all members an opportunity to review project status and to replan, reallocate resources, and reconsider budget needs if necessary.

Flexibility is important. The focus of the project may change at the request of the faculty supervisor, of client managers as you interview them and collect data, at your own initiative as you get more information, or in response to changes in the company or industry. Expect change; be flexible, but still plan in detail.

Organizing the work involves assigning the tasks to be accomplished and establishing coordinating mechanisms. Because the field studies project is an educational experience, efficiency should not be the only criterion for dividing tasks. One team may spread the work so that all members have as much exposure to as many areas as possible; another may assign work based on member expertise.

Field studies teams report that everything takes longer than expected. And Murphy's Law is known to prevail in project management. Thus, teams often recommend front-loading the work—plan to do as much of * the work as soon as possible, leaving a buffer at the end, rather than vice versa. The extra time at the end may make the difference between an orderly completion and having to "pull an all-nighter."

The basic coordinating mechanism is the team meeting; it is the key to managing your field study. Team meetings can be used to brief one another, to keep everyone on board, to refine the problem definition based on new data, to share leads on data sources, and to reinforce team member commitment to the project's success. As the project progresses, new tasks will arise, and the team meetings can be used to assign the tasks and to monitor expenses against budget.

Project complexity will, of course, determine how much communication is required. Weekly meetings may be sufficient. (One team reported telephone calls among members nearly every day.) The rule is, overcommunicate. Meet frequently; spend a lot of time together intentionally, not merely in response to unanticipated crises.

Who is responsible for managing the project? Unlike a typical industrial or military project team, the field studies team usually starts without a designated project leader. The team as a whole is responsible; how management responsibility is allocated will vary by team. It is important, however, that team members understand and agree on how the management functions will be accomplished. Some teams appoint a project manager; in others, individual team members take responsibility for different parts. Some teams appoint a coordinator, and others let the role evolve. Informal leadership often emerges based on contribution to or interest in the project. Difficulties arise when a team member assumes the leadership role without consensus.

Working with the Faculty Supervisor

Think of the supervisor as a consultant's consultant. His or her perspectives on procedure, project scope and objectives, knowledge of available resources, adequacy and relevance of data, methods of analysis, and knowledge of the client can be of great help to the team. Faculty supervisors will evaluate and monitor progress. Don't expect—or encourage—them to do your work—that is, to plan the project, decide on work methods, analyze data, get directly involved with the client, or make recommendations.

Your satisfaction with your field study experience will hinge significantly on developing an effective working relationship with your faculty supervisor. As soon as you can, find out his or her ideas about:

- the end product: written report, oral report, or both?
- frequency of meetings
- content of meetings
- criteria for project success and grading
- assigning grades: the same grade for all team members or individual grades? If the latter, how determined?
- scheduling the final oral presentation for the client: location and date

In some instances, as one team reported, faculty supervisors have become too involved:

> *The biggest problem we encountered was that our adviser adopted too much of a "hands-on" approach, which was detrimental to our group's productivity. Even though we were told that we were in the "driver's seat," we were not. We wasted a great deal of time trying to determine what our adviser wanted and then trying to accomplish it. What he wanted was often contrary to what we thought was the best approach*

- **Problem resolution**, e.g., interfunctional conflicts; inordinate time lags in new product development processes; excessive work-in-process inventory build-ups; a new product failure.
- **Strategy formulation**, e.g., business unit, product marketing, financial, or manufacturing strategies.
- **Organizational structure and processes**, e.g., an appraisal of the control system, the marketing organization, the R&D/manufacturing interface.
- **Organizational development**, e.g., bringing managers up to date on accounting and control methods, forecasting, or the design and use of information systems; enabling managers themselves to deal with problem resolution and/or organizational change.
- **Evaluation**, e.g., assessing the efficacy of the purchasing function, evaluating the field service operation, appraising the quality of distributor relations.
- **Mediation**, e.g., working with managers in different organizational units to resolve conflicts of interest or differences in strategic objectives.

Another matter to be discussed in the initial client/team meeting is the perceived urgency of the work to the client. When must it be completed? How critical is it to the organization? The greater the urgency, the more likely the client managers will be to make themselves accessible and to comply with requests for data. It is, of course, also more likely that the work will be given high priority at top management levels. Furthermore, the greater the urgency, the more likely it is that the project will culminate in the organization's taking action. A sense among team members that the client perceives the project as an academic exercise should lead to concerns about its ultimate success.

Identifying the Players

The issues cannot be defined and the client commitment assessed, however, until the project team is sure that it understands who the client really is. To whom in the organization will the team address its report? Who will be responsible for accepting or rejecting the team's recommendations and taking action? If a faculty supervisor has developed the project lead, with whom did he or she deal in the client organization? Was that person acting on his or her own behalf or as an agent for someone at a higher level of management? One outcome of the first client/team meeting, then, is either to have confirmation of your initial understanding regarding client identity or to flag some uncertainties on this matter. If uncertainties remain, any confusion should be brought immediately to the attention of the faculty supervisor, and the team should ask for his or her help in clarifying the roles of the several players in the client organization.

In addition, it is important to identify, as soon as possible, those persons in the client firm who are useful sources of information and opinion, those who may be contacted for obtaining source documents and/or arranging meetings and making hotel reservations, and that person to whom expense accounts are to be submitted for reimbursement.

Building Trust

Perhaps the most critical task of all in an initial meeting—and one on which project success hinges—is to begin to establish trust on both sides. Personal concerns such as the following may at first outweigh the client manager's desire to tackle the important business issues.

- Can I trust these guys with what I'd like to tell them?
- What don't I want them to know?
- This wasn't my idea, but will it help me in my job?
- Can I keep this exercise under control?
- Do I want to talk to these students at all?

A client manager's needs for reassurance—clearly part of the hidden agenda—may be satisfied, at least in part, in several ways. First, demonstrate some understanding of the company and the industry and, perhaps in conversation, try to relate this knowledge to other industries and companies that you may have studied in the MBA classroom. Second, share the manager's concerns about the importance of the problem, showing that you understand it and recognize its unique aspects. Third, you might discuss the manager's involvement with the issue at hand as well as his or her role in the firm or department. These can be "low-key" exchanges. They may serve better to build trust than attempting to establish team members' qualifications through a display of MBA-acquired knowledge and business buzzwords.

Once the client manager is comfortable with the project and those who will carry it out, he or she usually becomes less concerned about personal risks and more willing to share knowledge and ideas. Not often do managers have the opportunity to converse with an interested outsider about the nature of their jobs, the lessons of experience, and their perspectives on how problems happen and how they can be resolved! Perhaps, then, the best way to establish trust is to be a good and understanding listener.

Members of the project team, in turn, may have their own concerns about trust:

- Are these people really committed to seeing this through? Will they cooperate in giving us the information we need and making key people available?

- If learning about this kind of business is important to us, will we be able to tap into their knowledge and expertise at a high enough level to make it worthwhile?
- Will they want to use us in ways we don't want to be used?

Team members have the greatest negotiating power in their first meeting with client managers. Tactfully but firmly, then, team members should be forthright in raising questions of commitment and cooperation and should look for explicit answers. In particular, they should be sure that they understand and "buy into" the client's concept of the purpose of the project. If, for example, it turns out that what the client really has in mind is industrial espionage, the project is not legitimate from the students' perspective.

Peter Block, a professional consultant, sums up the agenda for the first meeting as follows:

> What's important to remember here is that you only undermine your leverage if you underplay your own needs and wants at the beginning. . . . The business of the contracting phase is to negotiate wants, cope with mixed motivation, surface concerns about exposure and loss of control. . . .

In the course of the meeting, you should be able to:

- Ask direct questions about who the client is and who the less visible parties to the contract are.
- Elicit the client's expectations of you.
- Clearly and simply state what you want from the client.
- Say no or postpone a project that in your judgment has less than a 50/50 chance of success.
- Probe for the client's underlying concerns about losing control.
- Probe for the client's underlying concerns about exposure and vulnerability.
- Give verbal support to the client.[2]

Negotiating the Contract

If at all possible, given time and travel constraints, the negotiation of a definitive contract is best saved for at least a second meeting, after you

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2. Peter Block, *Flawless Consulting* (San Diego: University Associates, Inc., 1981), p. 45. Reprinted by permission.

and the client have gotten to know each other and after you have had a chance to talk among yourselves about the first meeting. The contract doesn't have to be in writing (unless required by your faculty supervisor), but it would certainly be helpful if you and the client had a file memo of what you agreed on. A written summary is useful for later reference, for possible renegotiation, and, at the very least, as the source of an opening statement in your final report.

The contract should be explicit about:

- who the client is—the person or persons who will negotiate the project objectives, to whom the report will be addressed, and who will have responsibility for taking action
- issues to be addressed
- what you won't cover
- the product to be delivered
- the information you'll need
- what you will do
- what the client will do
- the contact person or persons
- confidentiality
- time schedule
- budget
- performance measures

Defining the Issues

There was no structured, well-defined problem when we started the study. The president just asked us to help him with "make vs. buy" decisions. Our original plan of action for field study research kept shifting as we interviewed more people and learned more about the company's capabilities and opportunities.

Our biggest problem was defining the scope of the project with our client at the outset. Once we had a clear definition of what it was they wanted, the project moved forward and progressed smoothly.

As these students found out, defining the issues to be worked on is often difficult. Almost invariably, the initial problem statement is symptomatic of deeper concerns. For example, the stated issue may be whether to market a new product through the direct sales force or the company's distributor channels; the underlying problem, however, may turn out to be the design and management of the company's distribution system. Or the failure of a new product launch may be perceived as an advertising and promotion problem, but in reality the issue is poor communication among the R&D, marketing, manufacturing, sales, and advertising functions and a breakdown in the product development and market introduction processes. Resolving such a problem may mean dealing with dysfunctional relationships among managers in several departments.

The client's initial problem statement can't be ignored, however, and the team may thus be working at two or three problem levels: (1) how to deal with what the client says is the problem, (2) how to define and deal with the underlying organizational and management issues that may have given rise to the problem, and (3) how to work around the politics of the situation to secure client commitment and corrective action.

Furthermore, client managers may be reluctant to express what is actually on their minds. If, for example, the key concern is the need for internal mediation, organizational development, or an evaluation of some functional unit, expressing such a concern may seem to them like "airing dirty linen." It should be kept in mind, as well, that any one manager's perceptions of the issues—and his or her ideas about solutions—will reflect the manager's own role biases and career interests.

It is also important for both the client and the team to have a clear understanding of what the job does not include. Potentially interesting areas of study may have to be left out because there simply isn't enough time for you to pursue them. It is essential to be realistic from the very beginning about what can be accomplished in the time you have and to be selective in deciding what particular contribution you can make.

The broader aspects of the problem may have to be left unsolved, as well, because departments and functions not under the client's scope of responsibility and authority would be involved. In addition, for internal political or competitive reasons, the client may not want outsiders to play a role in these matters at this time.

Finally, if you detect any expectations on the client's part that you will deliver certain things—e.g., proprietary information about competitors or candid evaluations of people in the client organization—that are unacceptable to you, you should state explicitly what you are not willing to do.

While issue definition—or project focus—is clearly of primary importance in a first-meeting agenda, constant reexamination is often necessary and should be prominent on the agenda of meetings with key client personnel. In the meantime, coming up with an explicit problem definition should not delay getting started on interviewing and other data gathering.

In general, the final problem statement should be able to satisfy the following criteria:

- It addresses both symptoms, as articulated by client managers, and causal factors, as developed in conversations among the managers and team members.
- The issue statement is mutually agreed upon by, and acceptable to, client managers, team members, and the faculty supervisor.
- The issue is of sufficient urgency to the client to ensure the client's full cooperation.
- The scope of the work is such that it can be accomplished in the time the team has available.
- The key client manager has the authority to give the team access to relevant file data and personnel who can contribute information and ideas essential for dealing with the issues.
- The problem is one on which action may feasibly be taken and solutions implemented within the scope of authority of client managers.
- Working on the issues will meet the team's goals for learning from field experience.
- The assignment does not involve team members, or client managers for that matter, in unethical activities.

The End Product

The contract should specify the nature of the product and to whom it will be delivered. Typically, the product consists of a written report and an oral presentation. Depending on the faculty supervisor's preferences and the wishes of client managers, it may be delivered in either one form or the other. In the case of a written report, it is essential to know at the outset who will receive copies and, for the oral presentation, who will be in attendance. This information helps focus the discussion in both reports.

The final report and/or written presentation are the client's property. Should any further use be made of the work (e.g., as a case study, or for inclusion in a faculty research project, or as a reference in an article or book), written approval for the intended use must be requested from the client organization. Finally, lest there be any doubt, it should be made explicit that all information the team receives during the course of the project will be treated as confidential, to be shared only among team members and their faculty supervisor.

Budgets

The major budget item is usually travel. Travel costs, of course, are a function of distance and the number of team-member days to be spent on field trips. In many projects, the budget must also provide for questionnaire surveys and/or focus group interviews. The budget should also include anticipated expenses for secretarial, duplicating, and graphics work. Finally, in the miscellaneous expenses category, provision

✓ should be made for telephone, postage, supplies, equipment rentals, and library literature searches.

Depending on the nature of the project and distances to be traveled, field studies project budgets usually run between $5,000 and $10,000, with reimbursements made for expenditures actually incurred. Developing a proposed budget is the responsibility of team members. Once they and the client managers agree on how the project will be carried out, obtaining client approval of project cost estimates generally does not pose problems; usually the client has a ballpark figure in mind at the outset. The faculty supervisor, on negotiating with sponsoring organizations, will often provide such a benchmark.

Problems in making cost reimbursements can arise if the client is restricted from making payments to individuals and proposes that such payments be made to your school. Government agencies and other nonprofit organizations sometimes face such restrictions.

The school's financial office may be precluded from acting as a transfer agent, i.e., accepting payments from sponsoring organizations and making payments to students. Thus, if reimbursement constraints do exist, the problem must be confronted as soon as possible and payment procedures worked out, usually with the help of the faculty supervisor.

Schedule

The contract should provide for one or two interim briefing meetings with key client managers before the final report is submitted. It would not be premature in the contracting meeting to set the date for the final oral presentation to ensure that those who should be there—particularly those managers who will have responsibility for taking any actions recommended in the report—have the date on their calendars.

Finally, team members may wish to schedule a debriefing on actions taken and the results six months or so after the conclusion of their work, to be conducted on-site, by a conference call, or by written communication. Reviewing what happened may enhance the learning experience for the team and benefit the client organization, particularly if there is opportunity for discussion.

Liaison Arrangements

Having one or more people from the company named to serve in a liaison capacity will be invaluable in facilitating the team's work. The contact person can be the go-between in scheduling meetings, making travel arrangements, and processing expense statements. This person can also be responsible for keeping a log of file memoranda and other reports used by the team as data sources. Whether more than one person is needed to fulfill this function depends on the individual project. In some instances, for example, different team members may be working in different departments in the client organization, and each may find it useful to have his or her own contact person. In some cases, the client may prefer to divide the different liaison tasks among different people. Normally, however, one contact person will suffice to coordinate team/client relationships.

Performance Measures

Finally, team members should raise questions about performance measures. What, exactly, does the client hope for? How will the client managers judge whether the project is a success from their perspective? What needs do they want the study to meet and for whom? Sometimes client managers can be vague about performance measures; to avoid misunderstandings later, team members should take some time to help them formulate and make explicit their expectations. The discussion may lead, moreover, to a more precise and realistic understanding of the issues to be covered and the needs of those who have a stake in the outcome.

Because no prescribed agenda can cover every relevant matter, it is useful to conclude the contracting meeting by asking client managers how they feel about the project so far and whether there are any matters not yet covered or any concerns not addressed. If the participants in the meeting have developed a rapport, some surprising and important concerns may arise:

- How much of our time will this take?
- Our ad agency gave us a report on this matter just a year ago; we're concerned that you may come out in a different place, and we don't want to rock the boat with the agency.
- My boss has some very positive views on what we should do about this problem, and I've got to deal with that if your recommendations aren't in line with her ideas.
- Manager X is a little nervous about this whole project; please be sensitive to that and see if you can get him aboard.

Such comments and questions may reflect misgivings about the project and the risks that managers may incur in being associated with it. It is far better to have such concerns emerge early than to have them lurking in the background and result in conflict and even resistance as the work proceeds.

Pitfalls

When asked in a questionnaire survey what their biggest problems were in dealing with sponsoring organizations, MBA students at Harvard Business School came up with the following observations:

Because of the dynamic nature of the company I felt that the company did not really know what it wanted us to do and was not prepared for the study. They also used us to fight internal political battles. We had difficulty or were unable to meet with some key figures we diligently tried to meet with.

The objective of the study was not clear to [Company X] in the beginning and was changed several times. This led to substantial delays in the beginning (2-4 weeks).

The target company was not on board, with the exception of one middle manager. We didn't have quality, up-to-date information from the target company, which would have made analysis more meaningful.

Agreement on the objectives; interaction with company and group was strained at times when the company was somewhat sensitive about our suggestions.

Political problems related to recommending something different from what was already implemented.

Distance and poor communications facilities; client responsiveness was slow; decision makers within the client organization were only moderately involved—the dominant attitude was that they were doing our school a favor, not that students were helping to solve an important matter.

Defining the nature of the problem and managing the expectations of the client and the faculty adviser.

Because this was an export project, access to overseas market information was difficult and expensive to obtain. One ten-day research trip overseas was sufficient but required extensive preparation. The company's cooperation was essential in order to make dealer appointments and to provide the field study team with credibility.

Change in field study direction halfway through project. This was managed successfully.

Getting interviews with key people in some of the companies. CEOs were tough to reach. Persistence was critical.

Senior management (not involved in initial meetings) felt that we didn't have the capabilities to do a proper study in West Germany and thought that we would use trips to the country as a vacation. Thus, our budget was cut, and the project scope narrowed one month into the project. The team had serious morale problems during the first several weeks of the project. It was too late to change projects, and we felt that [our client] 't attach a high priority to our work. Our contact with senior management was extremely limited throughout the project, and we did our market study over the phone. It was a very frustrating experience.

Data Collection Methods

There are four basic sources of data for field projects: personal interviews, questionnaire surveys, focus group interviews, and the library archives. Personal interviews are almost always necessary, especially in the early stages of the work, and they often become the major vehicle for gathering facts and opinions.

Telephone and mail questionnaires may be used if the number of data points is too large and dispersed to access through personal interviews. Questionnaires are also necessary if the project calls for developing a statistically valid profile of some relevant group for purposes of describing preferences and behavior.

Focus group interviews are conducted with small groups of subjects who are representative of some target audience or constituency relevant to the client. Focus groups are used extensively to test new product ideas, to react to advertising themes and presentations, and to gather opinion on public policy issues.

Archival records—that is, library data—may be essential to tap in order to gain background context. Literature searches may be commissioned to find out, for example, about market size, competitors, product technology, relevant legislation, and publicly reported events of interest.

6

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

CHAPTER 10

Conducting Group Meetings

One of the most common complaints we hear from supervisors, managers, and executives is that "there are too many meetings." Indeed, the higher one goes in an organization's hierarchy, the more time one is going to spend conducting or participating in meetings. It seems likely that the use of meetings in organizations is going to increase rather than decrease in the future. In his book *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives,* John Naisbitt claims that "people whose lives are affected by a decision must be part of the process arriving at that decision." He goes on to argue that "whether or not we agree with the notion or abide by it, participatory democracy has seeped into the core of our value system. Its greatest impact will be in government and corporations."[1] Already this trend is clear in the business setting. In response to a survey of management practices conducted nationwide, only 15.3 percent of all top executives and 12.3 percent of all managers said they make major decisions without consulting all their direct subordinates in meetings; all the rest used participative decision making to some extent.[2]

With this increasing emphasis on participative decision making has come an increased need for two other things: skills among employees and supervisors in participating in meetings and skills among supervisors, managers, and executives in conducting meetings. James O'Toole of the Center for Future Research at the University of Southern California claims that "what America will require is workers who are humane individuals, with analytical and entrepreneurial skills, who know how to work in groups, and who know how to solve problems."[3]

In keeping with this growing need, the previous two chapters discussed the factors of group participation. In this chapter, we will consider techniques for leading group meetings. Specifically, we will discuss the times at which meetings should and should not be called; how to prepare for meetings; how to announce meetings; general approaches to leading meetings; specific formats by which certain types of meetings can be run; things to do as a follow-up to a meeting; and strategies for dealing with problem participants in groups. All of this should help you develop your skills in conducting group interactions in the organizational setting.

Before turning to the practical aspects of conducting or leading meetings, however, we want to consider leadership more theoretically. Historically, there have been several different approaches to the study of leadership, each providing contrasting insights into this complex process. In the next section, we will explain four of these approaches.

Approaches to the Study of Leadership

The Trait Approach

Probably the earliest view of leadership was based on the notion that "leaders are born, not made." This approach suggested that there were certain qualities, such as physical energy or friendliness, that were *essential* for effective leadership, regardless of the nature of the group being led, the task assigned the group, or other situational factors. The essential leadership qualities or traits would simply be transferred appropriately from situation to situation. Thus, it was believed possible to separate leaders from followers.

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Approaches to the Study of Leadership

Approach	Assumptions	Communication Emphasis
Trait	Leaders are born, not made.	Effective communication traits
Stylistic	Leaders' effectiveness is based on what they do, not what they are.	Autocratic versus democratic versus laissez-faire styles
Situational	Leader effectiveness is based on how styles fit group contexts.	Positional power, nature of task and social relationships
Functional	Leadership is behaviors, not people.	Communication behaviors that influence group members

Unfortunately, the inherent leadership traits discovered in empirical investigations varied greatly from study to study. One scholar reported that only 5 percent of the identified leadership traits consistently appeared in four or more investigations.[4] Perhaps the most encouraging collection of information on the trait approach was compiled by Stogdill.[5] In an exhaustive review of leadership research published since 1945, Stogdill was able to identify a relatively stable number of leadership traits. Among the most frequently occurring factors were social and interpersonal skills, technical skills, intellectual skills, leadership effectiveness qualities, group task supportiveness, and task motivation. A final set of factors Stogdill identified focused on the personality characteristics of leaders, which included willingness to share responsibility, emotional balance and control, ethical conduct, personal integrity, communication ability, energy, enthusiasm, experience, courage, maturity, and independence.

These factors provide an elementary sketch of characteristics associated with leadership. It is important to remember, however, that a leadership trait that is an asset in one situation may function as a liability in other situations. Furthermore, the kinds of skills the leader needs to exhibit may vary as the group or organization develops. That is, leadership traits necessary for emerging as a leader may differ substantially from those required for maintaining one's position of leadership.[6]

More recent attempts to contribute to our understanding of the differences between leaders and nonleaders have focused on the characteristics of the individual's *communication behavior* rather than on his or her personality. One researcher identified five negative traits that consistently prevented an individual from emerging as the group leader: being uninformed, not participating, demonstrating extreme rigidity, exhibiting authoritarian behavior, and engaging in offensive verbalization.[7] On a more positive note, another investigator discovered that appointed leaders who were able to maintain their leadership status throughout a meeting were more agreeable and less opinionated then their unsuccessful counterparts.[8]

It is unlikely that any investigation will ever reveal an unvarying set of leadership traits completely free of environmental, task, and socioemotional conditions within and surrounding the group or organization. Even so, it is important to identify the communication characteristics associated with leadership emergence and maintenance, high-quality interaction, and positive group outcomes. These are the kinds of qualities that can be developed. Managers within organizations can learn communication skills to facilitate important management responsibilities, such as problem solving and conflict resolution.

The Stylistic Approach

Another approach to the study of leadership has focused on what leaders *do* rather than the kinds of people they are. This stylistic approach was given impetus by the now classic investigation of White and Lippitt, who studied leadership in three different social climates: authoritarian, democratic, and laissez-faire.[9] White and Lippitt concluded that the democratic style was superior to the others in several respects, including the level of group cohesiveness developed, the amount of independent behavior exhibited by the subjects, the quality of the product created by the group, and overall member satisfaction with the group experience.

Many other studies have reinforced the value of the democratic style of leadership. One investigator found that groups with more permissive leaders developed higher levels of cohesiveness than groups with less permissive leaders.[10] A classic study by Coch and French pointed to employee participation as a significant variable in reducing resistance to altered working conditions in a large industrial organization.[11] Finally, in a summary of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology studies of human behavior, Galbraith reported great support for participative decision making as a means of increasing productivity and morale.[12]

Yet not all studies have supported the complete superiority of democratic leadership. Shaw reported that groups working under autocratic leadership took less time, committed fewer errors, and produced more than groups working under the direction of democratic leaders. These autocratically led groups, however, evidenced greater aggression and hostility and lower morale.[13] Moreover, a number of studies conducted in actual organizations have demonstrated that the best managerial style depends on a number of situational variables, among them the nature of the workers and the kind of work being carried out.[14]

In part, it is difficult to compare the results of stylistic studies of leadership because of the wide variance in how investigators define the different leadership styles. "Participation" may range from total involvement in significant decision making to the mere opportunity to approve an already sanctioned policy. Furthermore, as Gouran has noted, "the democratic and participatory styles at their best are frequently studied in relation to more autocratic styles at their worst."[15] It is possible to lead a group in a relatively autocratic, directive fashion and still be fair, considerate, and responsive to the needs of group members.

Given the wide variety of organizations, types of human beings, and other situational concerns, it is unlikely that one style of leadership will ever be found consistently superior in all significant respects. Situational factors will greatly influence the success of any given style of leadership.

The Situational Approach

If no one style of leadership can be declared to be universally superior, then the context in which leadership is exercised can be explored. Perhaps the best known exponent of the situational school is Frederick Fiedler. His research efforts spanned some fifteen years and focused on such diverse groups as athletic teams, business management groups, bomber crews, surveying teams, and policymaking committees.[16] Fiedler concluded that the style of leadership most effective in any given situation depends on three factors: the *power* of the leader's *position*, the *nature* and *structure* of the *task* being performed, and the *social relationships* between the leader and other group members. The ideal situation is one in which the leader has high position power and a clearly structured task and is able to maintain good social relations with other group members. Under such circumstances, it is the authoritarian leader who seems to be most effective. Interestingly enough, the authoritarian is also more effective when conditions are extremely unfavorable: that is, when the task is not clearly structured, when the leader has little position power, or when group members must work with a leader whom they dislike. The democratic style is most successful when the group is functioning under only moderately favorable conditions. In practice, most organizational settings in which leaders find themselves are moderately positive. Thus, Fiedler's research tends to suggest that in many situations, democratic leadership is the preferred management strategy.

In addition to the contextual factors enumerated by Fiedler, others appear to influence the effectiveness of a given style of leadership. The *self-confidence* of group members will influence the style of leadership they are willing to accept. For example, discussants who are confident that they are knowledgeable on the topic under discussion and are capable of contributing substantively to the group's decision-making effort are not likely to be supportive of an authoritarian leader. On the other hand, group members who have little confidence in their abilities to function constructively are more likely to appreciate authoritarian leadership. They may, in fact, feel lost and inadequate with a leader who strongly encourages them to participate in the discussion and share in making decisions.

Still another important situational variable is the leader's actual or perceived *competence*. Leaders who are highly intelligent and possess abundant knowledge on the discussion subject are quite likely to be accepted by the group—regardless of their particular leadership style. This is especially true when there are vast discrepancies between the information levels or perceived competence of the leader and the other group members.

Finally, and of particular relevance to organizational decision making, we know that groups will tend to accept a style of leadership that has allowed them to function successfully in the past. Groups that make high quality decisions and produce excellent products are much more likely to continue under the same leader's guidance than groups that experience continual or significant failure.

What is important, then, is flexibility in our attitudes toward preferred leadership styles. Some situations demand a relatively directive style of leadership, especially those situations in which nonleaders in the group lack confidence, knowledge, or even the desire to take the responsibility for shared decision making. In such instances, autocratic leadership is probably appropriate. In other situations, however, providing too much direction might stifle creativity, extinguish enthusiasm, and result in impaired decision making. Thus, it is the "fit" between the leader and the situation that is important.

The Functional Approach

All the perspectives discussed so far have focused on the behavior and characteristics of those individuals who are acknowledged or appointed leaders. The functional approach conceives of leadership differently. The behavior of *any* group member that promotes the achievement of group goals is viewed as leadership. Leadership functions are usually performed by more than one group member, and it is conceivable that all individuals in the group might contribute to the achievement of the group's objectives. In this latter instance, all group members function as leaders, although the extent of their goal-directed influence would undoubtedly vary both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Research has not identified all potentially relevant leadership behavior. Moreover, among those variables believed to be positively associated with the exertion of influence within a group, no one has actually identified those functions uniquely related to leadership. It is possible that a group member could perform several different tasks or socioemotional roles (for example, requesting information and relieving tension) and still fail to lead the group toward the accomplishment of its task. Perhaps leadership should be viewed as a characteristic that each member will likely exhibit *in some form;* however, only some members will function as leaders to any significant extent. Then the issue becomes determining what constitutes a significant amount of a given function.

The important thing to remember about the functional approach to leadership is that *each person* is capable of leadership regardless of whether or not he or she is ever formally appointed "leader." All too often, group members perceive the need for elaboration or clarification. They sense that someone needs encouragement. Or they possess abundant and necessary information for the critical analysis of the problem before the group. Yet they fail to assert themselves and perform the needed function simply because they believe that the appointed leader ought to be the one to do it.

When to Call Meetings

Many of the complaints or "bad press" that meetings receive are due to their inappropriate usage. Too many meetings are held when no meeting really is needed. Conversely, too many decisions are made without a meeting when, in fact, a meeting should have occurred. As a first step in knowing when and when not to have a meeting, Auger suggests you keep in mind the following principles:[17]

First, you *should* call a meeting when you need to:

1. Reach a group judgment as the basis for a decision.
2. Discover, analyze, or solve a problem.
3. Gain acceptance from the group for an idea, program, or decision.
4. Achieve a training objective.
5. Reconcile conflicting views.
6. Provide essential information for work guidance or for the relief of insecurities or tensions.
7. Insure equal understanding of company policy, methods, or decisions.
8. Obtain immediate reactions to a problem that requires a speedy response.

On the other hand, you *should not* call a meeting when:

1. Other communications, such as telephone, telegram, letter, E-mail, or memo, will produce the desired result.
2. There is not sufficient time for adequate preparation by participants or the meeting leader.
3. One or more key participants cannot attend.
4. The meeting is not likely to produce satisfactory results because of personality conflicts or conflicts with overall management strategy.
5. Expected results do not warrant spending the money it will cost to hold the meeting.

When deciding whether to call a meeting, always remember the old saying that "time is money." Meetings consume a lot of both, and you must be sure the investment is worthwhile before convening any meeting.

Preparing to Conduct Meetings

Much of the effort that goes into making a meeting successful occurs before the meeting happens. Only through careful planning can you be sure that the meeting will be as successful as possible. Yet research conducted by Frank suggests that preparation often is lacking: When asked "How frequently are group meetings well planned?", 40.6 percent of the respondents in his survey of 416 organizations responded "almost never" or "sometimes."[18]

To insure thorough preparation, you should ask yourself several questions, such as

1. Have I clearly defined the purpose or purposes of the meeting?
2. What are the outcomes that should emerge from this meeting? (Information? Plans to gather information? Possible courses of action? A solution to a problem? A policy statement?)
3. Who should participate? As a rule, invite to the meeting people who are expected to carry out a decision to be reached at the meeting, people who possess unique information that they can contribute to the meeting, people whose approval may be

needed, people who have official responsibility for the matter under discussion, and people who have a personal contribution to make from a strategic standpoint (that is, whose support you want or whose opposition you want to avoid politically).

4. How should people be notified of the meeting? We will talk further about methods of announcing meetings in the next section.
5. How much time will the meeting probably take?
6. What information, if any, do members need before the meeting?
7. What follow-up, if any, will be needed after the meeting?
8. What agenda will the meeting follow?
9. What is the best time and place for the meeting?
10. What physical arrangements need to be made for the meeting?

Answering these questions will probably provide adequate preparation for a meeting.

The *facility* in which the meeting is to be held should be given careful consideration as part of the planning process. The physical location of a meeting and equipment used during that meeting have a powerful impact on the meeting's success. As a result, you must plan carefully the physical facilities to be used during the session. Generally, you should consider five basic elements: *task, comfort, acoustics, visibility,* and *interference.*

Task is a consideration of the work to be done in the meeting and of the equipment necessary to do that work. If a presentation is to be given, for example, an overhead transparency projector or a slide or film projector and a screen may be needed. If participants' comments are to be solicited and discussed, a "flip pad" or easel pad of large sheets of paper will be needed. A blackboard also may be needed. Occasionally, videotaping equipment, such as cameras, playback units, and monitors, is used. The leader should insure that all such equipment is at the meeting site, that spare bulbs for projectors are on hand, that electrical outlets have been located and the necessary extension cords procured, and that there are markers or chalk for use on the flip pad or blackboard.

Comfort involves several aspects of the environment. Temperature and ventilation are important. You need to determine how to control the room's temperature and ventilation, should the room become too cold, hot, or stuffy during the meeting. In all instances, speed of change is the primary concern. Any room can have its temperature or ventilation changed; the issue during a meeting is whether the change can be achieved quickly enough.

Another aspect of comfort is the chairs: Are they padded enough or flexible enough to provide comfort for a long meeting? Are they too comfortable (creating the possibility of people dozing off during the meeting)? Are they moveable so that people can face each other if necessary? Will desks or tables be needed? Any equipment that participants may need, such as writing tablets, pencils, or erasers, should also be set out at each person's seating place before the meeting begins.

Acoustics, or the ability of people to hear one another, is also an important consideration. You should be sure that sound carries well even when the room is full of people (sound always carries better in an empty room) and that the room is not overly large so that people will sit too far from one another. If necessary, obtain microphones and loudspeakers so everyone can be heard.

Visibility is also important. People should be able to see anyone who is talking, whether that person is the meeting leader or another group member. If charts, graphs, slides, movies, or other visuals are to be used, everyone must be able to see these as well. All of this should be taken into consideration when arranging the room. Consider the impact of any seating arrangement on group interaction. As we have indicated in earlier chapters, people are more likely to talk with people seated next to them or across the table from them and far less likely to talk with people seated some distance away. Be sure that everyone has equal access to everyone else if group discussion is to be an important part of the meeting (sitting around a circular table might be helpful in this regard) or that committee members who need to work together are seated next to one another.

Interference is one final concern. Interruptions should be prevented and background noise eliminated if at all possible. You need to investigate what things, if any, will be happening in adjoining rooms during your meeting. You also need to select a meeting location that is away from the normal work area, unless the meeting is to be very brief and informal. A "do not disturb" notice on the door may be helpful, and participants should be told ahead of time to have messages taken for them during the meeting so interruptions will not occur.

Announcing Meetings

Too often meetings fail because they are poorly announced. The wrong people show up, participants arrive unprepared, or members have to leave before the end of the meeting because no one knew how long the meeting would take. To avoid such problems, you should send a written announcement at least one week in advance to everyone involved in the meeting. Do not rely on telephone calls, face-to-face interactions, or even E-mail (since some don't check their mail regularly).

The written announcement of the meeting should say:

Why the meeting is being held. Members should know what the purpose of the meeting is and what their role is to be. This gives them a chance to prepare for the meeting if necessary, and it lets them know what matters will not be part of the meeting's contents.

When the meeting starts and ends. Most announcements indicate the starting time; too few say how long the meeting is expected to last. To avoid people leaving early due to other commitments, state in the announcement how long the meeting is expected to go or when it will adjourn.

Where the meeting is to be held. If attendees are likely to be unfamiliar with the location, a map or some description of how to find it should be included.

Who is going to attend. The complete list of attendees should be provided for everyone to see. The list need not give everyone by name ("the entire training force" would be sufficient), but each attendee should know who else is coming.

What is going to be considered in the meeting. An agenda or outline of the meeting's proceedings should be included. If attendees are allowed to suggest items for inclusion in the agenda, this fact also should be stated, and attendees should be told to whom their items should be sent and by what date those items should be received.

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Sample Meeting Announcement

To: All Training Department Members
From: H. K. Thompson, Director of Training & Development
Re: Upcoming Department Meeting
Date: November 10, 1994

On Friday, November 21, we will have a meeting of the Training Department, to be held in Training Room C in the Training Center, Building C. It will begin at 12 noon and be over by 1:30 p.m.

Mr. Don Johnson, Vice-President of Personnel, will be present to talk about his objectives for the training function next year, and Mr. Gary Howard, Director of Employee Relations, will attend to discuss the role of Corporate Training support for in-plant locations.

The purposes of the meeting are (1) to discuss plans for the department and to choose specific programs to offer next year, (2) to review participant responses to this year's programs, and (3) to discuss any matters of concern to you. *Please bring all of your participant rating sheets to the meeting; you will be asked to present the average ratings received for each of your programs to the rest of the group.*

Our agenda is as follows:

1. Plans for next year
    a. Objectives of the Vice-President—Mr. Johnson.
    b. The Role of Corporate Training for In-Plant Location—Mr. Howard.
    c. Specific programs we should offer at Corporate facility (group suggestions).
    d. Specific programs we should offer at individual plant sites (group suggestions).
2. Program evaluations
3. Training staff's matters of concern

Business Brief 10.2 presents a sample announcement letter. While the contents of such a letter will change from one meeting and group to the next, the basic types of information contained in this announcement should be included in every meeting notification.

Approaches to Conducting Meetings

An important element of group leadership is the extent to which the leader shares power with the group members. Some leaders, for example, take total control of the meeting and decision making, simply telling everyone else what is going to happen, who is going to do what to whom, and so on. Other leaders are just the opposite: they allow a great deal of participation by the group members, both in interacting and in making decisions.

Regarding the concept of shared or conserved power, we can identify four basic approaches to conducting meetings:

Autocratic (highly directive) leadership occurs when the leader does virtually all the talking and decides everything (or virtually everything) the group will do. Meetings led by such leaders consist primarily of announcements the leader makes to the attendees, followed by any questions the attendees have for the leader. In other words, communication is almost exclusively downward and decision making is virtually nonexistent.

Consultative leadership encourages input from group members, although the leader still makes the final decisions. In effect, the leader "consults" with the members, asking for their thoughts and ideas concerning problems, decisions, actions, and so on. They participate in the interaction, and they have some influence over the leader's thinking. However, they have power only to the extent that they can persuade the leader to adopt their suggestions or proposals.

Democratic leadership adheres to the principle of "one person, one vote." The leader simply facilitates the meeting; he or she has no more power than does anyone else. The group members interact, make decisions, and solve problems.

Laissez-faire leadership occurs when the leader has virtually no role in the meeting. If, for example, a supervisor asks an employee to conduct the meeting while the supervisor sits at the back of the room or if the boss announces in advance that he or she will not attend a particular meeting so that a less inhibited discussion might occur, he or she is practicing laissez-faire leadership. If this leadership style is to be effective, it ought to be occasional and strategic. Since the laissez-faire leader gives away power, the group takes on both control and responsibility for its actions.

No one approach is always best. Each situation must be examined to determine which style of leadership will be most effective. Several factors should be considered when selecting a style (and corresponding meeting agenda). First, *group expectations* are important. What sort of leadership does the group expect you to provide? *Group purposes* should also be taken into account. What is the group trying to achieve? Learning, socializing, or team building require minimum leader control, while communicating specific information to the group is much more directive. *Group methods* are another consideration. Some group processes, such as brainstorming or rating problem priorities, require strict procedural control, while others, such as discussing a problem's underlying causes, can be done with virtually no leadership. *Time* is also a consideration. Participation takes time, while announcements can be given quickly. If a decision must be made at once, autocratic leadership may be required.

In choosing a leadership style, group *members' skills and maturity* should also be considered. Experienced, mature group members require less guidance and control than do new, inexperienced members. Moreover, the more people participate, the better they become at participation. Thus, gradually giving more and more participation to group members is one way of increasing the skills and maturity of the group. The *leader's own skill and confidence* are also factors to be considered. In general, directive leadership is easier to exert than consultative or democratic leadership. The latter two require skill in listening, handling conflict, controlling group interaction, and so on. Thus, as leaders become more skilled, they tend to become more participative over time.

Finally, the kind of leadership style most appropriate in a given situation will depend, in part, upon the *need for group support* and the *group's interest and involvement* in the issues under discussion. Some decisions need the active endorsement of the group. In addition, participation in decision making increases the commitment of those making the decision. Simply being told what to do or how to do it minimizes commitment and motivation. And, of course, the more controversial, involving, and interesting the issue being discussed, the more the members of the group will want, and should be encouraged, to participate.

Types of Group Meetings

Having identified general leadership styles, we can now examine types of meetings through which those styles are implemented. Once again, we will examine the autocratic, consultative, democratic, and laissez-faire styles, describing some meeting formats that fit each style.

Autocratic Meetings

Generally, autocratic meetings are not really meetings but rather presentations by the group leader to the group. As we already have seen, some situations demand this sort of meeting. Time may be of the essence, the group may not know enough about the topic to participate, the group may have no control over the topic so that participation would be meaningless, and so on. Whatever the case, the leader chooses to use the one-to-group setting to communicate information to the participants.

The autocratic meeting is really an exercise in public presentation. Therefore, the principles described in chapters 12, 13, and 14 will be of help in conducting this type of meeting. At this point, however, we can offer an agenda and some principles to follow when conducting the autocratic meeting:

I. Introduction
   A. Call the group to order.
   B. Announce the purpose of the meeting.
   C. If appropriate, explain why the meeting is being handled this way and why the group is not participating in making the decision or formulating plans.
   D. Preview the meeting agenda. List the order in which the topics will be covered, when breaks (if any) will be taken, when questions should be asked (any time; at the end of each announcement; at the end of the meeting), and when the meeting will probably end. The agenda might be written on a blackboard or flip pad at the front of the room to help keep participants oriented to the topic.
II. Presentation
   A. Announce the first topic; where appropriate, give the background of the topic, current actions or decisions, and future implications for this group.
   B. Announce the second topic; handle in the same way.
   C. Announce the third; continue through announcements.

- D. As much as possible, use visual aids: handouts, charts, graphs, overhead transparencies, and the like. Accompanying visual stimuli help participants both to understand and remember the announcements.

III. Conclusion
- A. Ask for and answer any questions.
- B. State again any future implications the announcements have for the group.
- C. Tell the group what follow-up will occur. ("I'll send each of you a memo saying in writing what I've announced today. If you have any questions or concerns later, give me a call.")
- D. Dismiss the meeting.

The keys to successful autocratic meetings are clarity, completeness, and comprehension. The information you provide must be as clear as possible to the members (watch their feedback carefully for signs of puzzlement or confusion, and let them ask questions). It must be complete, particularly if the members are to have a role in implementing the decision or if it will affect them. Finally, they must comprehend the reasoning behind the decision or the implications of the information.

Consultative Meetings

In consultative meetings, the leader maintains decision-making authority but asks the group to suggest alternatives, ideas, causes, and so on. At the beginning of the meeting, it is important to make this situation clear to the participants. The leader should state the problem, decision, or situation she is facing, tell the group that their ideas or suggestions are desired, but make it clear that the leader ultimately will have responsibility for the decision. Thus, while the leader promises to listen, she does not promise to do everything (or anything) the group suggests.

As an agenda for the meeting, the leader might choose to use one of those outlined in chapter 9: the reflective-thinking sequence, the creative problem-solving sequence, the nominal group procedure, or a questions-agenda model. Regardless of the agenda he suggests, however, the leader will have to solicit participation from the group. Several strategies may be useful here.

First, the leader might use an *overhead question*—one asked of the group as a whole. Such a question might be "What do you think of this?" or "What ideas do you have concerning solutions to this problem?" The problem with overhead questions, however, is that they may go over everyone's head; no one has responsibility for answering the question, so often no one answers. The silence that follows an overhead question is often deafening. If the overhead question does not produce participation or discussion, a more specific approach might prove useful.

One way to encourage participation is to use the *directed question*. That is, call on someone for an answer. While this guarantees that someone will say something to you, there are some principles you should observe when asking direct questions. First, be sure the member has an answer. If you ask someone a question about which she has neither an opinion nor information, the member (and you) will be embarrassed and discussion will be even more difficult to initiate. So make an effort to call on someone you

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Techniques for Consultative Meetings

Ask overhead questions
Ask directed questions
Use redirected questions
Use subgroupings

know to have information, whose nonverbal cues indicate he has an opinion (for example, a member who shakes his head negatively when you introduce the topic), or with whom you have spoken prior to the meeting to let her know she will be called upon at the beginning of the meeting.

Directed questions should also be sufficiently open, requiring more than a yes or no response. Asking "Bill, do you agree with that?" and having Bill grunt "uh-huh" hardly produces stimulating interaction. Ask "What are some things you think we should do, Bill?" or "Bill, how do you feel about this issue?" Directed questions also should be passed around the group. There is a temptation to call again and again on the same member, either because he is such a good answer-giver or because you are personally acquainted with that member and feel comfortable calling on him. You must make a deliberate effort to call on different members at different times.

Finally, encourage participation by asking *redirected questions*. That is, when a group member asks you a question, redirect the question back to the group, rather than immediately providing a response. For example, you might make it an overhead question: "What do all of you think of that?" You might direct it to another member: "Diane, how would you answer Bill's question?" Or you might redirect it back to the original questioner: "Well, I have some ideas of my own, but maybe you have something you could suggest." Again, your purpose is to stimulate interaction among the members; conducting a question-and-answer session with individual members does not achieve active group discussion.

In larger groups (more than ten people), another participation-producing device is to *subdivide the group into smaller groups*, give them a topic to discuss, and have them report back a few minutes later. For example, you might divide your group of ten into two groups of five members each and instruct them: "Now I want each of your groups to come up with the longest list possible of things we might do to improve the courtesy we show patients in the hospital. After about ten minutes, I'll stop you and have you report your answers for everyone." The small group setting and specific assignment of topics are very effective in getting people to talk with one another, and this interaction will continue when the larger group is reformed later on.

At the end of a consultative meeting, one of two things should occur. First, if you have the ability and inclination to make decisions on the spot, you should do so. Tell the group which of their recommendations you will accept and which you reject (along with reasons why you choose not to do those things) or which suggestions you will pass along to upper management and which seem not to be feasible (again offering explanations why). While some members may be disappointed that their ideas are not used, they nevertheless feel that some action will be taken based on their input, and this feeling is far more satisfying than being told "I'll get back to you with my decision" (particularly if the leader never gets back to them).

In some situations, however, you may not have the ability or desire to make an on-the-spot commitment. Then you must use the "I'll get back to you" statement, but you also should tell them when and how you'll get back to them: "I'll send you all a memo next week telling you what I have decided" or "We'll meet again next Tuesday at this same time so I can present my decisions to you and answer any questions." Do not, under any circumstances, leave the group hanging without any feedback or follow-up.

Democratic Meetings

In democratic meetings, decision-making power and group interaction are shared among all members. The principle of "one person, one vote" is followed, and the leader has no more power in making the decision than does any other group member. However, the leader does control the methods used by the group, setting the agenda they will follow, controlling interaction among them, and even deciding how decisions will be made.

In democratic groups, decisions can be made in several ways:

Consensus. Consensus is probably the ideal method of decision making. The group simply discusses the topic until everyone agrees. In Japan and among some religious sects (such as the Quakers), decision making by consensus is rigidly followed; nothing is decided until everyone agrees. Such decision making is desirable in that everyone supports the decision arrived at by the group, but it is also disadvantageous if there are time limits. As an extreme example, the Quakers debated the issue of slavery during the nineteenth century for nearly fifty years; they finally concluded their debates (without reaching consensus) long after the Civil War was over. If your group cannot reach consensus within a reasonable time period, you should move to some other technique for making a decision.

Group ratings or rankings. There are mathematical techniques for arriving at compromise solutions. If, for example, two alternatives remain and the group cannot choose between them, hand everyone a sheet of paper and ask them to rate each alternative on a scale from 0 to 10 (with 0 meaning it is a totally unacceptable solution, 5 meaning the solution is largely neutral, and 10 meaning it is the perfect solution to the problem). Then collect the ratings, calculate the average rating for each alternative (that is, add up the ratings given the first alternative and then divide by the number of members; then do the same for the second alternative, and select the alternative that comes out with the highest rating). If several alternatives remain, you might ask the group members individually to rank order them (a ranking of 1 for their favorite, 2 for their second favorite, and so on). Collect the rankings, calculate the average ranking for each alternative, and select the one with the lowest number (remember, the lower the number, the more preferred the alternative is). Either ratings or rankings can help the group make a decision without there being any "winners" or "losers"; everyone's ratings or rankings had an impact on the decision.

Process of elimination. Sometimes no alternative emerges as clearly the best. The strategy then might be to eliminate the worst. One technique for achieving this is called the "murder board." An alternative is written on a large sheet of paper or blackboard at the front of the room, and the group then tries to "kill" the idea by listing everything that could possibly be wrong with it. When they have run out of ideas, the next alternative is put up and subjected to the same treatment. The alternative that receives the fewest objections or has the fewest serious problems is chosen. Sometimes, however, all the alternatives are "killed"; then the group must generate new solutions to the problem or new decisions they can make.

Majority vote. In small groups, the majority vote method generally should be avoided. Whenever there is a vote, someone loses. This minority may be embarrassed, resentful, angry, frustrated, and so on, and they are not likely to support the group's decision. Granted, there are times (such as when parliamentary procedure is used) when majority votes are called for, but in most meetings, some other method of decision making should be employed whenever possible.

Many of the principles we have seen in this chapter and in the preceding two apply to the conduct of a democratic meeting. However, one democratic method of conducting a large-group meeting requires special knowledge on the part of the leader. We will consider that method in the section on parliamentary procedure.

Laissez-Faire Meetings

In a sense, any meeting can be a *laissez-faire* meeting; the leader has only to appoint a substitute leader, sit in back, and let things happen as they may, or for strategic reasons (like discouraging groupthink) not attend the meeting at all. In one type of laissez-faire meeting, facilitation by a leader is required, but decision making and interaction are almost entirely within the control of the group. This type is the *team-building* meeting.

While different authors suggest different team-building strategies, they generally agree on the goals team building should achieve.[19] First, it should cause the group members to agree on their common goals and objectives. Second, it should sort out the roles each member will play in working toward the goals and objectives. Third, it should cause the group to decide on the procedures they will follow when working together. Fourth, it should help them arrive at mutually satisfactory relationships with one another. All four of these might be achieved in a single meeting lasting as long as three or four days, or they might be accomplished one at a time through a series of meetings.

Littlejohn describes one common approach to team building that requires two one-day sessions.[20] The first day is devoted to a discussion of members' perceptions of the organization and of the team members themselves. They exchange opinions and ideas about the organization as a place in which to work, and they exchange knowledge about themselves. The second day focuses on planning and goal setting. Members deal with such issues as mission (Why do we as a team exist?), situation (Where are we now?), and strategies (How are we going to reach our goals?). Procedures such as these ultimately achieve the goals of team building.

Several specific techniques can be used to encourage interaction and achieve team-building objectives. For instance, you might have participants individually (or in small groups) develop a list of habits or practices they think the team should develop, modify, or improve. You might have them address the question "Why do we exist as a functioning team?" Have them report their answers. Then, from the composite list produced by all groups, have the groups meet again and rank the answers according to their importance. Another interesting question members might discuss in small groups is "What would we be like if we were the 'ideal' team?" Have each group report its answers and write them on a blackboard or flip pad. Then have the groups meet again and, taking each characteristic one at a time, answer the question "Is this us?" That is, does the overall team have that characteristic? Again, have the groups report their answers. Finally, for those characteristics where the consensus of the group is no, ask everyone "Is this characteristic important?" If the consensus is yes, an area needing change has been identified.

The next step is to move the group toward analyzing and solving the problem. To begin, you might put the members into small groups and then assign each group one or more of the characteristics needing change. For each characteristic, have the group answer the question, "Why are we not like this now?" Have them report their answers. In doing so, they will have identified the causes for the problems confronting the team. Then, assign each small group one or more of the characteristics identified as needing change. Ask the groups to develop the longest possible list of ways the group might achieve each characteristic. Practicality should not be a concern; wild and crazy ideas should be encouraged. Have the groups report their lists of possible solutions. For each possible solution reported by a small group, ask the entire group "Will you do this?" If the general feeling seems affirmative, ask "How?" Record the answers as the team's action plan.

Finally, to improve relationships among group members, give each individual member enough sheets of paper so that he or she can write a message to every other individual member. Then instruct the participants to write their own name and the name of the participant to whom they are writing at the top of each page. Finally, ask them to provide information related to three statements:

"If you were to do more of the following, it would help me to do my job better."

"If you were to do less of or stop doing the following, it would help me to do my job better."

"If you would continue to do the following, it would help me to do my job better."

When everyone has finished writing, have them exchange messages so that everyone has one message from every other member. Then have them write their own personal action plan, listing their commitments for the following statements:

"I will keep doing the following."

"I will do less of or stop doing the following."

"I will continue doing the following."

These statements of personal commitment should be taped to the walls of the meeting room for everyone to see, and members should be allowed to walk around the room and read everyone else's sheet. Copies of the sheets also are kept after the meeting to serve as reminders of the pledges each member made.

In a sense, the team-building meeting is not really a laissez-faire meeting in the stereotypic sense, because the leader actively participates by asking questions, recording answers, and assigning tasks to individuals or small groups. However, all decisions are made by the group with no input from the leader or facilitator, so that all authority is delegated by the leader to them. Indeed, some executives hire consultants specializing in team building to come to the organization and conduct these meetings. In those situations, the executive exerts true laissez-faire leadership.

Following Up Meetings

Whenever a meeting has been concluded, regardless of the style used to conduct that meeting, some follow-up must occur. At least three things need to be done. First, the group should be asked to examine their own proceedings and evaluate how effective the meeting was. Such evaluation can be done at the end of the meeting (by asking the participants to take a moment to express their thoughts in writing or to discuss briefly how well they thought the meeting went) or some time after the meeting (by distributing questionnaires about the meeting to the members and asking them to return the completed questionnaires to the leader). As a brief, informal approach to evaluating a meeting, we have found it useful to ask the participants to write their answers to three questions:

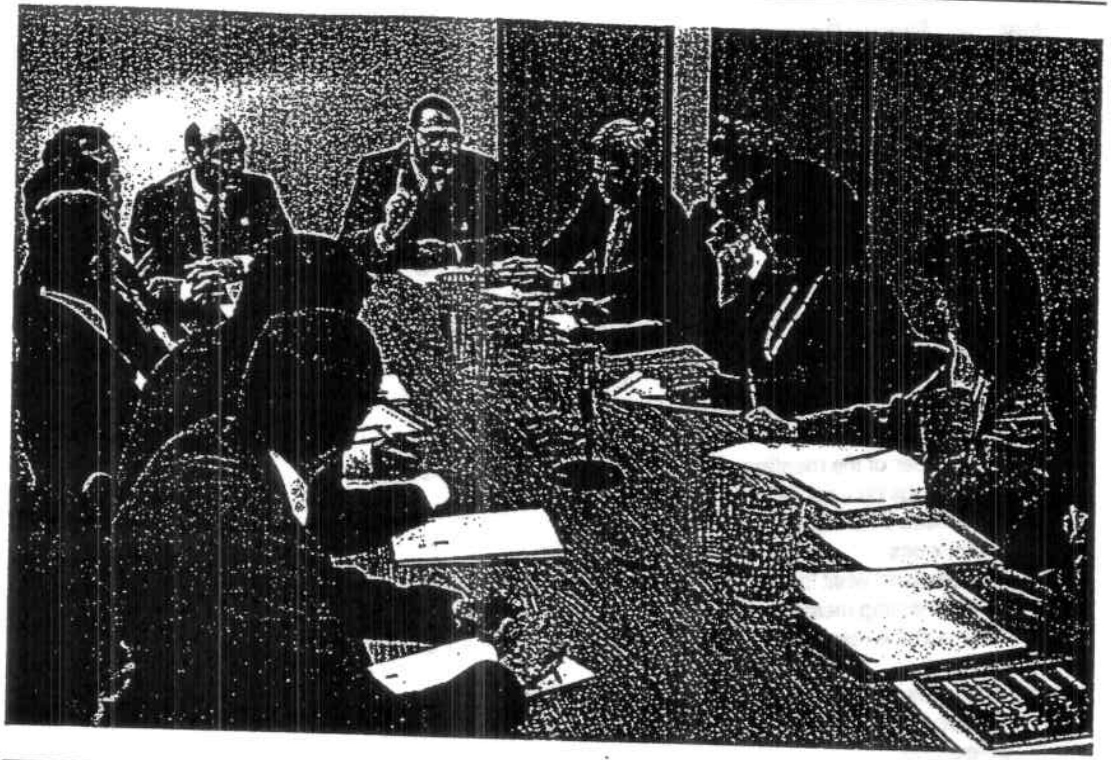
What part(s) of the meeting did you like most?

What part(s) of the meeting did you like least?

How might future meetings of this type be improved?

More complicated, but thorough, is the "Meeting Effectiveness Questionnaire" shown in table 10.1. By having members complete the questionnaire, the leader can get quantitative feedback on each element of the group's proceedings. Regardless of the form and timing of feedback, groups should almost always be asked to evaluate the quality of the meeting in which they participated.

When someone dominates the groups' talking time, other group members may withdraw or pretend to listen.



Second, the actions of the meeting should be reported to those who need to be advised. The report need not necessarily be a long set of notes or minutes but should contain enough information that those who could not attend or who will be affected by the results will know what was done and what was planned. In our view, such reports serve as useful reminders to the group participants and as notice of the group's achievements to other groups and individuals throughout the organization. Thus, we recommend that after every important meeting, a report be distributed both to the attendees and to anyone else who might have even a passing interest in the group's actions.

Third, the leader must check to be sure that commitments made during the meeting are carried out. Are people doing what they said they would do? Are they staying on schedule? Have they encountered new or unanticipated problems? Are there things the leader is committed to do for the group (such as get back to them with an answer)? In effect, the leader must monitor herself and the progress of the members as they do the things agreed to. Such monitoring might be achieved by speaking with members individually, asking for written progress reports, making occasional telephone calls to members, or calling another meeting.

Clearly, the work done by a group does not stop when the meeting concludes. Often, in fact, the meeting is only the beginning of the real effort. Effective, thorough follow-up is vital to the continuation of the things the group meeting began.

Table 10.1 Meeting Effectiveness Questionnaire

Circle the number that best describes how you feel about each statement below.

Key: 1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neutral
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

1. I clearly understood the purpose of the meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
2. The persons most directly involved with the purpose of the meeting were present.	1	2	3	4	5
3. All members had the opportunity to participate by expressing their views and opinions.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I had sufficient time and information to prepare for the meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The leader of the meeting kept things on track and minimized time wasted on side issues.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I understand what the results of the meeting mean for me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I support the results of the meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
8. The leader of the meeting was open to all ideas presented.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I understood what was expected of me at the meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Ideas were presented clearly and were easily understood by everyone present.	1	2	3	4	5
11. The participants seemed to want to work for the good of the group.	1	2	3	4	5

Handling Problem Participants

As group leader, you frequently will encounter group members whose behavior is not helpful to the group. And as group leader, it will become your responsibility to deal with these people. On occasion, group pressure or some assertive group member will bring the problem participant back into line, but as a rule, the group will look to you, literally and figuratively, to take some action.

While it is impossible to anticipate every bizarre behavior that can occur in a group, we have compiled some common problem behaviors and some techniques whereby a leader can address them. Problem behaviors fall into two types: *members who talk*

Table 10.1 continued

Circle the number that best describes how you feel about each statement below.

Key: 1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neutral
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

12. At the conclusion of the meeting, it was obvious to me that everyone knew what was expected of him or her.	1	2	3	4	5
13. The proper amount of time was allocated to this meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
14. The agenda/topics of the meeting were clear and easy to follow.	1	2	3	4	5
15. The meeting facilities were comfortable and appropriate.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Participation was spread evenly among the members; everyone talked about the same amount.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Conflicts between group members were resolved quickly and to everyone's satisfaction.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Decisions were made in ways that were fair to all group members.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Members dealt courteously with one another.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Each participant and all visual aids used during the meeting were easily visible to everyone.	1	2	3	4	5

In the future, we might improve similar meetings by:

too much and prevent others from participating and *members who don't talk or participate* enough. Specific problem types in each category are listed next, along with some strategies you might use to deal with them.

Members Who Talk Too Much

Show-offs know a great deal about the topic and are eager to prove it. They dominate the interaction out of a desire to exhibit their in-depth knowledge, and in so doing, they prevent everyone else from talking. To deal with a show-off, you might politely interrupt with a summarizing statement and ask someone else a direct question or interrupt with an observation: "Ken, you've made some interesting points, but I want everyone to have a chance. Let's hear what Tanya thinks about this." In addition, you could assign the member some specific project, such as gathering information or developing recommendations, and then have him present these to the group for their discussion. Finally, you could put the member in charge of a subcommittee of the group, and again have the entire group discuss their recommendations.

Quick and helpful members know all the right answers, but in providing them, they keep other members from participating. Unlike the show-off, their motive is not to exhibit skill and win approval but simply to help the group. You might manage such members by tactfully interrupting them and asking direct questions of other members, by talking about the interaction ("Juan, I really appreciate your ideas. Now let's see what someone else might contribute.") or by assigning the member a communication role, such as "idea evaluator." Before a meeting or during a break, for example, you might approach the member and say, "You really know a lot about this. Would you mind helping me evaluate the ideas that the other members contribute? We'll get their ideas, and then you indicate which seems best." Generally, the member will appreciate having such a clear and important function.

Ramblers babble incessantly during meetings, and invariably take the group away from the topic and on to something else. Other group members are quick to recognize and react to this sort of person: As soon as she begins to speak, they look at each other or cast their eyes heavenward out of frustration. The leader must step in. For example, when the rambler stops for a breath, thank her, rephrase one of her statements to make it relevant to the topic, and move back to that topic with a question to the group. Alternatively, you might interrupt and ask a direct question of someone else or talk about the interaction: "Thanks for your comments, Jean. Would anyone else like to comment now?" Finally, you could refer to the agenda or, if the topic is written on the blackboard or easel pad, point to the board or pad and ask the member which topic she is discussing. This method is potentially embarrassing to the member, however, and could cause anger or resentment.

Arguers constantly disagree with others, try to make trouble, and seem generally hostile. Such behavior disrupts the group, and it may be motivated by any number of things: frustration at not being the leader, dislike for the other group members, general crankiness, and so on. To prevent this behavior from upsetting and frustrating the other members, the leader must deal with it relatively quickly. You could seat the disruptive member next to you, making it easier for you to control him and to break in when arguments begin. You also might talk with the member privately and describe the behaviors you have observed. Ask the member to tell you what problems or concerns he has. Third, you could assign specific responsibilities to this member, just as you would the show-off. The feeling of being special may bring a hostile member back into the group, but it also may give him even greater opportunity to disrupt the group if that is his aim. Finally, if all else fails, you might privately ask the member to leave the group.

Side conversationalists insist on conducting private meetings of their own. Usually, a group will have two such problem members, who will be seen whispering or muttering to each other during the meeting. Such behavior is disruptive to other members and distracts these two participants from the group proceedings. To deal with this situation, you could direct a question to one of the conversationalists: "Kim, what do you think of that?" Kim either will have to answer, which automatically brings her back into the discussion, or she will have no idea what you are talking about, and her embarrassment will keep her involved in the discussion, at least for a while. In addition, you could talk privately to the conversationalists and express your concern about their behavior. Finally, if the same two people continually converse during meetings, assign seats for the next meeting with these two members at opposite sides of the group.

Complainers blame the group's problems on things not under the control of the group: management, company policy, the economy, and so on. They would rather gripe about the evils of these things than deal with the problem the group faces. In addition, they adopt a "what's the use" attitude that may cause apathy among other group members. To manage a complainer, you might address her directly and point out that some things cannot be changed by the group. Rather, the goal of the group is to operate as best it can under the present system. Alternatively, you might ask the member for a solution to her problem: "Well, Carol, what do you think we should do about the economy?" When she answers, "We can't do anything about it," ask, "Then should we just give up and go home?" She and other members will say no, enabling you to say, "Then what should we do?" In so doing, you will bring the group back to the topic and illustrate the futility of the member's complaints. Finally, you could interrupt the complaints and reorient the group to the topic under discussion.

Selfish members have a problem of their own that they want to discuss. They continually bring the group back to that problem, thus moving the group away from the topic at hand. To handle a selfish member, you could have the group discuss the member's problem. Get their opinions and recommendations; than return to the original topic. In addition, you might talk about the behavior and suggest that the member's problem be considered when the group has completed its current task: "John, you keep raising this problem. How about if we hold off on it for a while and talk about it when we have finished what we're doing?" Then deal with the member's problem when the group finishes the topic at hand. Finally, you could talk privately with the member about his problem and see if a solution can be developed outside the group.

Poor speakers lack communication skills: they speak too softly, do not speak clearly, express ideas poorly, and so on. The ideas may be good, but no one can tell because the member is inaudible or incomprehensible. To assist this sort of group member, repeat her ideas in your own words: "In other words, you're suggesting that. . . ." In addition, you may need to repeat the member's comments for everyone to hear, ask the member to repeat her comments while she stands, faces the group and speaks loudly. However, do not use this strategy if it is likely to embarrass the member.

Squabblers are two or more members who simply dislike one another and argue frequently as a result. You must be careful to distinguish between personality conflicts, which are disruptive to the group, and topic-based conflicts, which are based on real disagreements over the topic. When two members argue over several different conflicts and give off nonverbal cues indicating real dislike for each other, the leader needs to step in. For example, interrupt their argument with a direct question to one of them. This forces that member to talk to you, enabling you then to get other members involved in the interaction. Or you could summarize the comments each has made and then move on to another topic. Third, you might seat the two so that it is difficult for them to see one another (such as on the same side but at opposite ends of a long conference table). This makes it more difficult for them to argue. Finally, if other strategies fail, you might meet privately with the two of them, describe how their behaviors are affecting the group, and involve them in solving their own conflict.

There are other types of members who talk too much. However, the basic strategies described above can be applied to any member who prevents others from talking. The key is to determine the motives underlying the member's behaviors and then take action appropriate to those motives.

Members Who Do Not Talk

Uninterested members simply do not care about the group or its topic. As a result, they sit silently, perhaps looking out the window or doing something of their own (like writing notes or reading a book). To deal with this situation, you might direct a question to the member; ask for experiences as they relate to the topic. Be careful, however, to ask something the member can answer; otherwise, you add embarrassment to the apathy he is already feeling. In addition, you could assign the member specific responsibility. Have him collect information, list possible solutions, and so on. Be careful of giving that person some task vital to the group, however; the member might not come through on the task he is assigned. Other approaches are to meet privately with the member to discuss what the problem might be, form groups only on a voluntary basis (allowing uninterested members to leave), or seat the member in the middle of the group so that all interaction occurs around him (apathetic members usually try to sit at the back or on the fringes of the group where they go largely unnoticed). Finally, you could play the devil's advocate: ask the member for his opinion, and when it is given, disagree. By starting an argument with the member, you draw him into the group, and you may stir his interest.

Listeners are interested in the topic but prefer to listen rather than speak. They do nothing disruptive and may even provide helpful nonverbal reinforcement (head nods, attentive posture) to those who talk. But they do not contribute any ideas. To build a listener's participation, you might ask her to give an opinion whenever the member shows either agreement or disagreement nonverbally: "Susan, you seem to agree with Nancy's point. Why do you feel that way?" This sort of question is useful because you know Susan has an answer (she has been showing agreement nonverbally) and because your question draws her into the discussion. You also could direct questions to the member or, if you know something about the member, try to bring the topic around to an area in which the member has some experience. Then ask the member to recount those experiences. Assigning the member some specific duty, such as collecting information, also might be effective. Or finally, you could simply accept her preference to listen.

BUSINESS BRIEF

10.4

Types of Problem Participants

Members Who Talk Too Much	Members Who Talk Too Little
The show-off	The uninterested person
The quick and helpful person	The listener
The rambler	The shy person
The arguer	The fearful person
The side conversationalist	The unhelpful member
The complainer	
The selfish person	
The poor speaker	
The squabblers	

Shy group members simply are not very assertive. Nonverbal cues help you to identify them: they occasionally seem about to speak, but then some other member begins talking and they remain quiet. Directing a question to the member (be sure it is a question he can answer) can be helpful, or you might frequently ask the member for his agreement. By turning to him for approval, you increase the member's standing in the eyes of the other group members, making them more likely to involve the member as well. In addition, when the member seems to want to talk, call on him, even if it means cutting off a more assertive member who has just begun to speak. Finally, you could assign the member some specific responsibility.

Fearful members suffer stage fright in group situations. They are afraid of ridicule or failure or seeming stupid in the group's eyes. Rather than risk rejection or disapproval, they simply sit quietly. To gain a fearful member's participation, you could ask her a question that you know she can answer and then praise the answer given. In addition, you might turn frequently to the member for agreement or approval, thus building her status in the eyes of other members. During meetings, you should try to protect the member from ridicule or attack; take her side and help provide a defense any time another member launches an attack. Finally, you might seat the member next to you in an effort to build an association between the two of you. Your status in the group will reflect well on her.

Unhelpful members simply choose not to help others. They may have expertise on the topic but see no point in assisting the other members. An experienced employee, for example, might say, "It took me twenty years to learn my job; now you go learn yours like I did." To handle an unhelpful member, draw bits of information and experience from him with direct questions and compliment contributions each time.

In addition, you might assign the member some specific responsibility or appoint him chairperson of some group subcommittee, asking for a report of the committee's progress at each large group meeting.

Again, there are many other reasons why members choose not to participate. However, by controlling the overtalkative members and drawing out the nonparticipants, you can equalize members' contributions to the group interaction.

Handling Large Group Meetings: Parliamentary Procedure

Generally speaking, the larger the group, the more difficult it is for the group leader to control the meeting. In very large group meetings, such as stockholders' meetings or meetings of legislative bodies, the leader frequently chooses to use a very structured format to ensure orderly communication. Perhaps the most commonly used large group format is *parliamentary procedure*.

The rules of parliamentary procedure were not developed by any single person or group of people. Rather, they evolved over hundreds of years through the experiences of thousands of self-governing assemblies. They have become somewhat complicated over time, but their basic principles have rarely changed. If you understand the principles, the rules make more sense and are easier to apply. These principles include:

The majority rules. Obviously, this is a democratic approach to group communication. Rarely can total agreement be reached on any issue. To have some basis for action in cases where disagreement occurs, the principle is followed that the preferences of the majority are carried out.

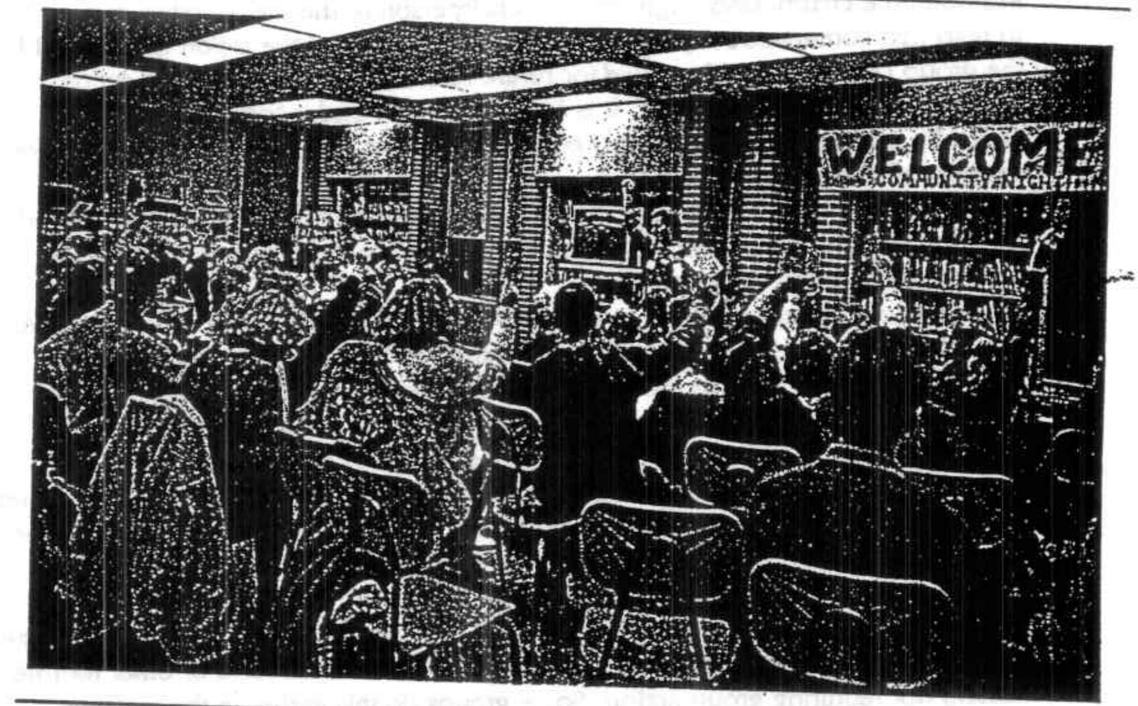
The rights of the minority are protected. The majority cannot be granted unlimited power. Every member of the assembly has individual rights, regardless of whether he or she happens to agree with the majority. These rights include the right to a secret ballot, the right to nominate for office, and the protection of the constitution and bylaws of the organization. As leader you must insure that these rights are protected and that no one is steamrollered by the majority.

Business must be accomplished. Meetings are held to bring about some action. The group welcomes free presentation of all the facts and opinions on any problem under discussion, but that discussion cannot consume an entire meeting, nor should it get in the way of getting things done.

Feelings must be respected. We must be careful not to lose sight of individual feelings as we conduct the group's business and control its interaction. Just as courtesy is important in all our social relationships, so too must it be maintained in large group meetings.

Obviously, these four principles will contradict one another at times; for example, the rights of a minority may interfere with the rapid accomplishment of the group's business or with the rule of the majority. As group leader or chairperson, you must do all you can to maintain a balance among these principles. The rules of parliamentary law have been developed to help you achieve such a balance.

All group actions must be supported by a majority vote.



The order of business used by a large group will vary somewhat. However, a typical group agenda includes the following elements:

1. *Call to order*. After determining that a quorum (the minimum number needed to transact business, usually a simple majority of the total membership) is present, the chairperson gets the attention of the group (often by rapping a gavel on the podium) and says, "The meeting will please come to order."
2. *Opening ceremonies*. Many groups open their meetings with a prayer, pledge of allegiance, song, and so on. If such a ceremony is used by this group, the chairperson next would say, "Let us open our meeting by. . . ."
3. *Roll call*. If a roll call is desired to determine who is in attendance, the chairperson would say, "The secretary will please call the roll." Occasionally, she might add, "Members will answer to their names by . . . ," stating the way in which members should respond to their names.
4. *Reading of the minutes*. The chairperson next says, "The secretary will read the minutes of the last meeting." When the minutes have been read, he or she then asks, "Are there any corrections or additions to the minutes?" If none is offered, the chairperson states, "The minutes stand approved as read." If corrections are offered (and agreed to by the chairperson and the assembly), the secretary is instructed to make the necessary changes. Then the chairperson states, "The minutes stand approved as corrected."

5. *Reports*. After the reading of the minutes, the chairperson typically calls on the chairpersons of standing and special committees to make reports to the group. For example, the chairperson might ask the chairperson of the membership committee to read that committee's report. If there are no objections, the report is accepted by the group (not endorsed but *filed* for future reference). If any proposed action grows from a committee report, it is introduced later under "new business." Normally, standing (or permanent) committees report first, followed by special (or temporary) committees.
6. *Unfinished business*. The chairperson says, "We now will consider any unfinished business." Anything left over or postponed from the previous meeting may be discussed and voted on at this time.
7. *New business*. The chairperson says, "We will now consider any new business." As a rule, this portion of the meeting consumes most of the time spent by the group.
8. *Program*. Occasionally, the group has some program (such as a speaker, film, or presentation) planned as part of the meeting. When no more new business is forthcoming, the chairperson asks, "Is there any further new business to come before this meeting? If not, will the chairperson of the program committee (or other member in charge of the program) please take charge of the program planned for this meeting." The chairperson and secretary may then sit in the audience for the program.
9. *Miscellaneous, announcements, and so on*. Before adjourning, the chairperson may ask if there are any announcements to be made, notes to be read, or other routine matters not requiring group action. Some groups do this earlier in the meeting, following the reading of the minutes.
10. *Adjournment*. One of two procedures may be used to adjourn a meeting. If the meeting always adjourns at a fixed time and that time arrives, the chairperson may say, "The meeting is adjourned." If not, the chairperson may ask, "Is there a motion to adjourn?" In the latter case, some member of the group says, "I move we adjourn." This motion must be seconded by another group member, and it cannot be discussed. The motion is put to a vote, and the result announced: "The motion is adopted; the meeting is adjourned." In the highly unlikely event that the motion to adjourn is defeated, the chairperson would announce the vote and call for any additional new business on the assumption that the majority had something else they want to do before closing the meeting.

In large group settings where parliamentary procedure is used, the purpose of the meeting generally is to decide on various courses of action. Possible courses of action are suggested by the group members, who do so in the form of motions for discussion by the group. One such motion, as we already have seen, is the motion to adjourn—a suggestion that the meeting be terminated and everyone leave. Almost all decisions made by the group are handled in a similar fashion: A member suggests a course of action (that is, she states a motion), the group considers it, and ultimately a decision to adopt or reject that motion is made. The real "work" involved in leading a large group meeting is handling the members' motions and ensuing discussion while preserving the four principles we stated earlier.

Several steps are followed in handling motions offered by members. First, *the member obtains the floor.* The member rises, calling out, "Mr. (or Madam) Chairperson." In smaller or more informal groups, the member might remain seated and address the chair. The member should not rise without addressing the chair if he wants to obtain the floor. The chairperson then *recognizes the member* by saying the member's name, nodding in the member's direction, or in some other way referring to the member. The member should not speak until receiving recognition from the chair. Only then does the member have the right to address the assembly.

The *member states the motion* by saying, "I move that we . . . ," thus suggesting the action she wants the group to take. The motion should be as complete as possible so that no unnecessary amendments need be made but it should not be overly long and complicated. Long motions should be submitted in writing.

For a motion to be considered, it usually must be supported by at least one other group member. Thus, the next step is that the *motion is seconded.* The person giving the second need not rise; he only needs to call out "second" or "I second the motion." If no one seconds the motion, the chairperson may ask, "Is the motion seconded?" If still no one seconds the motion, the chairperson states, "The motion is lost for lack of a second." If a second is given, the *chairperson then states the motion* to the group by saying, "It has been moved and seconded that we. . . ." Then the *chair calls for discussion:* "Is there any discussion on the motion?"

The next step in the process is that *members discuss the motion*. Several points should be kept in mind here. Each member who wants to speak must first obtain the floor (be recognized by the chairperson), just as if a new motion were being offered. Discussion must be confined to the motion at hand, and the one who offered the motion usually is given first opportunity to discuss it. Usually, people are recognized as they stand and address the chair; however, if someone rises and interrupts the previous speaker, she is ruled out of order and not given the floor. If many people desire to speak, the chair tries to "alternate the floor," first recognizing someone in favor of the motion and then recognizing someone against it, giving each position a turn to speak. Any member who has already spoken once is not recognized until all members wanting to express themselves for the first time have done so. Finally, the chair does not offer her or his opinions on the motion; his or her job is simply to keep order.

Ultimately, *the chair determines that the discussion is finished.* When members stop rising to request recognition, the chairperson asks, "Is there any further discussion?" If some is offered, the chair repeats the question later. When no further discussion is offered, she or he proceeds to the next step, *restating the motion*. He or she might say, "If there is no further discussion, we are ready to vote. The question is on the motion to. . . ."

Next, *the members vote on the motion*. This can occur in several ways. Frequently, the group uses a voice vote, where the chairperson says, "As many as are in favor of the motion say aye; those opposed no." If the number of ayes (pronounced "I") clearly is larger than the number of nos, or vice versa, the decision is announced. The group also can vote by raising hands or by standing to show support for or opposition to the motion. If the motion requires a two-thirds majority, standing or hand-raising votes should be taken to enable the chairperson to count the votes. Members can request this type of vote by calling, "division," or by saying, "I call for a division of the house." Then the chairperson must request that a standing vote be taken. Finally, a group can vote by secret ballot or by general consent. In the latter case, the chairperson says, "If there is no objection, we will . . ." (stating the action that the motion requires). The chairperson then pauses to allow members to object. If no one does, the motion is considered to be passed by unanimous approval; if an objection is offered, a vote is taken by voice, show of hands, standing, or ballot.

The chairperson has a right to vote whenever her or his vote will change the outcome. However, the chairperson may not want to reveal her or his opinions and thus may choose not to vote except in the case of a secret ballot. However, if the chairperson's vote will either create or break a tie, he or she may want to vote openly. A tie vote defeats a motion (majority rule means that half of those voting plus one must support the motion). By creating a tie with her or his vote, the chairperson would defeat a motion; by breaking a tie, the chairperson would carry the motion.

When the vote is taken, the *chairperson announces the result of the vote*. If there is no doubt of the result, the chairperson says, "The ayes have it; the motion is carried." or "The nos have it; the motion is defeated." Then the *chairperson indicates the effect of this vote*. He or she says, "We will therefore . . ." (stating the action that the motion requires the group to take). Finally, the *chairperson moves to the next piece of business*. If a main motion was voted on, the chairperson asks, "Is there any further business to come before us?" If the group was voting on an amendment to a main motion, the chairperson says, "The question is now on the main motion, which has been amended to read . . ." (repeating the main motion as amended).

There are different types of motions that group members can offer, and these must be handled in different ways. So far, we have primarily discussed main motions, motions that bring a subject before the group for consideration and action. However, other types of special motions require unusual handling. To be effective, the chairperson must be able to answer several questions in his or her own mind whenever a motion is offered and to then take appropriate action. These questions include:

What type of motion is it?

What motions may it displace in receiving the attention of the group, and which motions may displace it?

Does it require a second?

May it be discussed?

What vote does it require: majority or two-thirds?

To help you understand the types of motions you or other group members might make, we will consider some special motions that commonly occur. The first group are all considered *main motions*.

1. *The motion to take a matter "off the table."* When some motion has been tabled or "placed on the table," discussion of that motion has been suspended temporarily. A member can bring the matter to the attention of the group again by moving that the original motion be taken off the table and considered by the

group. This motion cannot be offered immediately after the group has voted to table the initial motion; some other business must transpire before this motion to take a matter off the table can be considered.

2. *The motion to reconsider action previously taken.* This motion can be offered only by someone who voted in favor of the original motion, and its effect is to place the original motion before the group again as though a vote never had been taken. It is important to note, however, that a motion to reconsider is appropriate only for matters the group can undo; things that now cannot be changed should not be reconsidered. This motion is also appropriate only during the same meeting in which the original motion was passed or during the next meeting the group holds.
3. *The motion to repeal or rescind an action previously taken.* This motion is similar to the preceding but is used in later meetings when the motion to reconsider is no longer appropriate. It can be offered by any member, and its effect is to reverse the action previously taken (again assuming that what was done now can be undone).

A second group of motions are *subsidiary motions,* which are applied to main motions to get them in proper shape so the group can take action on them. They include:

1. *The motion to amend.* When the group does not like the wording of the main motion, they may change that wording by amending the motion. The group may add words, remove words, or substitute words; however, they can do only one of these things at a time (that is, they cannot simultaneously add some words, remove others, and substitute for still others). The maker of the main motion does not need to approve these changes; the majority vote of the group determines whether the main motion is amended. To amend a motion, a member rises, addresses the chair, and says, "I move we amend the motion by adding (removing, substituting) the words. . . after the words . . . so that the motion will read. . . ." This motion requires a second before it can be considered. The group may also want to amend the amendment, and this is moved in the same way. The process cannot be carried any further, however (that is, you cannot amend an amendment to an amendment). The voting order is (1) amendment to the amendment, (2) amendment, and (3) motion.
2. *The motion to refer to a committee.* The group may want to have some committee handle a matter rather than devoting time to the matter in this meeting. Thus, a member might rise, address the chair, and say, "I move we refer this motion to. . . ." or "I move that a . . . committee be created to handle this matter." The latter motion should state what the composition of the new committee is to be, how it should be appointed, what power it should have, when it will report, and what its name should be.
3. *The motion to postpone to a particular time.* A member might rise, gain recognition, and say, "I move that we postpone consideration of this matter until our next meeting" or "I move that we postpone consideration of this matter for ten minutes." A specific time must be stated, and it may not be beyond the next regular meeting of the group.
4. *The motion to put an end to discussion and vote at once.* If this motion is made and passed by two-thirds of the group, it immediately stops discussion and brings about an immediate vote on the matter before the group. To make such a motion, a member rises, is recognized, and says, "I move that we put an end to discussion on this matter." An alternative way of stating this motion is "I move the previous question."

5. *The motion to lay a matter on the table.* Like the motion to postpone consideration, this motion delays consideration of the matter at hand; however, it does not state any time limit. The person offering the motion simply says, "I move that this matter be laid on the table." If the motion is seconded and supported by a majority vote, discussion of the matter stops until the matter is taken off the table at some future time. If not seconded or supported by a majority vote, the motion to table is defeated, and discussion on the original matter continues.

Incidental motions make up the third motion group. They are offered during the course of a meeting when an unusual situation arises that needs immediate action by the group. These may be offered at virtually any time, and they must be decided upon before discussion returns to the matter at hand. Some common incidental motions are:

1. *A point of order.* When anyone makes a mistake in parliamentary law, any member may rise without being recognized and say, "Mr. (or Madam) Chairman, I rise to a point of order." The chairperson then will say, "State your point of order." The member then explains the error that was made. Usually, the chair will rule on the matter by stating, "Your point of order is well taken" (then making the necessary changes) or "Your point of order is not well taken" (with no changes being made). On rare occasion, the group may be asked to vote for or against the point of order, and their decision determines whether the point is upheld.
2. *An appeal from the decision of the chair.* Whenever the chairperson makes a decision that a member believes is wrong (including a decision on a point of order), the member may rise and say, "I appeal from the decision of the chair." If this motion is seconded, the member has a right to explain her position, the chair may defend himself or herself, and other members may speak on the matter. A vote is then taken, and the decision of the majority is followed no matter what the chairperson may think. A tie vote serves to uphold the chairperson's decision since it is assumed the chairperson would vote for himself or herself.
3. *A motion to suspend the rules.* This is done so that some procedure or motion normally out of order can be used or discussed. Rules may be suspended only for a specific purpose and for the limited time necessary to accomplish the proposed action. Many rules cannot be suspended, such as basic rules governing a quorum, voting requirements, or voting methods. For the most part, only procedural rules are suspended. The motion to suspend the rules requires a two-thirds majority for adoption.
4. *A motion to object to the consideration of some matter.* This allows the group to avoid the discussion of an issue because it is viewed as embarrassing, unnecessarily contentious, frivolous, or inopportune. This motion also requires a two-thirds majority for adoption. The only time the motion to object is in order is immediately after the objectionable motion has been stated by the presiding officer. If discussion of the motion has begun, it is too late to object to its consideration. The person who objects may be any member of the organization, including the chairperson, and this person is free to state or withhold his reasons for the objection.
5. *A parliamentary inquiry.* This motion's purpose is simply to seek advice from the chairperson. This advice usually focuses on issues such as the appropriate

parliamentary procedure to follow in making a particular motion. Whenever a group member is uncertain about how to refer some matter to a committee, how to word a motion properly, or how to nominate a candidate for office, she might conduct a parliamentary inquiry. Like other special motions designed to maintain the rules, the parliamentary inquiry may interrupt a speaker, although the chairperson may choose to hold her or his reply until the person who has the floor has concluded.

The final group of motions, *privileged motions,* are of such importance that they can be made at almost any time. They include:

1. *The motion to adjourn.* This motion is for closing the meeting or sometimes, strategically, for terminating the discussion of a particular question. This motion may not interrupt a speaker, but it is in order at any time. As we pointed out earlier, it is neither amendable nor debatable, and it must be put to an immediate vote.
2. *The motion to recess the group.* Unlike the motion to adjourn, the motion to recess the group is intended to temporarily disband the meeting. Recesses are occasionally needed to obtain additional information, to discuss voting procedures, to rest, or to count votes. The motion to recess may interrupt any business other than the process of voting. It may not interrupt a speaker.
3. *The question of privilege.* This motion requires that the presiding officer deal with some situation affecting the welfare of the organization's members, such as fire, offensive remarks, or poor acoustics. The question of privilege is unusual in that it needs no second, and it can interrupt both business and speaker. The presiding officer may decide the matter or may submit it to a vote of the group.

This list is not intended to be exhaustive but to highlight major motions that are often used in formal business meetings.

As we said earlier, the chairperson must know not only the types of motions, but their precedence—that is, what motions may displace other motions. One motion may replace another already before the house if the new motion has sufficient power or *precedence* to do so. It is important that you know which motions have which levels of precedence. If one motion is under consideration and another is made, you must decide whether the new motion is appropriate for consideration (so that it should be considered before attention is returned to the original motion) or whether consideration of the new motion should be denied until discussion of the original motion is completed.

To help you keep track of precedence, the chart in table 10.2 lists types of motions in order of precedence. It also indicates whether each motion requires a second from another group member, whether discussion of the motion is allowed, whether the motion can be amended, and what level of voting support (simple majority or two-thirds) is needed.

Again, parliamentary procedure is complicated, and our purpose here is simply to acquaint you with basic decisions you will have to make when conducting large group meetings under these rules. For a more detailed and complete understanding of parliamentary procedure, you should consult one of the many excellent books devoted to that topic.[21]

Table 10.2 Order of Precedence of Motions

Types of Motions (Listed in Order of Precedence from Highest to Lowest; A Second Motion Cannot Be Considered Unless It Has Higher Precedence Than the Motion Already before the Group)	Requires Second?	May Be Discussed?	May Be Amended?	Vote Needed
Privileged:				
To fix the time of the next meeting	Yes	No	Yes	Majority
To adjourn	Yes	No	No	Majority
To recess	Yes	No	Yes	Majority
Question of privilege	No	No	No	Chair[d]
Incidental:				
An appeal from the decision of the chair	Yes	Yes[a]	No	Majority
A point of order	No	No	No	Chair[d]
To suspend the rules	Yes	No	No	2/3
To object to consideration	No	No	No	2/3
Parliamentary inquiry	No	No	No	Chair[d]
Subsidiary:				
To lay on the table	Yes	No	No	Majority
To put an end to discussion (to call the previous question)	Yes	No	No	2/3
To limit debate	Yes	No	Yes	2/3
To postpone to a certain time	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority
To refer to a committee	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority
To amend a motion	Yes	Yes[a]	Yes	Majority
To postpone indefinitely	Yes	Yes	No	Majority
Main:				
An ordinary main motion	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority
To take a matter off the table	Yes	No	No	Majority
To reconsider action previously taken	Yes[b]	Yes[a]	No	Majority
To repeal or rescind action previously taken	Yes[b]	Yes	Yes	Majority[c]

[a] May be discussed, unless it applies to an undebatable question.

[b] Opens the main motion to discussion as well.

[c] If prior notice is given that such a motion is forthcoming, a majority is needed; if no such notice is given, two-thirds vote is needed.

[d] Requires only chairperson's decision; a majority vote is needed if appealed from chair.

Summary

At one time or another, most of us find ourselves in the role of committee chairperson. We may not be managers or administrators in the formal sense, but we are *leaders* in that we plan and organize meetings, call and arrange for meeting rooms, and conduct the meeting when the other members arrive. Sometimes we chair on a one-shot basis, especially if we are working with an ad hoc group—or, more likely, we chair an ongoing committee, which may continue for months, or even years. Our ability to manage these meetings effectively will influence many important outcomes, such as our own professional well-being. Moreover, when we lead groups to sound decisions, we make a really important contribution to the organization as a whole.

Most of our opportunities to lead groups occur in the context of small committee meetings, but on certain occasions, we are elected to leadership positions that require us to conduct business meetings involving much larger groups of people. These sorts of meetings necessitate the use of parliamentary procedure. Although the rules of parliamentary procedure may seem complicated at first, most can be learned with relative ease as one uses them over time. The rules of parliamentary procedure are all based on important principles, like the right of all members to have their views aired. That's why, for instance, limiting or restricting discussion requires the support of two-thirds of the organization's members. Other important motions grow from such principles as turn-taking, the right of the majority to prevail, and the right of the minority to be protected. Most chairpersons have the support of a parliamentarian, so that parliamentary questions can be resolved as expediently and judiciously as possible. Even so, the more the chairperson knows about parliamentary procedure, the more smoothly each business meeting will proceed.

Whether we are leading small, informal groups or large business meetings, we will function more effectively if we think carefully about the meaning of leadership, prepare carefully, follow a plan or agenda, and understand something about the principles of group dynamics discussed earlier in this book. Through the way we communicate, by asking appropriate sorts of questions, by making timely procedural and organizational suggestions, and by listening carefully to the ideas of other group members, we have an excellent chance of being able to conduct really effective meetings.

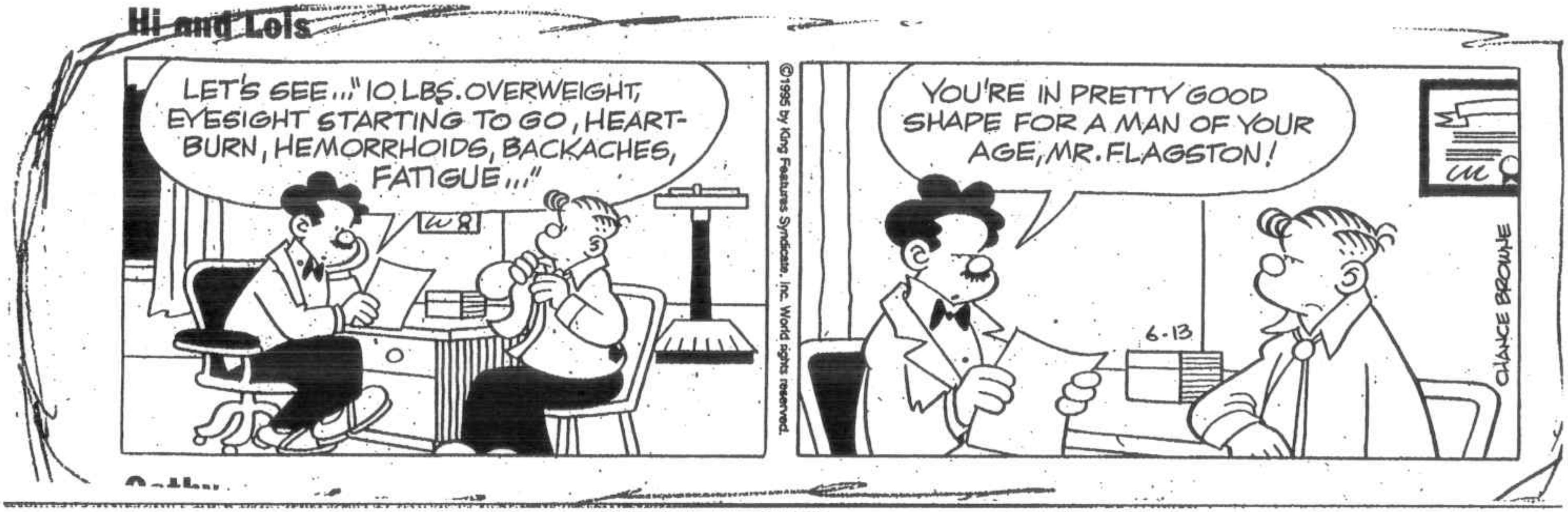
Questions for Discussion

1. Why have meetings gained such a bad reputation in most modern organizations?
2. Why is it important to an organization to have effective meetings?
3. When should you avoid calling a meeting?
4. How do the facilities in which a meeting is held affect the success of that meeting?

5. In what types of situations are autocratic meetings most desirable? Consultative meetings? Democratic meetings? Laissez-faire meetings?
6. Why should majority vote be avoided as a decision-making device?
7. Why are team-building meetings important in an organization?
8. As a leader, how can you judge whether a group member's actions are harmful to the group as a whole?
9. In your view, is leadership more a matter of traits, style, or situation? Why?
10. How do you react to the functional approach to leadership? In organizational settings, can leadership, realistically, be shared?

Exercises

1. Write an announcement for a meeting (create your own purpose, list of attendees, and so on).
2. Conduct a mock meeting using the principles of parliamentary procedure.
3. Conduct a mock meeting using one of the autocratic, democratic, consultative, or laissez-faire approaches outlined. Then have members complete the "Meeting Effectiveness Questionnaire." Have members report and explain their answers for each item on the questionnaire.
4. Conduct a mock meeting, and at the beginning of the meeting, assign some of the problem-member roles to some group participants. Do not announce which member has which role. Assign a leader to conduct the meeting. At the meeting's end, discuss how effectively the leader handled each problem participant.


Hi and Lois
LET'S SEE..."10 LBS. OVERWEIGHT, EYESIGHT STARTING TO GO, HEARTBURN, HEMORRHOIDS, BACKACHES, FATIGUE..."
YOU'RE IN PRETTY GOOD SHAPE FOR A MAN OF YOUR AGE, MR. FLAGSTON!
6-13
CHANCE BROWNE

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Chapter Two

Dimensions of Diversity

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"I am no longer willing to let any part of myself take a back seat. When I come to a table, I come with all of me to the table: black, lesbian, journalist, feminist, gay activist, spiritualist, single parent."[1]

Sabrina Sojourner, Journalist and Lecturer

As we move into the 1990s, diversity is becoming a favorite discussion topic in business, government, and academe—as well as a favorite buzzword in newspaper and magazine articles focusing on the future of America. It is not unusual to hear politicians extolling the virtues of diversity in their campaign speeches or to read about the competitive advantage that diversity offers in corporate annual reports. No matter where one looks, diversity is becoming a popular idea. But what does the term *diversity* mean when it is used to describe the American workforce?

Generally, public and private organizations use diversity as shorthand for gender and race. When diversity is referenced in articles, campaign speeches, and corporate communications, it is often used to highlight one or both of these important dimensions of difference. But employee diversity encompasses other important differences as well.

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

DEFINING DIVERSITY

Like trees in a vast forest, humans come in a variety of sizes, shapes, and colors. This variety helps to differentiate us from each other. While we share the important dimension of humanness with all members of our species, there are biological and environmental differences that separate and distinguish us as individuals and groups. From an objective point of view, it is this vast array of physical and cultural differences that constitute the spectrum of human diversity. From the subjective point of view, diversity is **otherness** or those human qualities that are different from our own and outside the groups to which we belong, yet present in other individuals and groups. **Others,** then, are people who are different from us along one or several dimensions such as age, ethnicity, gender, race, sexual/affectional orientation, and so on. Throughout this book, **other** and **otherness** are used as inclusive terms that refer to individuals and groups who are different from ourselves.

Primary and Secondary Dimensions of Diversity

In identifying the significant ways in which human beings differ, it is important to distinguish between the primary and secondary dimensions of difference. We use the word *dimension* to describe the properties and characteristics that constitute the whole person. All individuals have a number of characteristics or dimensions by which they are measured, and no one dimension stands alone.

For the purpose of this discussion we will define **primary dimensions of diversity** as those immutable human differences that are inborn and/or that exert an important impact on our early socialization and an ongoing impact throughout our lives. Like interlocking segments of a sphere, they represent the core of our individual identities. There are six dimensions of diversity that we term primary. Listed in alphabetical order, they are:

(1) Age.
(2) Ethnicity.
(3) Ge

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(4) Physical abilities/qualities.
(5) Race.
(6) Sexual/affectional orientation.

These six primary dimensions serve as interdependent core elements. Together, they shape our basic self-image as well as our fundamental world view. Their influence on us is both constant and profound. There is no escaping the lifelong impact of these six core dimensions.

In examining the spectrum of human differences that make a powerful difference, it is the six core dimensions of age, ethnicity, gender, physical ability/qualities, race, and sexual/affectional orientation that have the most significant impact on individuals and groups in society *and* within the workplace. Together, these six dimensions inform us about ourselves and our environment. Our global perspective is built on them. Our life experiences are filtered through them. To others, they are highly salient elements of our beings and measures of our core identity. What we see and experience throughout our lives cannot be separated from these primary dimensions because our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are inextricably linked to them.

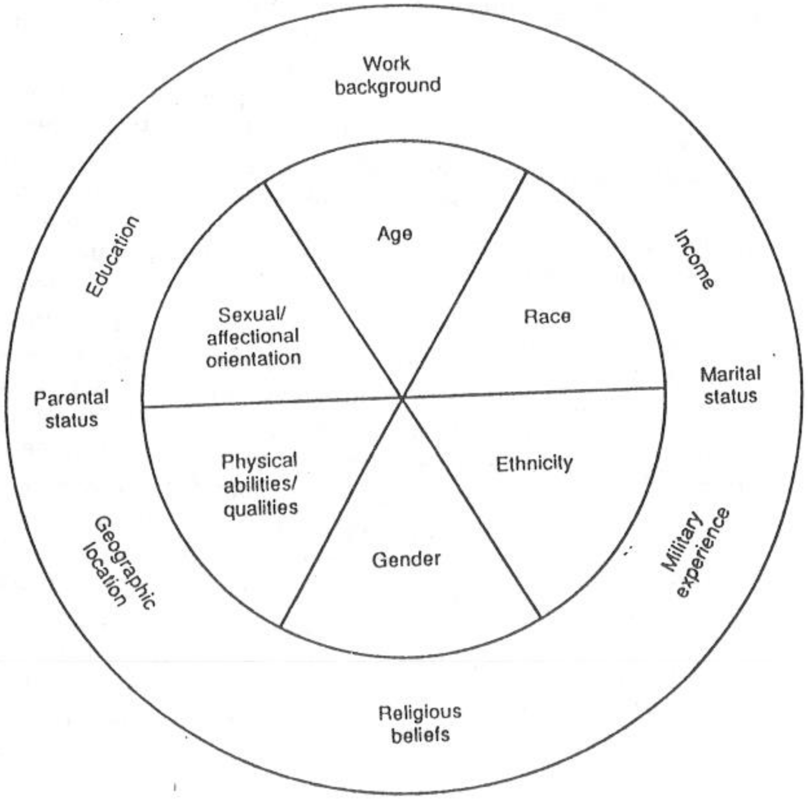
Secondary dimensions of diversity are those that can be changed. They are mutable differences that we acquire, discard, and/or modify throughout our lives. Most are less salient than those of the core. The secondary dimensions of diversity include but are not limited to:

- Educational background.
- Geographic location.
- Income.
- Marital status.
- Military experience.
- Parental status.
- Religious beliefs.
- Work experience.

With the notable exceptions of geographic location, income, and religion, most other secondary dimensions ert little

npact on us early in life. Later, as adults, we have the power
o modify some or many of them. Each secondary dimension,
y itself, exerts an impact on our self-esteem and self-defini-
ion. But while secondary dimensions add an additional layer
f complexity to the way we see ourselves and **others**, their
resence or absence does not usually change our fundamental
ore identity.

The secondary dimensions add contour and breadth to our
self-definition. In some situations, one or several of these sec-
ondary dimensions can exert impacts as powerful as those of
the primary dimensions. For instance, some Vietnam veterans
have been profoundly affected by their military experiences,



Primary and Secondary Dimensions of Diversity

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while others have not been; some spouses are profoundly affected by their marriages, while others are not; most poor people are negatively affected by their income, while middle and upper-income people are not; both men and women can be deeply affected by parenthood or relocation from a rural area to a city. While situations like these intensify the impact of particular secondary dimensions, they do not diminish the primary impact of core dimensions. Instead, an additional dimension gets added to the central sphere.

The accompanying diagram illustrates the interrelationship between the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity. Typically, the central core is composed of the six primary dimensions. The secondary dimensions are additional elements outside this core—with some being quite permanent and others receding or changing over time.

Each dimension can be examined as an isolated aspect of human diversity. However, it is the interconnectedness and the dynamic interaction of these dimensions that make them so powerful in shaping our individual experiences. Taken together, these primary and secondary dimensions of diversity are key elements in our personal identities. They do much to shape our values, perceptions, priorities, and experiences throughout life.

IMPACT OF DIMENSIONS

Together, the dimensions of diversity provide us with a unique perspective about our environment. We relate to our environment and the people in it based on the overall perspective or worldview created by the particular dimensions of diversity that help to define us. We develop a particular style of communication based on these primary and secondary dimensions. The dimensions of diversity also distinguish us from others who possess a different world view.

Diverse Expectations, Priorities, and Concerns

Every individual enters the workplace with a unique perspective shaped by these dimensions and by past experiences. As a result, while we may work in the same office, read the same emos, and attend the same meetings, we are likely to experi- nce the office, those memos, and meetings differently. Our iversity will also result in different needs and expectations.

As an example, let's consider two employees who work in he same organization. One is a man, age 50. He has a college legree and is an assistant vice president. He is a third-genera- ion Norwegian-American and a practicing Roman Catholic. His two children are both adults. His wife works part-time out- side the home. He is in excellent physical health.

The other employee is a Chicana clerical worker, age 29. She s active in the union local and is the mother of two children under the age of 10. A high school graduate, she attends eve- ning classes and hopes to obtain a two-year degree. She is also a practicing Roman Catholic and a single parent. While her own health is excellent, one of her children is developmentally disabled.

Given this small amount of background about these two em- ployees, can we predict with any accuracy the personal priori- ties and career expectations they may have as employees of the same organization? To what degree are their expectations, needs, and concerns likely to be similar or dissimilar? Which employee would be more likely to want an on-site day-care center; a fitness center that is open in the evenings; tuition re- imbursement as a benefit; an executive bonus plan; a rigorously monitored affirmative action program; enhanced retirement benefits; supervisory training; corporate membership in a golf club; financial aid for special education?

Specific answers might depend on additional information unknown at this point. But the general importance of age, edu- cation, ethnicity, gender, physical ability, work experience, and race as factors in shaping the expectations of these two employees cannot be overlooked. The primary and secondary dimensions of diversity *do* matter. If we changed just one di- mension of difference in the mix, we could expect to see a shift in the priorities, concerns, and goals of both individuals. For instance, if the woman employee described earlier was age 50 and the man was a high school graduate there would likely be a shift in worldview, personal priorities, expectations, concerns, and so on.

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Humans as Complex Systems

Human beings are complex systems and each dimension of diversity adds another element of complexity to the overall functioning of the system. Because of our individual diversity, we present ourselves to the world and to each other as multifaceted beings with a complex set of values, roles, experiences, and perceptions from which we draw meaning.

With the richness in perspectives and the abundance of human permutations that such a range of diversity offers, one would think that our human curiosity would be continuously aroused as we made our way through life and went about the business of establishing new relationships. Yet, the irony is that most of us prefer knowns over unknowns and homogeneity over heterogeneity. We prefer to be with people like ourselves. Why? In large part because it is more comfortable to be with others of a similar core identity. In choosing to relate to people who are like ourselves, the potential for interpersonal conflict is minimized while the prospect of congeniality is maximized.

HOMOGENEOUS CLUSTERING

Throughout America, most people live in homogeneous communities where they associate largely with others of similar cultural background. This homogeneous clustering is most noticeable when we look at the dimension of race. Despite legislative attempts during the past 25 years to change the racial composition of our communities and move towards greater integration, today there are indications that we are a more racially segregated society than most Americans realize.[2] And race is not the only dimension that divides us. In communities across America, we see age, ethnicity, income, religion, sexual/affectional orientation, and work background used as criteria in decisions regarding where to live. Whether by choice or out of necessity, most people in our society live in communities that are far less diverse than the society at large.

As a consequence, few of us are exposed to a broad range of human differences until we enter the workplace. By this stage our development, we have already formed many preconceived ideas about differences or **otherness**—based on widely held myths, false assumptions, and our own rather limited, irst-hand experiences.

MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES

Because of the many myths and stereotypes that we carry with us into the workplace, it is likely that we will misinterpret or devalue some primary and secondary differences when we are finally exposed to them. As a result, we may find ourselves unable to establish productive working relationships with people of different core identities.

Regardless of age, ethnic heritage, gender, sexual/affectional orientation, physical ability, or race, most of us find more comfort communicating with others of the same or similar core identity. The greater the number of primary differences between people, the more challenging the task of developing honest relationships based on mutual respect and trust.

When we add the secondary dimensions of diversity to the mix, communication, productive interaction, and openness become even more difficult and our discomfort level rises. Building productive relationships with diverse people only becomes possible after we learn to accept and value the dimensions of difference that we each represent. Without this acceptance, both the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity often serve as roadblocks to further cooperation and understanding.

ENCOUNTERING DIVERSITY IN THE WORKPLACE

Let us revisit our earlier illustration of two employees from the same company who differed in age, education, gender, race, and work background. Imagine the 50-year-old white male executive encountering the Mexican-American female clerical worker at lunchtime in the company cafeteria. Let's assume they arrive at the cashier's line at the exact same moment in time. In that instant, both parties must make a quick decision about who goes ahead of whom on the line.

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If he insists on paying for his meal first, what might the woman behind him think? Depending on her preconceived ideas about people like him, she could assume he's an arrogant senior manager, a white racist, a pushy older person, or just someone in a hurry.

On the other hand, if she steps ahead of the man, his preconceived ideas about people like her might lead him to conclude she's a militant Chicana, an uppity woman, a union agitator, or a younger person with no manners. On the other hand, he might feel she is justified in stepping ahead because "ladies should always go first." Since this random incident occurred in the company cafeteria during lunch, one could argue that the negative impact of any stereotyping that took place would be inconsequential.

But suppose these same individuals suddenly found themselves assigned to work together on a task force? Now he is the manager of the committee and she is one of several support people involved.

If he interrupts her when she is answering a question during a task force meeting, will she recall the earlier cafeteria incident? If so, will this second interaction give added weight to her earlier speculation that he is an arrogant executive or a racist? More importantly, what, if any, impact will this incident have on her ability to work with him? To what extent will she be confident that this manager will objectively evaluate her contributions to the task force? Over time, how committed will she be to the work of the group if incidents like this continue to occur?

Each day throughout the American workplace, employees encounter enormous human diversity in a multitude of situations. They may face this **otherness** in their dealings with customers as well as in their interactions with co-workers. Much of the time these encounters are neutral—with no negative consequences for anyone involved. Occasionally, dealing with diversity will be positive—with all parties believing they are being treated with mutual respect. In turn, their respect for diverse **others** will increase.

There are many occasions, however, when communication between diverse people breaks down. This results in bad feelings, lowered productivity, heightened resistance, and the reinforcement of preconceived ideas and stereotypes about **otherness**. If these breakdowns become the norm, the results can be disastrous for organizations in which success in the marketplace is directly linked to productive teamwork and high employee morale.

VALUING DIVERSITY

Whether one looks at the multicultural marketplace or the multicultural workforce, it is clear that U.S. industry, government, and educational institutions can't hope to compete successfully in the future without valuing diversity and learning to manage it as a vital resource. As such, the decision to value diversity will not reflect a social, moral, or legal agenda in the future. Instead, this decision will be based on the "bottom line"—however this is defined. Not only will organizations that value diversity have a competitive advantage at home and abroad, they will also be positioned to cope more effectively with continued change. This is because diversity generates multiple perspectives regarding new business opportunities as well as more creative solutions to critical productivity problems.

As a management philosophy, valuing diversity assumes we will be more successful as individuals, work teams, organizations, and a society if we acknowledge, respect, and work with the primary and secondary dimensions of difference. This philosophy represents a fundamental change in the way most organizations have traditionally viewed and managed human differences. It is a philosophy that is inclusive rather than exclusive. It assumes that "none of us is smarter than all of us." Most importantly, it fosters a management approach that makes full use of the ideas, talents, experiences, and perspectives of all employees at all levels of an organization.

READINESS TO MANAGE DIVERSITY

If valuing diversity is a philosophy, managing diversity as a vital resource is a skill. It requires considerable knowledge, sensitivity, patience, flexibility, and training. While some institutions are developing the awareness, experience, and competencies required to manage gender and race as valued differences, most organizations are poorly equipped to manage all the important dimensions of difference previously discussed.

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Yet ready or not, more managers and institutions are being challenged to respond to the full spectrum of employee diversity in their daily work. In the future, this challenge will be inescapable as more industries compete internationally and as more diverse people join the American labor force.

Given the complexity and uncertainty that each additional dimension of diversity adds to the relationship building process, it is not surprising that organizations, like individuals, have ignored most of the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity in efforts to relate to their employees. But ignorance and denial are beginning to translate into lower productivity, increased turnover, and declining employee morale in many organizations. To address these problems before they get worse, organizations must take a critical look at their internal cultures and determine what needs to change if diversity is to become a constructive rather than a destructive force. In addition, managers must also be willing to assess their personal readiness to value differences—something that many are still reluctant to do.

HISTORICAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT DIVERSITY

This individual and cultural assessment must begin with an in-depth examination of the historical assumptions made about employee diversity within the American workplace. How have most organizations dealt with diversity or **otherness** in the past? To what extent has diversity been valued or devalued? What traditional assumptions still influence the way in which institutions manage diversity today?

While some organizations are changing their cultures in support of greater employee diversity, most American institutions and managers continue to relate to employee diversity based on six traditional assumptions. Although these assumptions are rooted in the past, they remain embedded in contemporary organization cultures. The assumptions are that:

(1) **Otherness** is a deficiency.
(2) Diversity poses a threat to the organization's effective functioning.
(3) Expressed discomfort with the dominant group's values is oversensitivity.
(4) Members of all diverse groups want to become and should be more like the dominant group.
(5) Equal treatment means the same treatment.
(6) Managing diversity requires changing the people, *not* the organization culture.

Impact of History

As a result of our colonial history, most American businesses and institutions have been shaped primarily by the values and experiences of western European white men. These "founding fathers" of U.S. industry, mainstream politics, government, academe, and society were responsible for institutionalizing many of the norms, expectations, habits, behaviors, and traditions that are the stuff of contemporary organization cultures. As the architects of industry, government, and education, they created cultures that reflected their own values and experiences and that supported their priorities and goals.

One major consequence of these historical events has been the continual *undervaluing* of **others** with core identities *different from those of western European, white, heterosexual, physically able-bodied men*. Although individuals different from the founding fathers now compose the vast majority of our society as well as the American labor force, they nonetheless continue to be viewed as **others** who are outside the cultural mainstream in many institutions. This marginal positioning leads to limited career opportunities and low expectations for most diverse people.

Much of the federal litigation of the late 1960s and 1970s was aimed at increasing the presence of diverse people—those outside the dominant group with respect to the primary dimensions of ethnicity, gender, physical ability, and race—in "nontraditional" jobs throughout the American workplace. Such nontraditional jobs included the vast majority of executive and professional positions, as well as male-dominated occupations in many technical fields.

As a result of early civil rights law enforcement, we now see diverse people in many places where none were encouraged to go before. However, while equal employment law has increased the presence of diverse people in nontraditional jobs, in most instances it has not substantially strengthened their individual power or their collective voice. While they are present in more technical jobs and at higher management and professional levels, they are still **marginal** in many respects. Why? Because most organizations and managers continue to operate under the false assumption that **otherness** is a liability rather than an important asset.

Otherness as a Deficiency

Although it has been more than 25 years since the passage of civil rights legislation in the United States, there remains much conflict and controversy surrounding affirmative action in the American workplace. At the heart of this debate is the historical fact that equal employment opportunity was imposed by government fiat rather than self-initiated. In the vast majority of U.S. organizations, it was a forced change rather than a voluntary one.

The response to this forced change was grudging compliance. In many public and private organizations, the problems of employment discrimination and the need for change went unrecognized. Thus, government-imposed programs were largely viewed as wasteful and unnecessary. This grudging response to the law throughout U.S. organizations sent a strong signal to employees about the perceived value of diversity in the workplace.

In essence, this attitude reinforced the historical view that diverse people were not qualified and that affirmative action was a poor but necessary compromise. In part, this attitude was the result of a lack of understanding about the meaning of affirmative action. However, it was also due to a strong belief that organizations would be forced to compromise their standards in order to comply.

Today, while most institutions recognize that some benefits result from affirmative action, **there is still** widespread belief among managers and mainstream employees that those who are different are also inferior. Although many organizations refuse to recognize or admit to it, there continues to be evidence of strong bias against employee diversity among some employees in virtually all institutional settings. One would think that by now this would not be the case. But while more and more people welcome the opportunity to work with diverse groups than ever before, many continue to resist this change.

These resisters often view **otherness** as "lesser than" in relation to themselves. When expected to supervise or work with diverse employees, they begin from the negative assumption that **otherness** is a deficiency that must be minimized or, better still, overcome.

Because they lack awareness of how their own preconceived ideas influence their judgments about **others**, resisters do not readily see themselves as a part of the problem. While some are conscious of their own biases, many are not. For this reason, they focus on **otherness** as the principal problem—insisting that diversity has led to a "lowering of standards" within their organizations. Until they become aware of their own prejudices and are able to honestly appraise their level of competence in dealing with employee diversity, these individuals will often unconsciously sabotage diverse employees within their work groups.

But resisters are not just individuals with biased points of view. To a large degree, they are the products of the institutional environment in which they work. In many instances, resisters see themselves as guardians of the traditional, mainstream culture. While they understand there is no escaping the changes brought about by affirmative action, they believe their organizations would not support these changes if given a choice.

To the extent that organizations do nothing to promote the value of diversity or to diminish the negative impact of resistance, they tacitly support this problem. While most institutions in America would not openly state that they foster bias and discrimination among employees, their reluctance to take action against prejudice in action or to view diversity as a vital asset reinforces the historical assumption of **otherness** as a deficiency.

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Diversity as an Organizational Threat

When entering a new work group or organization, many diverse people begin to tap into their cultural heritages and experiences to develop ideas, identify and solve problems, and, in general, contribute to the achievement of organizational goals. As they do this, they sometimes call attention to their core differences—often intentionally in an attempt to raise people's consciousness, at other times inadvertently. If they are working in organizations that do not value diversity,.such an approach is likely to be viewed as disruptive and even dangerous. Employees who still assume diversity poses a threat to the smooth operation of the organization often judge as inappropriate the behavior of those who are different.

The more attention **others** call to their primary and secondary differences, the more likely it is that they will be categorized as "radical" or a threat to the status quo. Eventually, if they persist, they are likely to be sidelined or even forced out by those who fear that their "negative attitude" could spread and, ultimately, affect other impressionable employees. On the other hand, some **others** may choose to assimilate into the mainstream culture—toning down their individual differences and adopting the values, style, and behaviors of the dominant group as they do so.

Expressed Discomfort as Oversensitivity

When a diverse employee openly challenges the traditional corporate norms that often stifle diversity, it is interesting to note how many people assume the real problem rests with the person and not with the organizational norms. Mavericks are rarely viewed as challengers and agents of change in institutions that do not value diversity. Instead, they are more likely to be seen as oversensitive, or as militants and agitators who, among other things, lack a sense of humor.

When a company president uses sports and military analogies repeatedly in a speech at the annual shareholders' meeting, it is the maverick who is likely to suggest that other metaphors might be more appropriate—given the fact that many women are not comfortable with such references. When an ethnic, homophobic, racist, or ageist joke is told during coffee break, it is the maverick who will object. When there is gossip circulating throughout the office about a woman "sleeping her way to the top," it is the maverick who questions the accuracy of the rumor. And each time this occurs, it is the maverick who will be accused of having no sense of humor or of being overly sensitive. Yet it is in such settings, where diversity is demeaned or devalued, that racism, sexism, and heterosexism are reinforced.

Without the underlying valuing diversity philosophy firmly embedded in an organization's culture, incidents such as those noted above create conflict and confusion in the workplace. Some employees may insist that it is their right to tell racist jokes. Those who disagree may be accused of trying to "legislate morality." There is often much debate among employees about **intentionality**—whether or not a demeaning comment or action not intended as demeaning can be judged to be demeaning.

In organizations with a clearly articulated philosophy of valuing diversity, such debates are less likely to occur. Instead, employees recognize the linkage between this philosophy, institutional policies, practices, and their own behavior. The organization's expectation of every employee supporting the philosophy of valuing diversity is clear.

Diversity and the Dominant Group

Another popular assumption that flows directly from the belief that diversity is a liability is the notion that all diverse people aspire to be more like successful members of the dominant group. The conventional wisdom on which this assumption is based is as follows: if white men are the people with an established record of success in organizations, then it is reasonable to assume that diverse people would want to emulate them. At the very least, it would seem prudent to do so.

In organizations that discount or ignore the importance of the core dimensions of diversity, it is generally assumed that the attitudes, style, and behaviors that help dominant group members succeed will work as well for diverse employees—who learn to use them properly. To assist in this learning process, many institutions counsel **others** to invest in assertiveness training, public speaking courses, image consultants, and even golf lessons in order to bridge the gap.

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But, despite their best efforts to learn new behaviors and modify their approaches, many women, differently abled employees, people of color, and members of other diverse groups discover that a perceived performance gap still remains. Try as they may, they can never quite develop what it takes for full membership in the dominant culture.

Equality as Sameness

How often have you heard a manager say, "When I look at an employee I don't see sex or color. These things don't affect me. I treat everyone the same around here." This, in essence, was the position taken by virtually all U.S. institutions and by most managers when equal opportunity was a central workplace issue during the tumultuous 1970s. Since then, most organizations have gone about the business of affirmative action with the **equality-as-sameness** assumption firmly in place.

Because equality as sameness has lead to increased opportunities for some diverse people, it has seldom been challenged by those few who succeed. Nonetheless, the assumption has created a dilemma for many other women, people of color, gay men, lesbians, immigrants from other cultures, differently abled people, and employees of diverse religious beliefs who are also expected to excel and to achieve by behaving like members of the dominant group.

Recognizing that their mere presence is, at times, a challenge to the mainstream culture, diverse employees often feel compelled to adopt a style of behavior that is foreign to their self-definitions. They often attempt to modify their values and experiences in order to "fit" and conform to the behavioral and stylistic standards of the dominant group. The enormous energy that is spent learning how to assimilate could be better spent solving problems, identifying new business opportunities, or developing new programs, but this is seldom the ase. Instead, we see countless examples of diverse people adapting, conforming, delimiting their potential, losing their dentities and self-esteem, and, on occasion, burning out as hey try to be something they aren't.

In organizations that promote assimilation and insist on sameness, most diverse people are wasted human resources. Instead of recognizing the increased innovation and creative problem-solving potential that diversity can offer, organizations that promote equality as sameness force diverse employees to assimilate in return for limited success. Since they are encouraged and expected to behave in ways that are alien to their experiences and their individual styles, others frequently operate at a distinct disadvantage.

In many respects, this cultural assimilation process is like expecting left-handed people to write with their right hands because they work in cultures dominated by right-handers. While it seems like equal treatment, it isn't. What's more, it is frustrating for those employees who must suppress their identities and makes little use of the talents and creative potential that they might otherwise bring to their work.

Change the People, Not the Culture

In organizations that value assimilation over diversity, emphasis is often placed on changing the people to conform to traditional norms and performance expectations. Little thought is given to how the institutional culture might be changed so that it is more flexible, hospitable, and supportive of diverse employees. This focus on changing diverse people has created difficulties for many people of color, women, differently abled, gay, and ethnically diverse people who want to maintain their own cultural heritages as they move ahead in their careers.

For while such individuals can often maintain their diverse identities at the entry level, the range of acceptable behavior narrows as one moves up the career ladder. What's more, the greater the number of ones' core differences in relation to the dominant group—the more marginal one is likely to be in relation to the mainstream culture *and* the more likely one is to be viewed as outside the acceptable range.

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At a time in our history when we are desperately seeking ways to increase America's competitiveness and improve the quality of our goods and services, it is ironic that employee diversity remains a largely untapped resource in most public and private institutions. Instead of recognizing the value of diversity as a competitive advantage, diversity continues to be stifled and ignored in most organizations. Instead of helping employees develop mutual respect for core differences, employers often deny that these differences exist or that enhanced awareness is needed for productive teamwork. Instead of developing and rewarding managers who are competent to hire, coach, and evaluate diverse employees, organizations are insisting that nothing very significant has changed within the workforce. They continue to assert that the old ways that worked with a more homogeneous workforce will continue to work today.

Yet, the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity are becoming more visible in the American workplace and the marketplace. As this continues to occur in the future, it will be those organizations that learn to manage employee diversity as a vital resource that will benefit the most and those that refuse to let go of assimilation as a strategy for managing diversity that will ultimately lose. Like dinosaurs unable to adapt to a changing environment, they will be doomed to extinction.

NOTES

1. "Visions of Gay America," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 25, 1989, p. 64.
2. "Worse Segregation than Was Expected Is Found in 10 Cities," *New York Times*, August 5, 1989, p. 1.; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy Denton, "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation along Five Dimensions," *Demography* 26, no. 3 (August 1989), pp. 373–91.

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A DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH TO TRAINING FOR INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

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ABSTRACT. The development of intercultural sensitivity demands attention to the subjective experience of the learner. The key to such sensitivity and related skills in intercultural communication is the way in which learners construe cultural difference. This article suggests a continuum of stages of personal growth that allows trainers to diagnose the level of sensitivity of individuals and groups and to sequence material according to a developmental plan. The developmental continuum moves from ethnocentrism *to* ethnorelativism. *Earlier stages of the continuum define the parochial* denial *of difference, the evaluative* defense *against difference, and the universalist position of* minimization *of difference. Later stages define the* acceptance *of difference,* adaptation *to difference, and the* integration *of difference into one's world view. The stages of development are illustrated with typical statements and behaviors of learners that can be used to diagnose levels of sensitivity, and strategies to facilitate movement from each stage to the next are suggested. Special attention is given to questions of ethics and credibility that often arise in intercultural training situations.*

INTRODUCTION

In their search for effective techniques and measurable outcomes, trainers of intercultural communication sometimes neglect considering the immediate subjective experience of trainees. An emphasis on this aspect of the training process might be called a "phenomenology of training." There are two major reasons why the phenomenology of training is a crucial concern. First, people do not respond directly to events; they respond to the *meaning* they attach to events (Kelly, 1963). Consequently, we need to understand how trainees will construe relevant life events before we can choose and sequence appropriate elements for a program. In addition, different individuals and groups are likely to respond differently to the same training element. We need to understand how groups might differ predictably in their likely interpretations of elements so we can change our approach when necessary. Second, successful intercultural training implies more than acquisition of new skills. Since intercultural sensitivity is not "natural" to any single culture, the development of this ability demands new awareness and attitudes. As trainers, we need to know how the attitude

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of intercultural sensitivity develops so we can facilitate precise movement in that direction.

The needs implied by a phenomenological approach to training can be addressed by a developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. By specifying stages of development along a continuum, such a model can be used to diagnose the "level" of individuals and groups, to select appropriate training elements consistent with the likely interpretations made from that level of development, and to sequence material that facilitates movement towards greater sensitivity as defined by the model.

A developmental model need not, by itself, suggest particular teaching methods or learning-area concepts. Effective teaching and training strategies already exist for the presentation of basic intercultural concepts (e.g., J. Bennett, 1984; Paige & Martin, 1983; Pusch, 1981). Experiential techniques for the classroom are reviewed by several authors, including Asuncion-Lande (1976), Kohls (1979), and Hoopes and Ventura (1979), and intercultural group development processes are listed by Gudykunst (1976). The basic learning areas of intercultural communication are also generally agreed-upon, falling within the areas of cultural self-awareness, other-culture awareness, and various approaches to intercultural communication and perception (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983; Paige & Martin, 1983).

There is an unfortunately common tendency among some trainers and educators to design programs as a potpourri of exercises and ideas. The failure to select and sequence materials rigorously for various groups may render otherwise effective approaches useless or even obstructive. Some attempts at addressing this problem with models of intercultural "development" processes have been attempted. For instance, Brislin, Landis, and Brandt (1983, p. 3) suggested a developmental sequence in response to their question, "What are the antecedents of intercultural behavior?" This model seems well-suited to guide research but, in its present form, it is does not offer clear guidance to a classroom or workshop educator. Paige and Martin (1983, p. 55) suggest an actual training model in response to their slightly different question, "How should different types of training activities be sequenced to produce the most effective learning?" They organize typical training elements into a sequence of increasing complexity and difficulty within the dimensions of behavior requirements (active/passive), risk of failure and self-disclosure (low/high), and culture learning domain focus (cognitive/affective). This model represents a considerable refinement of earlier, non-sequenced lists of activities, but it still leaves implicit the basic assumption about where participants are "starting" and where they should "end up," in terms of their subjective experience. Thus it is limited in its ability to diagnose the needs of a particular group or individual. Gudykunst and Hammer (1983) offer a model which suggests the sequencing of three stages: perspective training; interaction training; and context-specific training. These authors have a clear subjective goal in mind ("third-culture perspective"), but their model again refers to types of training activities, not to the nature of a participant's developmental experience.

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Hoopes (1981) comes closest to positing a phenomenological model when he states:

> The critical element in the expansion of intercultural learning is not the fullness with which one knows each culture, but the degree to which the process of cross-cultural learning, communication and human relations have been mastered (p. 20).

With this focus, Hoopes lists the following categories of a "spectrum" of intercultural learning: ethnocentrism; awareness; understanding; acceptance/respect; appreciation/valuing; selective adoption; assimilation-adaptation-biculturalism-multiculturalism. It is this type of informal model which refers to the subjective states of the learners that can best be refined for the purpose of diagnosing groups or individuals and sequencing material.

A developmental model is ideally based upon the key organizing concept which must be internalized for development to occur. In the case of intercultural sensitivity, this concept is *difference*—that cultures differ fundamentally in the way they create and maintain world views. If a student accepts this principle and interprets events according to it, then intercultural sensitivity and general intercultural communication effectiveness seem to increase. However, the concept of fundamental cultural difference is also the most problematical and threatening idea that many of us ever encounter. Students (and sometimes instructors) employ a wide range of strategies to avoid confronting the implications of fundamental difference. A developmental model, then, should both illustrate "improvement" in the ability to comprehend and experience difference, and it should imply the strategies that will impede such experience. To accomplish these purposes, the model should be phenomenological in the sense that it describes a learner's subjective experience of difference, not just the objective behavior of either learner or trainer.

In Part 1 of this paper, the main stages of a somewhat more elaborate model (Bennett, 1984) are defined. In Part 2, applications of the model to diagnosis and developmental training strategies are suggested.

PART 1: THE DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL

The continuum illustrated in Figure 1 is divided into six "stages of development." Each stage represents a way of experiencing difference, for instance Denial (of difference), Defense (against difference), etc. It is assumed in the model that intercultural sensitivity increases with movement to the right towards more "relative" treatments of difference. The midpoint of the continuum represents a division between "ethnocentrism" as that

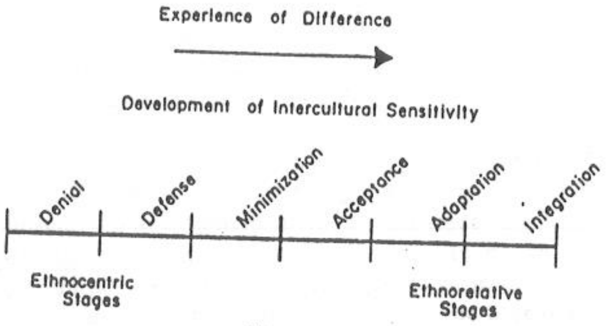

FIGURE 1.

term is generally understood (e.g., Porter & Samovar, 1983) and "ethnorelativism," a term coined here as an appropriate antonym of ethnocentrism. The later stages of ethnorelativism include concepts such as Adler's (1977) "multicultural man," Bochner's (1979) "mediating person," Heath's (1977) "maturity," and "intercultural competence" as discussed by a number of authors (e.g., Dinges, 1983; Brislin, et al., 1983).

The choice and sequencing of stages in this model are based on the theoretical considerations discussed above and on fifteen years of teaching and training experience in intercultural communication with a wide range of students. Varieties of this model have been presented to many groups of intercultural educators and discussed in advanced intercultural communication seminars over a period of three years. In addition, the model has been used successfully to design curricula for various courses and workshops in intercultural communication. As much as possible, it represents the real-life observations of educators in this field and the actual reported experiences of students.

I. *DENIAL.* A denial of difference may occur when physical or social isolation precludes any contact at all with significant cultural differences. Since difference has not been encountered, meaning (categories) has not been created for such phenomena. As such, this position represents the ultimate ethnocentrism, where one's own world view is unchallenged as central to all reality.

A more common form of Denial is parochialism. This is a relative condition, representing a lower degree of contact with cultural difference than might be possible. For instance, people living in small towns with homogeneous populations are generally deemed more parochial than people living in larger, cosmopolitan cities. Parochialism can be associated with extremely "broad" categories for difference. Broad categories allow for difference to be perceived at a minimal level without much discrimination.

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are different from Westerners, without recognition that Asian cultures were different in any way from one another.

In extreme cases of Denial, cultural difference may be attributed to subhuman status. Such was apparently the case in early white settlers' attitudes toward American Indians, and parallels to that situation can be seen in Nazi attempts to eliminate "undesirables," or in the apparent genocide of some Central American Indian groups. The common feature of these incidents is not their political or military similarity, but the denial "with extreme prejudice" of cultural difference.

II. *DEFENSE.* The defense against difference involves attempts to counter perceived threat to the centrality of one's world view. Because difference must be recognized (and thus given meaning) before it is seen as threatening, this stage represents a development in intercultural sensitivity beyond denial.

The most common Defense strategy is denigration of difference. This is generally called "negative stereotyping," wherein undesirable characteristics are attributed to every member of a culturally distinct group. The denigration may be attached to race, religion, age, gender, or any other assumed indicator of difference. This kind of denigration is here considered as a stage of development, not as an isolated act. Supportive of this view is the observation that people who denigrate one group are likely to denigrate some other groups as well. Although misinformation may accompany the denigration, the central factor in defensive denigration is not ignorance, but ethnocentrism.

Another Defense strategy is the assumption of cultural superiority. Rather than denigrating other cultures, one simply assumes that one's own culture is the acme of some evolutionary scheme. Such a maneuver automatically assigns a lower status to cultural difference while allowing the defender to be "tolerant" of those cultures' attempts to develop. The superiority strategy allows more experience of difference than does denigration, but ethnocentrism is still supported by the belief that most cultural difference must be overcome for genuine development to occur.

The most beguiling defense against difference is a position that can be termed "reversal." Common to Peace Corps Volunteers, other long-term sojourners, and expatriates, reversal involves assuming superiority of the host culture while denigrating one's own culture. Although such a position is indistinguishable in terms of ethnocentrism from the previous strategies, it nevertheless may seem like a more "enlightened" state. Certainly those who use this strategy present themselves as more culturally sensitive than their unreversed counterparts.

III. *MINIMIZATION.* The last-ditch attempt to preserve the centrality of one's own world view involves an attempt to "bury" difference under the weight of cultural similarities. The state of minimization represents a development beyond denial and defense because, at this stage, cultural explicitly as in denigration or implicitly as in superiority. Rather, cultural difference is trivialized. While differences are seen to exist, they are experienced as relatively unimportant compared to the far more powerful dictates of cultural similarity.

The minimization of difference generally takes either (or both) of two forms. One is that of "physical universalism," exemplified by the work of Lorentz (1977) and other ethologists. In this view, human behavior is best understood as mainly innate, with cultural difference representing rather straightforward permutations of certain underlying rules. People holding this view generally approach intercultural situations with the assurance that awareness of basic human patterns of behavior is sufficient to ensure successful communication. Such a view is ethnocentric insofar as the basic categories of behavior are held to be absolute and similar to one's own.

The second, and perhaps more common form of Minimization is that of "transcendent universalism." In a kind of abstract parallel to the concrete behavioral assumptions of physical universalism, transcendent universalism suggests that all human beings, whether they know it or not, are products of some single transcendent principle, law, or imperative. The obvious example of this view is any religion which holds that all people are creations of a particular supernatural entity or force. The statement, "We are all God's children," when the "children" include people who don't subscribe to the same god, is indicative of this religious form of universalism. Other forms of transcendent universalism include the Marxist notion of historical imperative, wherein all people are subject to the same historical "forces"; economic and political "laws" that are thought to affect all people in the same way, such as the capitalist concept of "individual achievement"; and psychological principles such as "archetypes" or "needs" that are assumed to be invariably valid cross-culturally.

In both forms of Minimization, cultural difference is recognized and tolerated to some degree. However, such difference is seen as either superficial or even obstructive to the pursuit of communication. This is because communication is assumed to rest necessarily on the common ground of universal rules or principles. While this stage is the most interculturally sensitive of the ethnocentric positions, it cannot fulfill the potential for intercultural understanding often claimed for it by its adherents.

IV. *ACCEPTANCE*. The acceptance of cultural difference represents a move from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. At this stage, cultural difference is both acknowledged and respected. Difference is perceived as fundamental, necessary, and preferable in human affairs. Particular cultural differences are not evaluated at this stage—they simply exist.

Within this stage are two major levels of acceptance that seem to occur in sequence. First is the acceptance of behavioral difference, including language, communication style, and nonverbal patterns. Second is acceptance of the underlying cultural value differences which may represent profoundly different organizations of reality (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Stewart, 1972).

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While the acceptance of these cultural differences is generally acknowledged as central to intercultural communication (e.g., Barnlund, 1982), the developmental process that allows such acceptance has received less attention. In this model, the assumption is made that a major shift from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelative approach to difference is necessary for the acceptance to occur. Characteristic of this shift is the subjective reconstrual of difference as a "thing" to difference as a "process." From the ethnorelative perspective, people do not "have" behavior patterns—they *behave*. More profoundly, people do not "have" values—they *value*. With this reconstrual, the extension transference (Hall, 1976) and reification (Berger & Luckman, 1967) that may lead to objectification of culture is avoided and people are seen as dynamic co-creators of their realities. The concomitant construal of cultural reality as consensual and mutable is essential to ethnorelativism and necessary for further development of intercultural sensitivity.

V. *ADAPTATION*. The acceptance of cultural difference as discussed above allows the adaptation of behavior and thinking to that difference. It is this temporary alteration of process that forms the heart of intercultural communication. The ability to change processing of reality constitutes an increase in intercultural sensitivity when it occurs in a cross-cultural context.

The most common form of Adaptation is empathy. Empathy as it is defined here (Bennett, 1979) involves a temporary shift in frame of reference such that one construes events "as if" one were the other person. When the other person is using a significantly different world view to process reality, the empathy approximates a shift in cultural world view. Generally, empathy is "partial," extending only into those areas relevant to the communication event. The behavioral manifestation of empathy is action that is more appropriate to the "target" culture than to the native culture. This action may be simply mental, such as the ability to formulate appropriate questions, or it may include the ability to generate coordinated verbal and nonverbal behavior that is perceived as appropriate by a target culture member.

Another form of Adaptation is cultural pluralism, which is here taken to mean the ability to shift into two or more rather complete cultural world views. The terms "biculturality" and "multiculturality" are often used to refer to this phenomenon (with the exception of Adler (1977), who uses the term "multicultural" in a broader sense). Cultural pluralism can be interpreted as the habitualization of a particular empathic shift. For instance, an American who has lived for an extended time in Japan may develop an ability to easily shift into a fairly complete Japanese world view, such that he/she might be termed "bicultural."

As implied by the above example, cultural pluralism probably necessitates "significant overseas (or other-culture) living experience" (SOLE). Yet SOLE alone is apparently insufficient for general intercultural sensitivity to develop. Nondevelopmental pluralism may occur when one is simply acculturated into two or more cultures, such as children of expatriates or missionaries sometimes are. In these cases where no intentional empathy has preceded the pluralism, intercultural sensitivity as it is treated in this model cannot be assumed automatically.

In summary, adaptation to difference as a stage of development of intercultural sensitivity is the ability to act ethnorelatively. This ability to act outside one's native cultural world view is based on the acceptance of difference as a relative process, and it is the crux of intercultural communication. Other forms of "adaptive" behavior, such as assimilation or nondevelopmental pluralism may mimic some aspects of intercultural sensitivity, but in themselves they lack the developmental base necessary for ethnorelativism.

VI. *INTEGRATION.* The integration of difference is the application of ethnorelativism to one's own identity. This is taken as the process underlying Adler's (1977) description of the multicultural person as "not simply the person who is sensitive to many different cultures. Rather, he is a person who is always in the process of becoming *a part of* and *apart from* a given cultural context" (p. 26). In this way, Adler extends the definition of "multicultural" beyond pluralism. In the language of this model, a person who has integrated difference is one who can construe differences as processes, who can adapt to those differences, and who can additionally construe him or herself in various cultural ways.

One of the skills of intercultural sensitivity that occurs at this stage of development is the ability to evaluate phenomena relative to cultural context. This ability, termed "contextual evaluation," is similar to the ethical stage of development termed "contextual relativism" by Perry (1970). It allows one to reinstitute the judgments that were suspended at the stage of Acceptance. However, the judgments of goodness or badness of action are no longer ethnocentric. Rather, they are simply statements of appropriateness to one or another cultural frame of reference. Thus, one could evaluate the same potential action as good (Culture A) or bad (Culture B). In terms of individual ethics, actions are evaluated relative to the created culture context one has developed for one's self.

At the stage of Integration, the lack of any absolute cultural identification can be used for constructive purposes. This position can be called "constructive marginality," where the normally alienated state of marginality becomes a valuable tool in cultural mediation (Bochner, 1981). As the culmination of intercultural sensitivity, the stage of Integration suggests a person who experiences difference as an essential and joyful aspect of all life.

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PART 2: TRAINING APPLICATIONS OF THE MODEL

Based on the definitions of developmental stages summarized in Part I of this paper, this section will suggest how the model can be used to diagnose the "level of sensitivity" of individuals and groups and how, given that level, developmental training activities might be selected and sequenced.

I. Denial

Diagnosis. Individuals operating at a Denial level of sensitivity are likely either not to perceive difference at all, or to employ wide categories in perceiving difference. An example of the former is the statement sometimes heard that Tokyo (or some other foreign location) is not at all different from, say, New York. If asked upon what this conclusion is based, the person may say, "They both have lots of cars and buildings." This answer betrays a selective perception which disallows recognition of phenomena that fall outside familiar categories. Another form of restricted categories is exhibited by students (and others) who ask the classic "dumb questions" that so annoy international students and visitors. These questions are usually of the form, "Do you have (ice cream, refrigerators, houses) in your country?" or "Do you ride (camels, lions, sampans) to school?"

The use of wide categories for perceiving difference is illustrated by the common confusion of Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese or by assuming similarity between Gulf State Arabs and Iranians. Aside from the irritation this causes to visitors from those areas, the confusion indicates that categories for these (and probably other) cultural differences are not well discriminated. The extreme form of wide category is a simple American/Foreigner dichotomy.

The behavioral response when confronted with difference can also be an indicator of this stage of sensitivity. Children or young adults may giggle or otherwise show embarrassment. High-school age students may additionally make comments such as "That's weird." Adults may exhibit studious politeness, as if cultural difference were a handicap that should be ignored in public. In all these cases, the behavior noted is more likely to be an indication of Denial than of the more overtly negative evaluation associated with Defense.

Developmental Strategies. At this stage of sensitivity (and only at this stage), the best technique for development seems to be "cultural awareness" activities. These generally take the form of "Mexico Night" or similar functions, where music, dance, food, and costumes are exhibited. In terms of this model, the purpose served by these activities is to create more differentiation of general categories for cultural difference. It should be noted that not much more than this can be expected from such functions, even though they are sometimes touted as great contributions to intercultural sensitivity.

For more sophisticated (but not more sensitive) audiences, travelogues, history lectures, or other area studies type material may serve the same purpose as the cultural awareness activity. Again, the purpose served by such content at this point is not so much improvement of communication as it is facilitation of simple recognition of difference.

Overall, the strategy of development here is to avoid premature discussion of really significant cultural differences. Such discussion will either be ignored or, more detrimentally, be used as a rationale for maintaining the comfort of Denial. At the same time, cultural awareness should be facilitated in such a way that depth is slowly and inexorably developed. This movement can be best assured by providing accomplished intercultural facilitators to monitor and "push" discussion a little in these situations. Unfacilitated intercultural contact tends to be more entertaining than developmental.

II. Defense

Diagnosis. Individuals and occasionally entire groups are easy to diagnose in the denigration phase of this stage. Overt statements of hostility toward any one culture should be taken as indicative of a Defense level of sensitivity. As predicted by the model, Defense should be expected in people who have just come out of Denial. In a typical intercultural workshop or classroom setting, statements of hostility may be masked by requests for confirmation that one particular group is "really" troublesome. It is not uncommon to find a mix of Denial and denigrative Defense, where one culture is targeted as "bad" and other cultures are simply ignored. Group pressure may exacerbate the denigration and discourage more sensitive individuals from participating in the discussion.

The possible relationship between denigration and an organized institution should be considered in diagnosing this stage. Some organizations teach that certain cultures or philosophies are "evil." Notable in this regard are some fundamentalist religious sects and conservative political groups. When this institutional affiliation is known, Defense level should be assumed until discussion indicates otherwise.

The superiority phase of Defense is less obvious. It may be indicated by a question such as "So what's wrong with being an American?" In general, strong appeals to pride in one's own culture probably derive from this stage. One form of this pride is seeing one's own culture as a standard or goal for the entire world. While considering Western technology as the standard for all economic development is the most common form of this view, it may also be held by non-Westerners who consider their cultures as the epitome of ethical, religious, or political development.

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While reversal is easy to diagnose as the denigration of one's own culture, it may be the most difficult of the Defense positions to dislodge. This is because people exhibiting reversal are likely to be very credible in a training situation. They have usually traveled widely or lived abroad, and they may be influential in perpetuating this form of Defense in the group.

Developmental Strategies. Movement beyond the denigration phase of Defense is impeded by a tendency to "retreat" to Denial. If the trainer has been successful in overcoming Denial, the next expected behavior is some form of Defense. Overt hostility may, however, seem less "sensitive" than the previous behavior of simply ignoring difference. Thus, the trainer and perhaps the individual him/herself may be tempted to return to superficialities—endless "Mexico nights."

Resisting the temptation of retreat involves encouraging movement toward more superiority. An increase in cultural self-esteem can replace denigration as a Defense behavior. Trying to explain to someone in denigrative Defense that his or her negative stereotypes are inaccurate does not work, and may simply provide the trainee with more denigrative fodder. Techniques to increase cultural self-esteem could include discussions of what is "good" about one's own culture, accompanied by discussion of "good" things about other cultures. It is premature at this point to emphasize that cultures are simply different, not "good" or "bad," since that idea necessitates more ethnorelativism than available at this stage.

Because of the perceived credibility of the source, strong "reversed" statements of denigration are difficult to combat. For instance, once a well-traveled American group member has begun denigrating the behavior of "typical" American tourists, a shift to emphasizing the superiority of these tourists is ill-advised. One technique which has worked in this circumstance is to "spread around" the denigration by noting that tourists from other cultures also exhibit insensitivity, and then shift emphasis to some generally positive aspects of tourists in general (e.g., curiosity, benefits of simple cross-cultural contact, etc.). The best treatment of reversal, however, is the *inoculation*. This technique involves noting the possible existence of reversal attitudes before any statement of them comes from the group. People are less likely to make certain kinds of remarks if that type of comment has been predicted and countered beforehand.

Overall, developmental movement out of Defense is facilitated by emphasizing the commonality of cultures, particularly in terms of what is generally "good" in all cultures. While this seems antithetical to the cultural relativity necessary for successful intercultural communication, it is a necessary stage of development that must precede a subsequent emphasis on difference. A failure to allow Minimization to follow Defense by "skipping ahead" to Acceptance or Adaptation may eventuate in a strengthening of the Defense stage and rejection of further development.

III. Minimization

Diagnosis. The minimization of difference is most obviously indicated by statements such as, "In other cultures you just have to be yourself," or, "You'll get along all right with good common sense." The former statement betrays a belief that cultural difference is mainly superficial and that one's "basic humanity" will shine through if one is simply sincere. The latter statement implies that all cultures value similar logical processes. In addition to these indicators of physical universalism, trainers may encounter statements of transcendent universalism such as, "There are some things that are true everywhere." Physical universalism is most likely to be exhibited by empiricists, meaning most Americans and particularly more technically-oriented people. The Western valuing of individuality and direct openness exacerbates this tendency, since such values imply that people should be accepted for "who they are" if they are honest about it. Transcendent universalism is more likely to be exhibited by people with a strong philosophical position to uphold, such as religious, political, or economic missionaries.

Minimization may sometimes have the same kind of credibility as that accompanying the reversal phase of Defense. It tends to be a position which may be held by more sophisticated students, people with overseas experience (particularly businesspersons), and "internationalists." In terms of the model, Minimization may serve the function of preserving for these people a kind of "enlightened ethnocentrism" that sounds interculturally sensitive while allowing them to avoid the sense of incompetence which might arise from confronting cultural unknowns.

Developmental Strategies. Between this stage and the next is a "paradigmatic barrier." Movement to the next stage represents a major conceptual shift from reliance on absolute principles of some sort to an acknowledgment of nonabsolute relativity. For Westerners, this shift seems best approached inductively. Simulations, reports of personal experience, and other illustrations of substantial cultural differences in the interpretation of behavior are effective at this point. Awareness of these differences must be shown to have definite practical significance for intercultural communication to overcome the stasis of minimization. Even if this is done effectively, students are still likely to experience a degree of disorientation and confusion as they struggle with the implications of relativity. Care should be taken that this confusion is simply acknowledged and not prematurely eased by retreating to earlier ethnocentric states.

It is particularly effective at this stage to use "representatives" of other cultures as resource persons. These people work best in a small facilitated discussion group (as opposed to the overused and largely useless panel). Resource persons *must* be selected, since being from another culture does

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not preclude ethnocentrism, and having a resource person in Minimization is worse than none at all. If resource persons are selected carefully and placed in facilitated situations, they can provide the credibility for expression of cultural difference that may forever elude the trainer. Participants are unlikely to face someone from another culture and deny cultural differences claimed by that person.

IV. Acceptance

Diagnosis. People at this stage of intercultural sensitivity can be recognized by the enjoyment they bring to the recognition and exploration of difference. They are usually fairly tolerant of ambiguity, manifested by a willingness to hear generalizations and probabilistic statements about cultural difference without demanding absolute answers. Questions about difference may be naive and sometimes inappropriate, but the questions seem geared to learning rather than to confirming stereotypes.

Developmental Strategies. Development into ethnorelativism is first established by stressing recognition and nonevaluative respect for variation in verbal behavior and communication style (such as greeting rituals, forms of argument, etc.). Such behavior is most generally recognized as appropriately different. Using verbal language as a parallel, "body language" and other categories of nonverbal behavior differences can be acknowledged and accorded the same respect.

Failure to move fairly quickly beyond this stage of development opens the possibility that verbal and nonverbal difference will be incorporated into the previous stage of transcendent universalism. As noted earlier, transcendent universalism usually includes substantial recognition of behavioral difference. Unless respect for value differences associated with behavior is established, efforts at this stage may serve simply to elaborate details within an ethnocentric frame. On the other hand, moving prematurely to an ethnorelative discussion of values without sufficient establishment of behavioral relativity may create a threat that encourages retreat to a defensive state.

The main impediment to development from this stage is the possibility that value difference is not understood in a processual context. Eventually, a cultural assumption or value will be personally offensive. A likely candidate is some form of the valuing of women versus men, although the culprit may also be alternative forms of sexuality. If this difference in valuing is perceived as "characterizing" members of that culture, those who find it offensive may retreat to superiority, denigration, or possibly minimization ("They don't *really* feel that way"). To preserve the sensitivity of this stage, difference that might be personally disvalued (such as "sexism") such, the offending difference becomes "a way to cope with reality," rather than a distasteful trait. It should be stressed that this view of cultural difference does not disallow one from having a personal opinion about the difference—it simply precludes that opinion from becoming an ethnocentric evaluation.

Movement into the next stage of intercultural sensitivity, Adaptation, is encouraged by emphasizing the practical application of ethnorelative acceptance to intercultural communication. In actual education or training contexts, this move must be made fairly quickly to add personal relevance and usefulness to the necessarily anecdotal treatment of behavioral difference and the theoretical treatment of values. In some cases, communication applications can be combined effectively with discussion of values to facilitate the development, such as including a discussion of homestay communication with relevant value differences.

V. Adaptation

Diagnosis. Adaptation is indicated by the ability to intentionally shift frame of reference; that is, to empathize. Manifestations of this ability generally include the generation of appropriate questions about cultural difference. For example, when analyzing a communication problem between a Japanese person and an American, an empathic question from an American might seek information about the status difference between the two people. (Note that this question is not a "natural" one for Americans.) People in Adaptation are also able to perform well on cultural assimilator (Fiedler, et al., 1971) type tests which demand cognitive operation in a different cultural frame.

Many people who are pluralistic (bicultural or multicultural) are able to exercise intentional empathy either among their internalized frames of reference or even to other cultural frames. However, as noted earlier, the mere fact of pluralism does not automatically place a person at Adaptation. Pluralists who are not ethnorelative offer the same credibility problem to trainers as do reversed Defense or Minimization participants—it is difficult to contradict an ethnocentric statement made by a bicultural person. Even more problematically, these people may be resistant to any attempt to construe their hard-earned abilities as part of a trainable developmental sequence.

Another "false indication" of Adaptation is a claim of empathy that is actually based on Minimization. Statements betraying this situation may be of the form, "I can get along with everyone in the world," or "All you have to do is just *listen* to what they're saying." Upon questioning, this kind of "empathy" usually can be traced to an underlying assumption of universalism.

Development Strategies. Participants moving out of Acceptance eager to apply their knowledge of cultural difference to actual face-to-f communication. Thus, now is the time to provide opportunities for inter tion. These activities might include dyads with other-culture partne facilitated multicultural group discussion, or outside assignments involvi interviewing of people from other cultures. Training in the practice empathy is also appropriate. As much as possible, activities should i related to real-life communication situations. For instance, in the case Americans anticipating study abroad, communication practice could ref to homestays or developing friendships in the other culture. In the cas of international students and visitors, practice could include communicat ing with faculty and other everyday situations.

These same real-life situations seem to be effective for pluralists wh are less ethnorelative. However, the reason for their success may be different. In these cases, it may be that the limitations of culture-specific adaptation become evident and create a motivation for the pluralists to generalize their abilities through more use of ethnorelative principles.

VI. Integration

Diagnosis. The integration of difference is most obviously indicated by a lack of strong cultural identification combined with well-developed levels of Acceptance and Adaptation. These criteria exclude people who claim they have no culture when the claim is based more on lack of cultural self-awareness than on marginality. People at this stage may vary in their ability to maintain "healthy" self-concepts. At one extreme are those who are profoundly disturbed by their lack of cultural identification and who may experience an ongoing sense of alienation and anomie. At the other extreme are those who appear perfectly content with a self-created identity and who adjust well to a wide range of situations. In either case (and those in between), the common factor is a sense of self as a dynamic process involving choice at every level of identity. The difference between extremes seems to be whether the choice is seen as a blessing or a curse.

Developmental Strategies. The major developmental work at this last stage of intercultural sensitivity is in the area of ethics. People who have integrated difference may experience difficulty constructing an ethical system that will guide their choices and actions. Since no one cultural system of ethics can be accepted wholesale, these people face a constant plethora of possibilities. Training in Perry's [illegible]
other meta [illegible]

mediation (Bochner, 1981). When the integration of difference has led to constructive marginality, it constitutes a valuable and perhaps crucial resource for creating a world that is hospitable to the great diversity of humanity.

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ABSTRACT TRANSLATIONS

Le developpement de la sensibilite interculturelle exige qu'on examine l'experience sujective de l'apprenant. La cle de cette sensibilite et des connaissances pratiques qui sont liees a la communication interculturelle est la maniere dont les apprenants conceptualisent les differences culturelles. Cet article suggere une suite d'etapes de croissance personnelle qui permet aux enseignants de diagnoser le niveau de sensibilite d'un individu ou d'un groupe et de placer les matieres dans une sequence en accord avec un plan de developpement.

Le developpement procede de l'ethnocentrisme a l'ethnorelativisme. Les premieres etapes du developpement definissent tout d'abord un deni de la difference, une defense contre la difference, qui en contient cependant une evaluation, et enfin la position universaliste de minimisation de la difference. Les etapes ulterieures definissent l'acceptation de la difference, l'adaptation a la difference, et finalement son integration dans la vision du monde.

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The multicultural organization

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Executive Overview

Organizations are becoming increasingly diverse in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality. This diversity brings substantial potential benefits such as better decision making, greater creativity and innovation, and more successful marketing to different types of customers. But, increased cultural differences within a workforce also bring potential costs in higher turnover, interpersonal conflict, and communication breakdowns.

To capitalize on the benefits of diversity while minimizing the potential costs, leaders are being advised to oversee change processes toward creating "multicultural" organizations. What are the characteristics of such an organization, and how do they differ from those of the past? What mechanisms are available to facilitate such a change?

This article addresses these questions. It also describes a model for understanding the required features of a multicultural organization and reviews tools that pioneering companies have found useful in changing organizations toward the multicultural model.

Article

As we begin the 1990s, a combination of workforce demographic trends and increasing globalization of business has placed the management of cultural differences on the agenda of most corporate leaders. Organizations' workforces will be increasingly heterogeneous on dimensions such as gender, race, ethnicity and nationality. Potential benefits of this diversity include better decision making, higher creativity and innovation, greater success in marketing to foreign and ethnic minority communities, and a better distribution of economic opportunity. Conversely, cultural differences can also increase costs through higher turnover rates, interpersonal conflict, and communication breakdowns.

To capitalize on the benefits and minimize the costs of worker diversity, organizations of the '90s must be quite different from the typical organization of the past. Specifically, consultants have advised organizations to become "multicultural."[1] The term refers to the degree to which an organization values cultural diversity and is willing to utilize and encourage it.[2]

Leaders are being charged to create the multicultural organization, but what does such an organization look like, and what are the specific ways in which it differs from the traditional organization? Further, what tools and techniques are available to assist organizations in making the transition from the old to the new?

This article addresses these questions. I have used an adaptation of the societal-integration model developed by Milton Gordon, as well as available information on the early experience of American organizations with managing diversity initiatives, to construct a model of the multicultural organization.

Conceptual framework

In his classic work on assimilation in the United States, Milton Gordon argued that there are seven dimensions along which the integration of persons from different ethnic backgrounds into a host society should be analyzed.[3] I use "integration" to mean the coming together and mixing of people from different cultural identity groups in one organization. A cultural identity group is a group of people who (on average) share certain values and norms distinct from those of other groups. Although the boundaries of these groups may be defined along many dimensions, I am primarily concerned with gender, race, ethnicity, and national origin. Gordon's seven dimensions are:

1. Form of acculturation
2. Degree of structural assimilation
3. Degree of intergroup marriage
4. Degree of prejudice
5. Degree of discrimination
6. Degree of identification with the dominant group of the host society
7. Degree of intergroup conflict (especially over the balance of power)

Although Gordon's interest was in societal-level integration, I believe his model can be easily and usefully adapted for analysis of cultural integration for organizations. Therefore, an adaptation of his seven-point framework is used here as a basis for describing organizational models for integrating culturally divergent groups. Exhibit 1 shows my proposed six-dimensional adaptation of the Gordon framework along with definitions of each term.

Acculturation
(1) assimilation
(2) pluralism
(3) separation

Acculturation is the method by which cultural differences between the dominant (host) culture and any minority culture groups are resolved or treated. There are several alternatives, the most prominent being: 1. a unilateral process by which minority culture members adopt the norms and values of the dominant group in the organization (*assimilation*); 2. a process by which both minority and majority culture members adopt some norms of the other group (*pluralism*); and 3. a situation where there is little adaptation on either side (*cultural separatism*).[4] Pluralism also means that minority culture members are encouraged to enact behaviors from their alternative culture as well as from the majority culture. They are therefore able to retain a sense of identity with their minority-culture group. Acculturation is concerned with the cultural (norms of behavior) aspect of integration of diverse groups, as opposed to simply their physical presence in the same location.

Dimension	Definition
1. Acculturation	Modes by which two groups adapt to each other and resolve cultural differences
2. Structural Integration	Cultural profiles of organization members including hiring, job-placement, and job status profiles.
3. Informal Integration	Inclusion of minority-culture members in informal networks and activities outside of normal working hours
4. Cultural Bias	Prejudice and discrimination
5. Organizational Identification	Feelings of belonging, loyalty and commitment to the organization
6. Inter-group Conflict	Friction, tension and power struggles between cultural groups.

Exhibit 1. Conceptual Framework for Analysis of Organizational Capability for Effective Integration of Culturally Diverse Personnel

Structural integration

Structural integration refers to the presence of persons from different cultural groups in a single organization. Workforce profile data has typically been monitored under traditional equal opportunity and affirmative action guidelines. However, to get a proper understanding of structural integration it is important to look beyond organization-wide profile data, and examine cultural mix by function, level, and individual work group. This is because, it is commonplace in American companies for gaps of fifteen to thirty percentage points to exist between the proportion of minority members in the overall labor force of a firm, and their proportion at middle and higher levels of management.[5]

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Even within levels of an organization, individual work groups may still be highly segregated. For example, a senior human resource manager for a Fortune 500 firm who is often cited as a leader in managing diversity efforts, recently told me that there are still many "white-male bastions" in his company. As an assistant vice-president with responsibility for equal opportunity, he indicated that breaking down this kind of segregation was a focal point of his current job.

Informal integration

The *informal integration* dimension recognizes that important work-related contacts are often made outside of normal working hours and in various social activities and organizations. This item looks at levels of inclusion of minority-culture members in lunch and dinner meetings, golf and other athletic outings, and social clubs frequented by organization leaders. It also addresses mentoring and other informal developmental relationships in organizations.

Cultural bias has two components. Prejudice refers to negative attitudes toward an organization member based on his/her culture group identity, and discrimination – refers to observable adverse behavior for the same reason. Discrimination, in turn, may be either personal or institutional. The latter refers to ways that organizational culture and management practices may inadvertently disadvantage members of minority groups. An example is the adverse effect that emphasizing aggressiveness and self promotion has on many Asians. Many managers that I have talked to are sensitive to the fact that prejudice is a cognitive phenomenon and therefore much more difficult than discrimination for organization managers to change. Nevertheless, most acknowledge the importance of reducing prejudice for long range, sustained change.

Prejudice may occur among minority-culture members as well as among dominant-culture members. Putting the debate over whether rates of prejudice differ for different groups aside, it must be emphasized that the practical impact of prejudice by majority-culture members is far greater than that of minority-culture members because of their far greater decision-making power (except under extraordinary conditions, such as those of South Africa).

Organizational identification refers to the extent to which a person personally identifies with, and tends to define himself or herself as a member in the employing organization. Levels of organizational identification have historically been lower in the United States than in other countries (notably Japan). Indications are that recent changes in organizational design (downsizing and de-layering) have reduced organizational identification even further. Although levels of organizational identification may be low in general in the U.S. workforce, we are concerned here with comparative levels of identification for members of different cultural identity groups.

Finally, *inter-group conflict* refers to levels of culture-group-based tension and interpersonal friction. Research on demographic heterogeneity among group members suggests that communication and cohesiveness may decline as members of groups become dissimilar.[6] Also, in the specific context of integrating minority-group members into organizations, concerns have been raised about

Dimension of Integration	Monolithic	Plural	Multicultural
Form of Acculturation	Assimilation	Assimilation	Pluralism
Degree of Structural Integration	Minimal	Partial	Full
Integration into Informal Org.	Virtually none	Limited	Full
Degree of Cultural Bias	Both prejudice and discrimination against minority-culture groups is prevalent	Progress on both prejudice & discrimination but both continue to exist especially institutional discrimination	Both prejudice and discrimination are eliminated
Levels of Organizational Identification*	Large majority-minority gap	Medium to large majority-minority gap	No majority-minority gap
Degree of Intergroup Conflict	Low	High	Low

*Defined as difference between organizational identification levels between minorities and majorities.

Exhibit 2. Organizational Types

backlash from white males who may feel threatened by these developments. It is therefore important to examine levels of inter-group conflict in diverse workgroups.

Types of Organizations

This six-factor framework will now be employed to characterize organizations in terms of stages of development on cultural diversity.[7] Three organization types will be discussed: the monolithic organization, the plural organization and the multicultural organization. The application of the six-factor conceptual framework to describe the three organization types appears in Exhibit 2.

Monolithic Organization

The most important single fact about the monolithic organization is that the amount of structural integration is minimal. The organization is highly homogeneous. In the United States, this commonly represents an organization characterized by substantial white male majorities in the overall employee population with few women and minority men in management jobs. In addition, these organizations feature extremely high levels of occupational segregation with women and racioethnic minority men (racially and/or culturally different from the majority) concentrated in low-status jobs such as secretary and maintenance. Thus, the distribution of persons from minority-cultural backgrounds is highly skewed on all three components of function, level, and workgroup.

To a large extent, the specifications on the frameworks' other five dimensions follow from the structural exclusion of people from different cultural backgrounds. Women, racioethnic minority men, and foreign nationals who do enter the organization must adopt the existing organizational norms, framed by the white male majority, as a matter of organizational survival.

Ethnocentrism and other prejudices cause little, if any, adoption of minority-culture norms by majority group members. Thus, a unilateral acculturation process prevails. The exclusionary practices of the dominant *ulture also apply to informal activities. The severe limitations on career pportunities for minority-culture members creates alienation, and thus the extent to which they identify with the organization can be expected to be low compared to the more fully enfranchised majority group.*

One positive note is that intergroup conflict based on culture-group identity is minimized by the relative homogeneity of the workforce. Finally, because this organization type places little importance on the integration of cultural minority group members, discrimination, as well as prejudice, are prevalent.

While the white-male dominated organization is clearly the prototypical one for the monolithic organization, at least some of its characteristics are likely to occur in organizations where another identity group is dominant. Examples include minority-owned businesses, predominantly Black and predominantly Hispanic colleges, and foreign companies operating in the United States.

[illegible]

Aside from the rather obvious downside implications of the monolithic model in terms of under-utilization of human resources and social equality, the monolithic organization is not a realistic option for most large employers in the 1990s. To a significant degree, large U.S. organizations made a transition-away from this model during the '60s and '70s. This transition was spurred by a number of societal forces, most notably the civil-rights and feminists movements, and the beginnings of changes in workforce demographics, especially in the incidence of career-oriented women. Many organizations responded to these forces by creating the plural organization.

Plural Organization

The plural organization differs from the monolithic organization in several important respects. In general, it has a more heterogeneous membership than the monolithic organization and takes steps to be more inclusive of persons from cultural backgrounds that differ from the dominant group. These steps include hiring and promotion policies that sometimes give preference to persons from minority-culture groups, manager training on equal opportunity issues (such as civil rights law, sexual harassment, and reducing prejudice), and audits of compensation systems to ensure against discrimination against minority group members. As a result, the plural organization achieves a much higher level of structural integration than the monolithic organization.

The problem of skewed integration across functions, levels, and work groups, typical in the monolithic organization, is also present in the plural organization. For example, in many large U.S. organizations racioethnic minorities now make up twenty percent or more of the total workforce. Examples include General Motors, Chrysler, Stroh Brewery, Phillip Morris, Coca-Cola, and Anheuser-Busch. However, the representations of non-whites in management in these same companies averages less than twelve percent.[8] A similar picture exists in workgroups. For example, while more than twenty percent of the clerical and office staffs at General Motors are minorities, they represent only about twelve percent of technicians and thirteen percent of sales workers. Thus, the plural organization features partial structural integration.

Because of the greater structural integration and the efforts (cited previously) which brought it about, the plural organization is also characterized by some integration of minority-group members into the informal network, substantial reductions in discrimination, and some moderation of prejudicial attitudes. The improvement in employment opportunities should also create greater identification with the organization among minority-group members.

The plural organization represents a marked improvement over the monolithic organization in effective management of employees of different racioethnic, gender, and nationality backgrounds. The plural organization form has been prevalent in the U.S. since the late 1960s, and in my judgment, represents the typical large firm as we enter the 1990s. These organizations emphasize an affirmative action approach to managing diversity. During the 1980s increased evidence of resentment toward this approach among white males began to surface. They argue that such policies, in effect, discriminate against white males and therefore perpetuate the practice of using racioethnicity, nationality, or gender as a basis for making personnel decisions. In addition, they believe that it is not fair that contemporary whites be disadvantaged to compensate for management errors made in the past. This backlash effect, coupled with the increased number of minorities in the organization, often creates greater inter-group conflict in the plural organization than was present in the monolithic organization.

The plural organization represents a marked improvement over the monolithic organization in effective management of employees of different racioethnic, gender, and nationality backgrounds.

While the plural organization achieves a measure of structural integration, it continues the assimilation approach to acculturation which is characteristic of the monolithic organization. The failure to address cultural aspects of integration is a major shortcoming of the plural organization form, and is a major point distinguishing it from the multicultural organization.

The Multicultural Organization

In discussing cultural integration aspects of mergers and acquisitions, Sales and Mirvis argued that an organization which simply contains many different cultural groups is a plural organization, but considered to be multicultural only if the organization *values* this diversity.[9] The same labels and definitional distinction is applied here. The meaning of the distinction between *containing* diversity and *valuing* it follows from an understanding of the shortcomings of the plural organization as outlined previously. The multicultural organization has overcome these shortcomings. Referring again to Exhibit 2, we see that the multicultural organization is characterized by:

1. Pluralism
2. Full structural integration
3. Full integration of the informal networks
4. An absence of prejudice and discrimination
5. No gap in organizational identification based on cultural identity group
6. Low levels of intergroup conflict

I submit that while few, if any, organizations have achieved these features, it should be the model for organizations in the 1990s and beyond.

Creating the Multicultural Organization

As I have discussed issues of managing diversity with senior managers from various industries during the past year, I have observed that their philosophical viewpoints cover all three of the organizational models of Exhibit 2. The few who are holding on to the monolithic model often cite geographic or size factors as isolating their organizations from the pressures of change.

Some even maintain that because American white males will continue to be the single largest gender/race identity group in the U.S. workforce for many years, the monolithic organization is still viable today. I think this view is misguided. By understanding the generic implications of managing diversity (that is, skill at managing work groups which include members who are culturally distinct from the organization's dominant group), it becomes clear that virtually all organizations need to improve capabilities to manage diverse workforces.

> *Further, focusing too much attention on external pressures as impetus for change, misses the fact that gross under-utilization of human resources and failure to capitalize on the opportunities of workforce diversity, represent unaffordable economic costs.*

Fortunately, the monolithic defenders, at least among middle and senior managers seem to represent a minority view. Based on my observations, the majority of managers today are in plural organizations, and many are already convinced that the multicultural model is the way of the future. What these managers want to know is how to transform the plural organization into the multicultural organization. Although progress on such transformations is at an early stage, information on the tools that have been successfully used by pioneering American organizations to make this transformation is beginning to accumulate.

Exhibit 3 provides a list of tools that organizations have used to promote organization change toward a multicultural organization. The exhibit is organized to illustrate my analysis of which tools are most helpful for each of the six dimensions specified in Exhibit 1.

Creating Pluralism

Exhibit 3 identifies seven specific tools for changing organizational acculturation from a unilateral process to a reciprocal one in which both minority-culture and majority-culture members are influential in creating the behavioral norms, values, and policies of the organization. Examples of each tool are given below.

Training and Orientation Programs. The most widely used tool among leading organizations is managing or valuing cultural diversity training. Two types of training are most popular: awareness and skill-building. The former introduces the topic of managing diversity and generally includes information on workforce demographics, the meaning of diversity, and exercises to get participants thinking about relevant issues and raising their own self-awareness. The skill-building training provides more specific information on cultural norms of different groups and how they may affect work behavior. Often, these two types of training are combined. Such training promotes reciprocal learning and acceptance between groups by improving understanding of the cultural mix in the organization.

Among the many companies who have made extensive use of such training are McDonnell Douglas, Hewlett Packard, and Ortho Pharmaceuticals. McDonnell Douglas has a program ("Woman-Wise and Business Savvy") focusing on gender differences in work-related behaviors. It uses same-gender group meetings and mixed-gender role-plays. At its manufacturing plant in San Diego, Hewlett Packard conducted training on cultural differences between American-Anglos and Mexican, Indochinese, and Filipinos. Much of the content focused on cultural differences in communication styles. In one of the most thorough training efforts to date, Ortho Pharmaceuticals started its three-day training with small groups (ten to twelve) of senior managers and eventually trained managers at every level of the company.

Specific data on the effectiveness of these training efforts is hard to collect, but a study of seventy-five Canadian consultants found that people exposed to even the most rudimentary form of training on cultural diversity are significantly more likely to recognize the impact of cultural diversity on work behavior and to identify the potential advantages of cultural heterogeneity in organizations.[10]

In addition, anecdotal evidence from managers of many companies indicates that valuing and managing diversity training represents a crucial first step for organization change efforts.

Model Dimension	Tools
I. Pluralism *Objective/s:* —create a two-way socialization process —ensure influence of minority-culture perspectives on core organization norms and values	1. Managing/valuing diversity (MVD) training. 2. New member orientation programs 3. Language training 4. Diversity in key committees 5. Explicit treatment of diversity in mission statements 6. Advisory groups to senior management 7. Create flexibility in norm systems
II. Full Structural Integration *Objective/s* —no correlation between culture-group identity and job status	1. Education programs 2. Affirmative action programs 3. Targeted career development programs 4. Changes in manager performance appraisal and reward systems 5. HR policy and benefit changes
III. Integration in Informal Networks *Objective/s* —eliminate barriers to entry and participation	1. Mentoring programs 2. Company sponsored social events
IV. Cultural Bias *Objective/s* —eliminate discrimination —eliminate prejudice	1. Equal opportunity seminars 2. Focus groups 3. Bias reduction training 4. Research 5. Task forces
V. Organizational Identification —no correlation between identity group and levels of organization identification	1. All items from the other five dimensions apply here
VI. Intergroup Conflict *Objective/s* —minimize interpersonal conflict based on group-identity —minimize backlash by dominant-group members	1. Survey feedback 2. Conflict management training 3. MVD training 4. Focus groups

Exhibit 3. Creating the Multicultural Organization: Tools for Organization Change

In addition, anecdotal evidence from managers of many companies indicates that valuing and managing diversity training represents a crucial first step for organization change efforts.

New member orientation programs are basic in the hiring processes of many organizations. Some companies are developing special orientations as part of its managing diversity initiatives. Proctor and Gamble's "On Boarding" program, which features special components for women and minority hires and their managers is one example.

Language training is important for companies hiring American Asians, Hispanics, and foreign nationals. To promote pluralism, it is helpful to offer second language training to Anglos as well as the minority-culture employees, and take other steps to communicate that languages other than English are valued. Leaders in this area include Esprit De Corp, Economy Color Card, and Pace Foods. For many years, the women's clothier Esprit De Corp. has offered courses in Italian and Japanese. At Economy Color Card, work rules are printed in both Spanish and English. Pace Foods, where thirty-five percent of employees are Hispanic, goes a step farther by printing company policies and also conducting staff meetings in Spanish and English. Motorola is a leader in the more traditional training for English as a second language where classes are conducted at company expense and on company time.

Insuring Minority-Group Input and Acceptance. The most direct and effective way to promote influence of minority-culture norms on organizational decision making is to achieve cultural diversity at all organization levels. However, an important supplemental method is through ensuring diversity on key committees. An example is the insistence of *USA Today* President Nancy Woodhull on having gender, racioethnic, educational, and geographic diversity represented in all daily news meetings. She attributes much of the company's success to this action.

The most direct and effective way to promote influence of minority-culture norms on organizational decision making is to achieve cultural diversity at all organization levels.

Another technique is explicitly mentioning the importance of diversity to the organization in statements of mission and strategy. By doing this, organizations foster the mindset that increased diversity is an opportunity and not a problem. Examples of organizations that have done this are The University of Michigan and the Careers Division of the National Academy of Management. The latter group has fostered research addressing the impact of diversity on organizations by explicitly citing this as part of its interest.

Another way to increase the influence of minority-group members on organizational culture and policy is by providing specially composed minority advisory groups direct access to the most senior executives of the company. Organizations which have done this include Avon, Equitable Life Assurance, Intel, and U.S. West. At Equitable, committees of women, Blacks and Hispanics (called "Business Resource Groups") meet with the CEO to discuss important group issues and make recommendations on how the organizational environment might be improved. CEO John Carver often assigns a senior manager to be accountable for following up on the recommendations. U.S. West has a thirty-three member "Pluralism Council" which advises senior management on plans for improving the company's response to increased workforce diversity.

Finally, a more complex, but I believe potentially powerful, tool for promoting change toward pluralism is the development of flexible, highly tolerant climates that encourage diverse approaches to problems among all employees. Such an environment is useful to workers regardless of group identity, but is especially beneficial to people from nontraditional cultural backgrounds because their approaches to problems are more likely to be different from past norms. A company often cited for such a work environment is Hewlett Packard. Among the operating norms of the company which should promote pluralism are: 1. Encouragement of informality and unstructured work; 2. Flexible work schedules and loose supervision; 3. Setting objectives in broad terms with lots of individual employee discretion over how they are achieved; 4. A policy that researchers should spend at least ten percent of company time exploring personal ideas. I would suggest that item 4 be extended to all management and professional employees.

Creating Full Structural Integration

Education Efforts. The objective of creating an organization where there is no correlation between one's culture-identity group and one's job status implies that minority-group members are well represented at all levels, in all functions, and in all work groups. Achievement of this goal requires that skill and education levels be evenly distributed. Education statistics indicate that the most serious problems occur with Blacks and Hispanics.[11]

A number of organizations have become more actively involved in various kinds of education programs. The Aetna Life Insurance Company is a leader. It has initiated a number of programs including jobs in exchange for customized education taught by community agencies and private schools, and its own in-house basic education programs. The company has created an Institute for Corporate Education with a full-time director. Other companies participating in various new education initiatives include PrimAmerica, Quaker Oats, Chase

Manhattan Bank, Eastman Kodak, and Digital Equipment. In Minnesota, a project headed by Cray Research and General Mills allows businesses to create schools of its own design. I believe that business community involvement in joint efforts with educational institutions and community leaders to promote equal achievement in education is critical to the future competitiveness of U.S. business. Business leaders should insist that economic support be tied to substantive programs which are jointly planned and evaluated by corporate representatives and educators.

Affirmative Action. In my opinion, the mainstay of efforts to create full structural integration in the foreseeable future, will continue to be affirmative action programs. While most large organizations have some kind of program already, the efforts of Xerox and Pepsico are among the standouts.

The Xerox effort, called "The Balanced Workforce Strategy," is noteworthy for several reasons including: an especially fast timetable for moving minorities up; tracking representation by function and operating unit as well as by level; and national networks for minority-group members (supported by the company) to provide various types of career support. Recently published data indicating that Xerox is well ahead of both national and industry averages in moving minorities into management and professional jobs, suggests that these efforts have paid off (Wall Street Journal, November 5, 1989).

Two features of Pepsico's efforts which are somewhat unusual are the use of a "Black Managers Association" as a supplemental source of nominees for promotion to management jobs, and the practice of hiring qualified minorities directly into managerial and professional jobs.

Career Development. A number of companies including Mobil Oil, IBM, and McDonalds have also initiated special career development efforts for minority personnel. IBM's long standing "Executive Resource System" is designed to identify and develop minority talent for senior management positions. McDonald's "Black Career Development Program" provides career enhancement advice, and fast-track career paths for minorities. Company officials have stated that the program potentially cuts a fifteen year career path to regional manager by fifty percent.

Revamping Reward Systems. An absolutely essential tool for creating structural integration is to ensure that the organization's performance appraisal and reward systems reinforce the importance of effective diversity management. Companies that have taken steps in this direction include The Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae), Baxter Health Care, Amtrak, Exxon, Coca-Cola, and Merck. Fannie Mae, Baxter, Coca-Cola, and Merck all tie compensation to manager performance on diversity management efforts. At Amtrak, manager promotion and compensation are tied to performance on affirmative action objectives, and at Exxon, evaluations of division managers must include a review of career development plans for at least ten women and minority men employees.

For this tool to be effective, it needs to go beyond simply including effective management of diversity among the evaluation and reward criteria. Attention must also be given to the amount of weight given to this criterion compared to other dimensions of job performance. How performance is measured is also important. For example, in addition to work-group profile statistics, subordinate evaluations of managers might be useful. When coded by cultural group, differences in perceptions based on group identity can be noted and used in forming performance ratings on this dimension.

Benefits and Work Schedules. Structural integration of women, Hispanics, and Blacks is facilitated by changes in human resource policies and benefit plans that make it easier for employees to balance work and family role demands. Many companies have made such changes in areas like child care, work schedules, and parental leave. North Carolina National Bank, Arthur Anderson, Levi Strauss, and IBM are examples of companies that have gone farther than most. NCNB's "select time" project allows even officers and professionals in the company to work part-time for several years and still be considered for advancement. Arthur Anderson has taken a similar step by allowing part-time accountants to stay "on-track" for partnership promotions. Levi Strauss has one of the most comprehensive work-family programs in the country covering everything from paternity leave to part-time work with preservation of benefits. These companies are leaders in this area because attention is paid to the impact on advancement opportunities and fringe-benefits when employees take advantage of scheduling flexibility and longer leaves of absence. This kind of accommodation will make it easier to hire and retain both men and women in the '90s as parents struggle to balance work and home time demands. It is especially important for women, Hispanics, and Blacks because cultural traditions put great emphasis on family responsibilities. Organization change in this area will promote full structural integration by keeping more racioethnic minorities and white women in the pipeline.

Creating Integration in Informal Networks

Mentoring and Social Events. One tool for including minorities in the informal networks of organizations is company-initiated mentoring programs that target minorities. A recent research project in which a colleague and I surveyed 800 MBAs indicated that racioethnic minorities report significantly less access to mentors than whites. If company-specific research shows a similar pattern, this data can be used to justify and bolster support among majority-group employees for targeted mentoring programs. Examples of companies which have established such targeted mentoring programs are Chemical Bank and General Foods.

A second technique for facilitating informal network integration is company-sponsored social events. In planning such events, multiculturalism is fostered by selecting both activities and locations with a sensitivity to the diversity of the workforce.

Support Groups. In many companies, minority groups have formed their own professional associations and organizations to promote information exchange and social support. There is little question that these groups have provided emotional and career support for members who traditionally have not been welcomed in the majority's informal groups. A somewhat controversial issue is whether these groups hinder the objective of informal-network integration. Many believe that they harm integration by fostering a "we-versus-they" mentality and reducing incentives for minorities to seek inclusion in informal activities of majority-group members. Others deny these effects. I am not aware of any hard evidence on this point. There is a dilemma here in that integration in the informal networks is at best a long-term process and there is widespread skepticism among minorities as to its eventual achievement. Even if abolishing the minority-group associations would eventually promote full integration, the absence of a support network of any kind in the interim could be a devastating loss to minority-group members. Therefore, my conclusion is that these groups are more helpful than harmful to the overall multiculturalism effort.

Creating a Bias-Free Organization

Equal opportunity seminars, focus groups, bias-reduction training, research, and task forces are methods that organizations have found useful in reducing culture-group bias and discrimination. Unlike prejudice, discrimination is a behavior and therefore more amenable to direct control or influence by the organization. At the same time, the underlying cause of discrimination is prejudice. Ideally, efforts should have at least indirect effects on the thought processes and attitudes of organization members. All of the tools listed, with the possible exception of task forces, should reduce prejudice as well as discrimination.

Most plural organizations have used equal opportunity seminars for many years. These include sexual harassment workshops, training on civil rights legislation, and workshops on sexism and racism.

Focus Groups. More recently, organizations like Digital Equipment have used "focus groups" as an in-house, on-going mechanism to explicitly examine attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about culture-group differences and their effects on behavior at work. At Digital, the center piece of its "valuing differences" effort is the use of small groups (called Core Groups) to discuss four major objectives: 1. stripping away stereotypes; 2. examining underlying assumptions about outgroups; 3. building significant relationships with people one regards as different; 4. raising levels of personal empowerment. Digital's experience suggests that a breakthrough for many organizations will be achieved by the simple mechanism of bringing discussion about group differences out in the open. Progress is made as people become more comfortable directly dealing with the issues.

A very powerful tool for reducing discrimination and (to a smaller extent) prejudice, is to conduct and act on internal research on employment experience by cultural group.

Bias-Reduction Training. Another technique for reducing bias is through training specifically designed to create attitude change. An example is Northern Telecom's 16-hour program designed to help employees identify and begin to modify negative attitudes toward people from different cultural backgrounds. Eastman Kodak's training conference for its recruiters is designed to eliminate racism and sexism from the hiring process. This type of training often features exercises that expose stereotypes of various groups which are prevalent but rarely made explicit and may be subconscious. Many academics and consultants have also developed bias-reduction training. An example is the "Race Relations Competence Workshop," a program developed by Clay Alderfer and Robert Tucker of Yale University. They have found that participants completing the workshop have more positive attitudes toward Blacks and inter-race relations.

Leveraging Internal Research. A very powerful tool for reducing discrimination and (to a smaller extent) prejudice, is to conduct and act on internal research on employment experience by cultural group. Time Inc. conducts an annual evaluation of men and women in the same jobs to ensure comparable pay and equal treatment. A second example comes from a large utility company which discovered that minority managers were consistently under-represented in lists submitted by line managers for bonus recommendations. As a result of the research, the company put pressure on the managers to increase the inclusion of minority managers. When that failed, the vice president of human resources announced that he would no longer approve the recommendations unless minorities were adequately represented. The keys to the organization change were, first obtaining the data identifying the problem and then acting on it. My experience suggests that this type of research-based approach is underutilized by organizations.

Task Forces. A final tool for creating bias-free organizations is to form task forces that monitor organizational policy and practices for evidence of unfairness. An example of what I consider to be a well-designed committee is the affirmative action committee used by Phillip Morris which is composed of senior managers and minority employees. This composition combines the power of senior executives with the insight into needed changes that the minority representatives can provide. Of course, minority culture-group members who are also senior managers are ideal but, unfortunately, such individuals are rare in most organizations.

- *Minimizing Intergroup Conflict*

Experts on conflict management have noted that a certain amount of interpersonal conflict is inevitable and perhaps even healthy in organizations.[12] However, conflict becomes destructive when it is excessive, not well managed, or rooted in struggles for power rather than the differentiation of ideas. We are concerned here with these more destructive forms of conflict which may be present with diverse workforces due to language barriers, cultural clash, or resentment by majority-group members of what they may perceive as preferential, and unwarranted treatment of minority-group members.

Survey Feedback. Probably the most effective tool for avoiding intergroup conflict (especially the backlash form that often accompanies new initiatives targeting minority-groups of the organization) is the use of survey feedback. I will give three examples. As one of the most aggressive affirmative action companies of the past decade, Xerox has found that being very open with all employees about the specific features of the initiative as well the reasons for it, was helpful in diffusing backlash by whites. This strategy is exemplified by the high profile which Chairman David Kearns has taken on the company's diversity efforts.

A second example is Proctor and Gamble's use of data on the average time needed for new hires of various culture groups to become fully integrated into the organization. They found that "join-up" time varied by race and gender with white males becoming acclimated most quickly, and black females taking the longest of any group. This research led to the development of their "on-boarding program" referred to earlier.

A final example is Corning Glass Works' strategy of fighting white-male resistance to change with data showing that promotion rates of their group was indeed much higher than that of other groups. This strategy has also been used by U.S. West which recently reported on a 1987 study showing that promotion rates for white men were seven times higher than white women and sixteen times higher than non-white women.

The beauty of this tool is that it provides the double benefit of a knowledge base for planning change, and leverage to win employee commitment to implement the needed changes.

Conflict-Resolution Training. A second tool for minimizing intergroup conflict is management training in conflict resolution techniques. Conflict management experts can assist managers in learning and developing skill in applying alternative conflict management techniques such as mediation and superordinate goals. This is a general management skill which is made more crucial by the greater diversity of workforces in the '90s.

Finally, the managing and valuing diversity training and focus group tools discussed previously are also applicable here. AT&T is among the organizations which have explicitly identified stress and conflict reduction as central objectives of its training and focus group efforts.

Conclusion

Increased diversity presents challenges to business leaders who must maximize the opportunities that it presents while minimizing its costs. To accomplish this, organizations must be transformed from monolithic or plural organizations to a multicultural model. The multicultural organization is characterized by pluralism, full integration of minority-culture members both formally and informally, an absence of prejudice and discrimination, and low levels of inter-group conflict; all of which should reduce alienation and build organizational identity among minority group members. The organization that achieves these conditions will create an environment in which all members can contribute to their maximum potential, and in which the "value in diversity" can be fully realized.

Endnotes

[1] See, for example, Lennie Copeland, "Valuing Workplace Diversity," *Personnel Administrator*, November 1988; Badi Foster et al. "Workforce Diversity and Business," *Training And Development Journal*, April 1988, 38-42; and R. Roosevelt Thomas, "From Affirmative Action to Affirming Diversity," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 2, 1990, 107-117.

[2] This definition has been suggested by Afsavch Nahavandi and Ali Malekzadeh, "Acculturation in Mergers and Acquisitions," *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 13, 83.

[3] In his book, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford Press, 1964) Gordon uses the term assimilation rather than integration. However, because the term assimilation has been defined in so many different ways, and has come to have very unfavorable connotations in recent years for many minorities, I will employ the term integration here.

[4] These definitions are loosely based on J.W. Berry, 1983, "Acculturation: A Comparative Analysis of Alternative Forms," in R.J. Samuda and S.L. Woods: *Perspectives in Immigrant and Minority Education*, 1983, 66-77.

[5] This conclusion is based on data from nearly 100 large organizations as cited in "Best Places for Blacks to Work," *Black Enterprise*, February 1986 and February 1989 and in Zeitz and Dusky, *Best Companies for Women*, 1988.

[6] Examples of this research include, Harry Triandis, "Some Determinants of Interpersonal Communication," *Human Relations*, Vol. 13, 1960, 279-287 and J.R. Lincoln and J. Miller, "Work and Friendship Ties in Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24, 1979, 181-199.

[7] The concept of stages of development toward the multicultural organization has been suggested in an unpublished paper titled "Toward the Multicultural Organization" written by Dan Reigle and Jarrow Merenivitch of the Proctor and Gamble Company. I credit them with helping me to recognize the evolutionary nature of organizational responses to workforce diversity.

[8] See note 5.

[9] A.L. Sales and P.H. Mirvis, "When Cultures Collide: Issues of Acquisitions," in J.R. Kimberly and R.E. Quinn, *Managing Organizational Transition*, 1984, 107-133.

[10] For details on this study see, Nancy J. Adler, *International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior*, (Kent Publishing Co., 1986), 77-83.

[11] For example, see the book by William Julius Wilson which reviews data on educational achievement by Blacks and Hispanics in Chicago, *The Truly Disadvantaged: Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy* (The University of Chicago Press, 1987). Among the facts cited is that less than half of all Blacks and Hispanics in inner city schools graduate within four years of high school enrollment and only four in ten of those who do graduate read at the eleventh grade level or above.

[12] For example, see *Organization Behavior: Conflict in Organizations*, by Gregory Northcraft and Margaret Neale, (The Dryden Press, 1990), 221.

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SECTION 9

Management Readings

READING 9.1

The Development and Enforcement of Group Norms

Daniel Feldman

This article examines the reasons why groups desire and enforce conformity to the informal rules that comprise norms, and the factors that determine how norms develop in some groups and not in others.

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Group norms are the informal rules that groups adopt to regulate and regularize group members' behavior. Although these norms are infrequently written down or openly discussed, they often have a powerful, and consistent, influence on group members' behavior [1].

This paper focuses on two frequently overlooked aspects of the group norms literature. First, it examines *why* group norms are enforced. Why do groups desire conformity to these information rules? Second, it examines *how* group norms develop. Why do some norms develop in one group but not in another? Much of what is known about group norms comes from post hoc examination of their impact on outcome variables; much less has been written about how these norms actually develop and why they regulate behavior so strongly.

Understanding how group norms develop and why they are enforced is important for two reasons. First, group norms can play a large role in determining whether the group will be productive or not. If the work group feels that management is supportive, group norms will develop that facilitate—in fact, enhance—group productivity. In contrast, if the work group feels that manage-

Source: Excerpted from Daniel C. Feldman, "The Development and Enforcement of Group Norms," *The Academy of Management Review*, 1984, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 47-53. Reprinted by permission of the author and publisher.

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ment is antagonistic, group norms that inhibit and impair group performance are much more likely to develop. Second, managers can play a major role in setting and changing group norms. They can use their influence to set task-facilitative norms; they can monitor whether the group's norms are functional; they can explicitly address counterproductive norms with subordinates. By understanding how norms develop and why norms are enforced, managers can better diagnose the underlying tensions and problems their groups are facing, and they can help the group develop more effective behavior patterns.

WHY NORMS ARE ENFORCED

(1) Norms are likely to be enforced if they facilitate group survival. A group will enforce norms that protect it from interference or harassment by members of other groups. For instance, a group might develop a norm not to discuss its salaries with members of other groups in the organization, so that attention will not be brought to pay inequities in its favor. Groups might also have norms about not discussing internal problems with members of other units. Such discussions might boomerang at a later date if other groups use the information to develop a better competitive strategy against the group.

Enforcing group norms also makes clear what the "boundaries" of the group are. As a result of observation of deviant behavior and the consequences that ensue, other group members are reminded of the *range* of behavior that is acceptable to the group [2]. The norms about productivity that frequently develop among piecerate workers are illustrative here. By observing a series of incidents (a person produces 50 widgets and is praised; a person produces 60 widgets and receives sharp teasing; a person produces 70 widgets and is ostracized), group members learn the limits of the group's patience: "This far, and no further." The group is less likely to be "successful" (i.e., continue to sustain the low productivity expectations of management) if it allows its jobs to be reevaluated.

(2) Norms are likely to be enforced if they simplify, or make predictable, what behavior is expected of group members. If each member of the group had to decide individually how to behave in each interaction, much time would be lost performing routine activities. Moreover, individuals would have more trouble predicting the behaviors of others and responding correctly. Norms enable group members to anticipate each other's actions and to prepare the most appropriate response in the most timely manner [3].

For instance, when attending group meetings in which proposals are presented and suggestions are requested, do the presenters really want feedback or are they simply going through the motions? Groups may develop norms that reduce this uncertainty and provide a clearer course of action, for example, make suggestions in small, informal meetings but not in large, formal meetings.

Norms also may reinforce specific individual members' roles. A number of different roles might emerge in groups. These roles are simply expectations that are shared by group members regarding who is to carry out what types of activities under which circumstances [4]. Although groups obviously create pressure toward uniformity among members, there also is a tendency for groups to create and maintain *diversity* among members [1]. For instance, a group might have one person whom others expect to break the tension when tempers become too hot. Another group member might be expected by others to take notes, keep minutes, or maintain files.

None of these roles are *formal* duties; but they are activities that the group needs accomplished and has somehow parcelled out among members. If the role expectations are not met, some important jobs might not get done, or other group members might have to take on additional responsibilities. Moreover, such role assignments reduce individual members' ambiguities about what is expected specifically of them. It is important to note, though, that who takes what role in a group also is highly influenced by individuals' personal needs. The person with a high need for structure often wants to be in the note-taking role to control the structuring activity in the group; the person who breaks the tension might dislike conflict and uses the role to circumvent it.

(3) Norms are likely to be enforced if they help the group avoid embarrassing interpersonal problems. Goffman's work on "facework" gives some insight on this point. Goffman argues that each person in a group has a "face" he or she presents to other members of a group [5]. This "face" is analogous to what one will call "self-image," the person's perceptions of himself or herself and how he or she would like to be seen by others. Groups want to insure that no one's self-image is damaged, called into question, or embarrassed. Consequently, the group will establish norms that discourage topics of conversation or situations in which face is too likely to be inadvertently broken. For instance, groups might develop norms about not discussing romantic involvements (so that differences in moral values do not become salient) or about not getting together socially in people's homes (so that differences in taste or income do not become salient).

(4) Norms are likely to be enforced if they express the central values of the group and clarify what is distinctive about the group's identity. Norms can provide the social justification for group activities to its members [6]. When the production group labels rate-busting deviant, it says: "We care more about maximizing group security than about individual profits." Group norms also convey what is distinctive about the group to outsiders. When an advertising agency labels unstylish clothes deviant, it says: "We think of ourselves, personally and professionally, as trend-setters, and being fashionably dressed conveys that to our clients and our public."

One of the key expressive functions of group norms is to define and legitimate the power of the group itself over individual members [6]. When groups punish norm infraction, they reinforce in the minds of group members the authority of the group.

Finally, this expressive function of group norms can be seen nicely in circumstances in which there is an inconsistency between what group members *say* is the group norm and how people actually *behave*. For instance, sometimes groups will engage in a lot of rhetoric about how much independence its managers are allowed and how much it values entrepreneurial effort; yet the harder data suggest that the more conservative, deferring, or dependent managers get rewarded. Such an inconsistency can reflect conflicts among the group's expressed values. The expressed group norm allows the group members a chance to present a "face" to each other and to outsiders that is more socially desirable than reality.

HOW GROUP NORMS DEVELOP

Most norms develop in one or more of the following four ways: explicit statements by supervisors or co-workers; critical events in the group's history; primacy; and carry-over behaviors from past situations.

(1) Explicit statements by supervisors or co-workers. Norms that facilitate group survival or task success often are set by the leader of the group or powerful members [7]. For instance, a group leader might explicitly set norms about not drinking at lunch because subordinates who have been drinking are more likely to have problems dealing competently with clients and top management or they are more likely to have accidents at work. The group leader might also set norms about lateness, personal phone calls, and long coffee breaks if too much productivity is lost as a result of time away from the work place.

Explicit statements by supervisors also can increase the predictability of group members' behavior. For instance, supervisors might have particular preferences for a way of analyzing problems or presenting reports. Strong norms will be set to ensure compliance with these preferences. Consequently, supervisors will have increased certainty about receiving work in the format requested, so they can plan accordingly; workers will have increased certainty about what is expected, so they will not have to outguess their boss or redo their projects.

Managers or important group members also can define the specific role expectations of individual group members. For instance, a supervisor or a co-worker might go up to a new recruit after a meeting to give the proverbial advice: "New recruits should be seen and not heard." The senior group member might be trying to prevent the new recruit from appearing brash or incompetent or from embarrassing other group members. Such interventions set specific role expectations for the new group member.

Norms that cater to supervisor preferences also are frequently established even if they are not objectively necessary to task accomplishment. For example, although organizational norms may be very democratic in terms of everybody calling each other by their first names, some managers have strong preferences about being called Mr., Ms., or Mrs. Although the form of address used in the work group does not influence group effectiveness, complying with the norm bears little cost to the group member, whereas noncompliance could cause daily friction with the supervisor. Such norms help group members avoid embarrassing interpersonal interactions with their managers.

Fourth, norms set explicitly by the supervisor frequently express the central

values of the group. For instance, a dean can set very strong norms about faculty keeping office hours and being on campus daily. Such norms reaffirm to members of the academic community their teaching and service obligations, and they send signals to individuals outside the college about what is valued in faculty behavior or distinctive about the school. Such norms, too, legitimate other types of faculty behavior and send signals to both insiders and outsiders about some central values of the college.

(2) Critical events in the group's history. At times there is a critical event in the group's history that establishes an important precedent. For instance, a group member might have discussed hiring plans with members of other units in the organization, and as a result new positions were lost or there was increased competition for good applicants. Such indiscretion can substantially hinder the survival and task success of the group; very likely the offender will be either formally censured or informally rebuked. As a result of such an incident, norms about secrecy might develop that will protect the group in similar situations in the future.

Sometimes group norms can be set by a conscious decision of a group after a particularly good or bad experience the group has had. To illustrate, a group might have had a particularly constructive meeting and be very pleased with how much it accomplished. Several people might say, "I think the reason we got so much accomplished today is that we met really early in the morning before the rest of the staff showed up and the phone started ringing. Let's try to continue to meet at 7:30 A.M." Others might agree, and the norm is set. Such norms develop to facilitate task success and to reduce uncertainty about what is expected for each individual in the group.

Critical events also can identify awkward interpersonal situations that need to be avoided in the future. For instance, a divorce between two people working in the same group might have caused a lot of acrimony and hard feeling in a unit, not only between the husband and wife but also among various other group members who got involved in the marital problems. After the unpleasant divorce, a group might develop a norm about not hiring spouses to avoid having to deal with such interpersonal problems in the future.

Finally, critical events also can give rise to norms that express the central, or distinctive, values of the group. When a peer review panel finds a physician or lawyer guilty of malpractice or malfeasance, first it establishes (or reaffirms) the rights of professionals to evaluate and criticize the professional behavior of their colleagues. Moreover, it clarifies what behaviors are inconsistent with the group's self-image or its values.

(3) Primacy. The first behavior pattern that emerges in a group often sets group expectations. If the first group meeting is marked by very formal interaction between supervisors and subordinates, then the group often expects future meetings to be conducted in the same way. Where people sit in meetings or rooms frequently is developed through primacy. People generally continue to sit in the same seats they sat in at their first meeting, even though those original seats are not assigned and people could change where they sit at every meeting.

Most friendship groups of students develop their own "turf" in a lecture hall and are surprised/dismayed when an interloper takes "their" seats.

Norms that develop through primacy often do so to simplify, or make predictable, what behavior is expected of group members. There may be very little task impact from where people sit in meetings or how formal interactions are. However, norms develop about such behaviors to make life much more routine and predictable.

(4) Carry-over behaviors from past situations. Many group norms in organizations emerge because individual group members bring set expectations with them from other work groups in other organizations. Accountants expect to behave towards colleagues at Firm I (e.g., dress code, adherence to statutes) as they behaved towards those at Firm II. In fact, much of what goes on in professional schools is giving new members of the profession the same standards and norms of behavior that practitioners in the field hold.

Such carry-over of individual behaviors from past situations can increase the predictability of group members' behaviors in new settings and facilitate task accomplishment. For instance, students and professors bring with them fairly constant sets of expectations from class to class. As a result, they do not have to relearn continually their roles from class to class. In addition, presumably the most task-successful norms will be the ones carried over from organization to organization.

Moreover, such carry-over norms help avoid embarrassing interpersonal situations. Individuals are more likely to know which conversations and actions provoke annoyance, irritation, or embarrassment to their colleagues. Finally, when groups carry over norms from one organization to another, they also clarify what is distinctive about the occupational or professional role.

◆ *SUMMARY*

Norms generally are enforced only for behaviors that are viewed as important by most group members. Groups do not have the time or energy to regulate each and every action of individual members. Only those behaviors that ensure group survival, facilitate task accomplishment, contribute to group morale, or express the group's central values are likely to be brought under normative control. Norms that reflect these group needs will develop through explicit statements of supervisors, critical events in the group's history, primacy, or carry-over behaviors from past situations.

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Conclusion

Creating More Effective Work Groups in Organizations

Each work group we studied was, in some ways, like *all* other work groups in organizations. Certain features, it appears, are found in every group that performs work in an organization. Each group was, in other ways, like *some* other groups—as seen in the summary chapters for each section, where we explored the commonalities among groups of each type. And each group was, in still other ways, like *no* other group, a unique entity unto itself with its own special problems, opportunities, and ways of operating.

It is no surprise that the groups had features in common. We made sure of that by the way we defined our domain—we studied only groups that were real social systems, that had tasks to perform, and that operated in organizational contexts. This meant that all groups studied would share a need to address certain kinds of issues. Moreover, our orienting framework (sketched in the introduction to the book) increased the chances that we would "discover" dynamics having to do with group structure, group-context relationships, and process-oriented leadership.

Yet some crosscutting themes and issues that we had not anticipated also emerged. These issues did not derive directly from the way we defined our domain, nor were they anticipated by our orienting framework. In the section to follow, we highlight a few of the most salient of these themes. Then we turn to

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those issues that groups had in common with *some* other groups—that is, the special risks and opportunities that characterize each of the seven types of teams we studied.

We close the chapter and the book by reviewing our findings from an explicitly normative perspective. In that section, we identify five trip wires over which a number of our teams stumbled and fell. As will be seen, each of the trip wires also suggests something that those who create and lead work groups in organizations can do to increase the prospects for group success.

Crosscutting Themes

Time and Rhythm. Temporal phenomena were everywhere in the groups we studied, and they significantly affected what happened within them. Among the most powerful temporal features we observed were time limits and deadlines. For one type of group, the task forces that Gersick and Davis-Sacks studied, deadlines were definitional: to be a task force is to have one. Time limits turned out to be a powerful organizing force for these groups. The time available guided the pace of their work, and the reorienting transition that occurred in most of these groups occurred right at the midpoint of their lives. Similar phenomena also were present in other types of groups—such as the pacing of Eisenstat's compressor team to meet the target date for starting up the production line and the constant attention of Ginnett's cockpit crews to achieving on-time departures.

When deadlines were absent, fuzzy, or constantly changing, groups invariably encountered problems. Davis-Sacks's credit team, for example, suffered from its clients' tendency to change their minds about when they needed the team's reports. And her tracking team, which was pacing itself nicely in preparation for the start of the congressional hearings, fell apart completely (and understandably) the moment members learned that the hearings would not be held as scheduled. Finally, although Cohen's hospital top management team performed very well when members knew they had to be ready for reaccreditation review by a certain date, the group found it hard to keep up a head of steam once it had successfully passed that hurdle—even though it then had the opportunity to develop and implement new programs that could greatly have strengthened the hospital and improved its services.

Even groups whose work did not involve fixed deadlines often had standard cycles of activity that repeated over time. These cycles, like time limits, structured and paced groups' work. The activities of the prison staff Perkins and Abramis studied, for example, were paced more by the regular schedule of "teamming" sessions with inmates than by any other aspect of that team's work. The same phenomenon was present in Denison's airline maintenance control team: each maintenance problem the team encountered set off a work cycle. Here, however, the cycles were not predictable. Members never knew (and could not influence) when a new cycle would begin. Moreover, they had to manage repeating short cycles concurrently with longer-cycle project work. The athletic teams also had cycles within cycles—cycles of games, of seasons, and (for Wood's professional hockey players) of entire careers.

Groups that had regular cycles of activity tended to develop a characteristic rhythm to their work—a rhythm that, over time, became part of each team's special character. The rhythm of Butterworth's string quartet, for example, was steady and unhurried, while Kahn's basketball team repeatedly alternated between extended "down" periods (between games) and bursts of intense activity (during games). Saavedra's beer sales and delivery teams had yet another rhythm: each day involved constant, steady, physical work in the field, followed by time "back home" to relax and to enjoy the companionship of teammates.

In sum, temporal phenomena—time limits, cycles, and rhythms—not only affected how groups went about their work, but also shaped group climate and the quality of members' experiences. To overlook these phenomena would be to risk missing some of the most significant dynamics of groups that work.

Self-Fueling Spirals. We found considerable evidence to support the dictum that, over time, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Groups that somehow got onto a good track tended to perform ever better as time passed, while those that got into difficulty found that their problems compounded over time. A positive example is Ginnett's cockpit crew: it got off to a good start and, as members gained experience with one another and handled some challenging in-flight problems, the crew became increasingly competent as a performing unit. Cohen's corporate restructuring team showed the opposite pattern. Once it began to deteriorate (around the midpoint of its life) the rate of deterioration accelerated until the group finally came apart entirely.

Both pairs of customer service teams (Saavedra's two beer sales and delivery teams, and Cohen and Denison's two teams of flight attendants) split: one team in each pair showed continuous improvement over time, while the other did not. Of Kahn's two athletic teams, the basketball team continuously improved while the baseball team became less and less able to operate as a group as the season wore on.

What sets such spirals in motion? Our evidence suggests a two-factor hypothesis. One factor is the quality of the group's initial design. The other is the occurrence of positive or negative events that trigger the spiral. When a poorly designed team encounters events that set members back, a negative spiral tends to develop; when a well-designed team encounters reinforcing events, a positive spiral can be set in motion. Especially noticeable triggers, in our groups, were those that occurred early in the groups' lives and those that originated in their relations with their external environments.

The flight attendants illustrate the power of early events. The more successful team was given a challenging task (opening a new station) early in its life, and members experienced success and reinforcement in accomplishing that task. The other team had to contend with the early termination of one of its members and never fully recovered from that event. Friedman's two theater teams showed a similar pattern. The initial structure of both teams included both positive and negative design features, but the cast of *Cinderella* quickly got onto a positive track—apparently because of the initial excitement and challenging aspirations communicated by the director, who had

written the play and had high hopes for it. The other cast not only did not have a good "launch," but it also had to deal with the early resignation of two cast members. This team never got settled; it was plagued by commitment and coordination problems throughout its life.

The beer sales and delivery teams show how the external environment can nudge a team onto a favorable or unfavorable track. One of the teams happened to have a sales region where standard company procedures worked fine; the other team's region required deviation from company policies to ensure good sales. Senior management did not recognize the environmental differences, and management's attributions about the relative competence and loyalty of the two teams eventually became self-fulfilling.

Attributions and labels are potent, and they can sustain both positive and negative spirals. Once a team is labeled (or labels itself) as either "good" or "bad," it can be very difficult to alter how people perceive it. Moreover, "good" teams tend to be reinforced by others and receive interesting work opportunities, thereby adding credence to the view (of members as well as outsiders) that the team is competent and potent. "Bad" teams, however, receive little praise and may be given less challenging assignments—because managers have little confidence in the group's capabilities. Eventually, members may accept the validity of their label and stop trying to perform well.

For these reasons, a negative spiral can be very hard to break once it has become established. Indeed, the actions most likely to reverse one are the least likely to be taken. Managers often cannot resist the temptation to intervene directly in the process of a group in trouble—in hopes of helping members solve their problems and get back on a good track. Unfortunately, such action can confirm members' worst fears about the group and thereby have an effect opposite to the one intended. A less obvious but probably more potent intervention strategy would be for managers to take initiatives to improve the structure of the group, the supportiveness of its organizational context, or the behavior of those in the group's external environment who are creating problems for the team. Then, once the group is in good shape organizationally, the team could be given work likely to result in a success experience. This two-stage intervention just might reverse the direction of the team's spiral and, eventually, alter how the group is perceived and labeled.

Authority. Like temporal phenomena, authority dynamics pervaded the groups we studied. Every group had to deal with authority issues of one kind or another. Four such issues were particularly salient to us and consequential for the teams: (1) the amount of authority a group has to manage its own affairs, (2) the stability of the authority structure, (3) the timing of interventions by authority figures, and (4) the substantive focus of those interventions.

The amount of authority held by the work groups we studied varied widely. Some had virtually none; they merely executed work that other people designed, monitored, and managed. Following Hackman (1986b), we refer to these as *manager-led teams.* Examples include Kahn's baseball team, Davis-Sacks's credit team, and Abramis's semiconductor manufacturing team (although the semiconductor team did have limited authority for managing some aspects of its work). Members of other teams had virtually unlimited authority: they chose their own goals, selected new members, and managed as well as executed work of their own design. Examples of such teams, which are called *self-governing teams,* include Butterworth's string quartet and Kahn's basketball team. Most common in our sample were *self-managing teams,* which fell between these two extremes: they had significant responsibility for managing their own work, but others usually made decisions about goals, team structure, and organizational supports.

It is not surprising that self-governing teams are relatively rare in work organizations. If every group in an organization were to set its own direction, design its own task, and arrange for its own organizational supports, it would be very difficult to achieve well-coordinated collective action in the organization as a whole. Manager-led teams also were rare in our sample. We find this reassuring since many of the benefits of using teams to accomplish work derive directly from members' authority to manage their own affairs in response to changing circumstances. Manager-led groups, in which members merely execute work under relatively direct and continuous management control, do not exploit the potential benefits of teamwork.

If a team is used at all, it surely makes sense to start it off with at least enough authority for members to manage their own work processes. Then, as the team matures and gains competence, the scope of its authority can be increased. Except in special circumstances, however, the authority of even mature work teams in organizations will be limited. In organizational work, a point at which the need for organization-wide consistency exceeds the value of team self-determination is inevitable.

A stable authority structure is extremely important. In our sample, the teams that had to contend with significant or frequent leadership changes invariably encountered problems. Eisenstat's top management group, for example, never fully recovered from the abrupt change in plant managers that occurred early in its life. In Shaw's mental health hospital, the constant flow-through of medical interns and residents (who, when present, had authority that exceeded their expertise and experience) kept the treatment teams chronically off balance and in some measure of disarray. Denison and Sutton's operating room nurses also experienced difficulty with their authority structure. While their head nurse remained in her role, the surgeons under whose authority members worked in the operating suite changed from operation to operation. The nurses not only had to manage relations within their own group, but they also needed to accommodate continuously to different surgeons' styles and expectations.

Also consequential for the groups we studied was the timing of interventions by authority figures. Clearly, the best time for authoritative intervention is at the beginning of a group's life. Our findings leave little room for doubt about the long-term effects of what happens at team start-up, and they affirm the potency of leader behaviors that occur at that time. These effects were perhaps most visible in Ginnett's cockpit crew, but they were present in virtually every team whose creation we observed. Interventions that occur at a natural breakpoint in the work (especially at the midpoint of the lifespan of time-bounded teams) also can be helpful in many instances. Examples include interventions by the instructor in Gersick's two student groups and by the chairman of the bank where her product development team worked (notably, the initiative for this encounter came from the team itself). When, however, an authority figure intervenes while a team is in the midst of planning or executing its work, the effects may not be constructive. This occurred both in Eisenstat's systems development group (when the plant manager revised the group's goals after the work was already well under way) and in Davis-Sacks's credit team (when high-level officials sought to change the specifications of the reports the team was writing even as they were being prepared). Both teams experienced problems getting back on track after receiving these interventions.

The substantive focus of interventions by authority figures also is consequential for work groups. Problems inevitably develop when interventions address matters that are properly the concern of the group itself. This is seen in Cohen's corporate restructuring team and in Kahn's baseball team. In both cases, external authorities (the chairman for the corporate team and the coach for the baseball team) intervened directly into team processes, making decisions about individual members and team performance strategy—decisions that undermined members' felt responsibility for outcomes. Motivation and commitment dipped in both teams, with predictable and unfortunate consequences for subsequent team process and performance.

Because most work teams do have the authority to monitor and manage their own performance processes, it generally is a good idea for managers to respect that authority once they are confident that a group has accepted it. Subsequent managerial interventions, then, would focus on those matters for which management has retained authority—matters such as the direction of the group, its structure, and the contextual support it receives. This is what the production manager in Abramis's semiconductor manufacturing plant did: rather than meddle with internal team dynamics, he exercised influence with managerial colleagues responsible for compensation policy, machine maintenance, and engineering support to increase the resources and support available to the teams he had created. Unfortunately, this manager's behavior was exceptional in our sample. More commonly, managers took a laissez-faire stance toward their teams, letting them proceed on their own until problems developed. Then they sometimes intervened directly into internal group processes—typically with little success and occasionally making things worse rather than better.

Work Content. Although our orienting framework sensitized us to the content of teams' work, we focused mainly on the degree to which team tasks were motivationally engaging. As we carried out the research, we came upon another aspect of the work content—one we were not looking for but that was impossible to ignore. For want of a better term, we refer to it as the *stuff* with which the groups worked. Top management teams, for example, dealt constantly with power and influence. Task forces worked with ideas and plans. Support teams traded in expertise—about computer systems for one team, airplanes for another, and economics for the third. Performing teams played: the athletic teams played games, the repertory theater company put on plays, and the string quartet played music. Human service teams dealt with people and, perhaps more significantly, with emotions and never-ending tensions around control. Customer service teams, of course, dealt with customers—and typically spent more time with them than with co-workers in their own organizations. Production teams, on the other hand, generally spent more time working with technology than with people.

Can there be any doubt that the stuff a team works with significantly affects the character of group life? Compare, for example, a group that spends its time playing games with one that seeks to cure or rehabilitate clients. Or a group that does economic analyses with one that fixes airplanes. Or one that sets strategic directions for an organization with another that delivers beer to bars or adds layers to silicon wafers. Surely the content of a group's work significantly shapes both the emotional lives of members and the interactions that take place among them.

Over time, the values of group members appear to become increasingly aligned with the materials a group works with. The process can begin even before the group forms, as individuals choose to join a particular group partly because they value the content of its work. Then, as the team goes about its business, members' continuing involvement with that content reinforces their prior attraction to it. Eventually, members may routinely construe (or even redefine) objective reality in terms of the special "stuff" with which they customarily work.

Both positive and negative outcomes can result from this process. On the positive side, the team should gradually achieve greater internal coherence as a social system: the materials they work with, the content of group interaction, and the values of group members should fit together increasingly well over time. As this happens, communication and coordination within the group should become easier to manage, and members may come to feel that the group provides them with a quite comfortable social home within the organization.

The team may also develop the collective equivalent of tunnel vision, however, and lose sight of the larger picture into which its work fits. In a top management team, for example, members risk becoming so focused on organizational politics that they neglect their real work—managing the organization (see, for example, Zaleznik, 1989). In a human service team, managing emotionality and control may become so important that the team risks neglecting the needs of patients. In an athletic team, play may spill-over from the court or field and become the team's dominant style of interaction even in noncompetitive settings—where it sometimes may be inappropriate. Production teams may become so engaged with their technology that the people who use their products drop from members' attention, whereas customer service teams may become so involved with clients' needs that they neglect those of the parent organization.

We did not begin our research with any special interest in the substantive content of the materials with which teams work.[1] But we end our study convinced that there is much to learn about work groups by attending carefully to these materials and to their effects on both individual members and team dynamics.

Risks and Opportunities

Each type of team we studied has both some characteristic risks and some special opportunities. These features, which extend beyond the differences in work content discussed above, are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Special Risks and Opportunities for Work Teams.

	Risks	*Opportunities*
Top Management Teams	Underbounded; absence of organizational context	Self-designing; influence over key organizational conditions
Task Forces	Team and work both new	Clear purpose and deadline
Professional Support Groups	Dependency on others for work	Using and honing professional expertise
Performing Groups	Skimpy organizational supports	Play that is fueled by competition and/or audiences
Human Service Teams	Emotional drain; struggle for control	Inherent significance of helping people
Customer Service Teams	Loss of involvement with parent organization	Bridging between parent organization and its customers
Production Teams	Retreat into technology; insulation from end users	Continuity of work; ability to hone both the team design and the product

One special risk for *top management teams* derives precisely from their being perched atop organizations. The top management teams we studied clearly suffered from the absence of a supportive organizational context. What few supports they did enjoy were either created by themselves or provided by the chairman or president of the organization. Moreover, top management teams tended to have loose boundaries: membership sometimes was unclear, and meetings often started late, ran long, and wandered from topic to topic. That these teams did not provide a model of effective work teams in their organizations is surprising since members were always organizational veterans with much experience working in teams.

The special opportunity top management teams enjoy, of course, is that members have the power to design themselves as they see fit—should they choose to do so. Except for the most senior manager in the organization, there is no one to tell members what they can and cannot do or to withhold from them the supports and resources they need. These team members collectively control virtually all of the organizational conditions required for team effectiveness. So the potential for a top management team to be effective is very great indeed.

Why is this considerable potential not more fully exploited? It is significant, we believe, that the main responsibility of each team member typically is in his or her own functional area and that membership in the top management team is an extra activity for everyone—with the possible exception of the chairman or president. If he or she also views the team as just one of many competing demands, then it may be that *nobody* is paying much attention to building and supporting the team as a performing unit. Even though members may give great care and attention to teams they create in their own units, individually and collectively they often neglect what is probably the most important team of all.

The special hurdles of *task forces* derive from their being created to accomplish a finite piece of work that normal organizational procedures cannot readily handle. The team task almost always is novel, and members often are working together for the first time ever. If they are unable to structure adequately the unfamiliar work or to develop quickly the capability to work interdependently, problems are likely to develop. The compensating advantages for task forces are their typically clear and specific objectives and their status as temporary, time-limited entities. As we have seen, clear objectives and deadlines can both motivate and structure members' interaction—and can therefore increase the chance that members will be able to overcome the difficulties that derive from the unfamiliarity of the task and the other members.

The characteristic problem that *professional support groups* face is waiting for others, typically line managers in their organizations, to call for their services. This puts them in a dependent, reactive stance, which, over time, can erode morale and even diminish a team's capability to respond vigorously and professionally when its services *are* called for. On the other hand, professional support teams have the opportunity in their work to exercise and hone members' special expertise. Typically, support team members value such opportunities highly. Indeed, these opportunities can provide the fuel that keeps members working and learning even when they find their relations with their clients unpredictable and troubling.

The *performing groups* we studied all had skimpy support from their organizational contexts. Indeed, two of these groups—the basketball team and the string quartet—operated so independently that it was hard even to discern their organizational context. Although this precluded any possibility that these groups would receive meaningful support from their organizations, it also protected them from the possibility that an unsupportive parent organization would actively undermine team performance—a problem that the other performing groups in our sample (the repertory theater company, the baseball team, and especially the hockey team) did face to some extent. In fact, the most salient and helpful features of performing groups' contexts are located outside the organization: audiences and, for athletic teams, competitors. These external groups are powerful sources of energy for performing groups, and relations with them direct and intensify the play that is at the core of the teams' work.

The major risk for *human service teams* derives directly from the nature of their work: caring for and controlling the behavior of other people. This kind of work is emotionally taxing, and the struggle to remain in control of one's emotions (and of one's clients) can take a real toll on teams and their members. Human service teams continuously balance between two opposing risks. The primary risk is burnout; the alternative risk is that burnout will be avoided by objectifying the team's clients, which inevitably results in poorer quality service to them. The compensating opportunity for human service teams is the other side of the same coin: the clients of the team's work are other human beings who are genuinely in need of the teams' ministrations. This makes the work inherently significant and motivating and can provide a good point of departure for building a strong, competent human service team.

Customer service teams operate on the boundary between the parent organization and its customers, which is simultaneously their biggest risk and their biggest opportunity. The downside is that a team can lose its involvement with and commitment to the parent organization—that it may "go native" with customers and fail to meet legitimate organizational expectations. On the other hand, such a team is in an excellent position to serve as the primary link for the exchange of information between the organization and its environment. Being on the front line can be both challenging and engaging, but it requires that the team task be broader than simply selling the organization's products or providing its services. A well-designed task for a customer service team might also give the team major responsibility for the management of customer relations—including monitoring changes in customer needs or preferences and keeping customers informed about and involved with contemplated product or service innovations.

Finally, *production teams* risk becoming insulated and isolated by excessive involvement in the technology that is so central to their work. Because of their focus on technology and the products they use technology to produce, such teams may come to see both end users and other organization members more as disruptions than as clients and co-workers. To the extent that this happens, the effectiveness of a production team surely will suffer. A special opportunity for production teams derives from the fact that members typically work together, and with the same equipment, for an extended period of time. This gives these teams the chance to refine their work, and even the design of the team itself, as members gain experience with the work and with each other. A well-designed and well-led production team can, over time, become highly competent—as long as it appropriately manages the risks of isolation and insulation.

In sum, we discovered some distinctive risks and opportunities for each of the seven types of teams we studied. Managers who create teams, leaders who work with them, and team members who serve in them can take actions to minimize these risks and exploit these opportunities. The findings briefly summarized above (and explored in detail in the individual chapters of the book) may be of some use to managers, leaders, and members in highlighting issues they should watch for in their own teams and organizations.

Trip Wires in Designing and Leading Work Groups

In the course of our research, we identified a number of mistakes that designers and leaders of work groups sometimes make. In this concluding section, we describe the five most common of these mistakes and speculate about what might be done to lessen the chances that work teams will fall victim to them.

Trip Wire #1: *Call the performing unit a team but really manage members as individuals.*

One way to set up work is to assign specific responsibilities to specific individuals and then choreograph individuals' activities so their products coalesce into a team product. A contrasting strategy is to assign a group responsibility and accountability for an entire piece of work and let members decide among themselves how they will proceed to accomplish the work. While either of these strategies can be effective, a choice must be made between them. A mixed model, in which people are *told* they are a team but are *treated* as individual performers with their own specific jobs to do, sends mixed signals to members, is likely to confuse everyone, and, in the long run, probably is untenable.

We did not observe work designed in strict accord with the individualistic strategy—we were, after all, studying work *teams.* Some teams we studied, however, barely met our criterion for being a group (see the introduction). This was the case early in the life of Abramis's semiconductor manufacturing team.

Over time, however, this set of people moved from merely being labeled a team to actually functioning as one. As the team developed, the production manager gave members increased latitude for self-management and took initiatives to develop organizational support and reinforcement for team activities. Eventually, members came to accept their collective responsibility for work outcomes. Davis-Sacks's credit team also was barely a group, but for a different reason. Here, the intent of the senior manager who created the group was for it to be a full-fledged, self-managing team. The team leader, however, subverted the manager's intent by using an insistent hub-and-spokes strategy in running the team. The signals sent by the senior manager and the team leader were in conflict, and it is not surprising that significant problems developed both among members and between them and the team leader.

Another way to trip is to install a full-fledged team in an organization in which either managerial behavior or organizational systems are strongly individualistic in orientation. Cohen's restructuring team, for example, operated moderately well early in its life (when the stance of the chief executive officer toward the team was what he called "benign neglect"), but it encountered serious internal problems once the CEO began to work directly and privately with individual team members on issues relevant to the team task. Wood's professional hockey team suffered from individualistic organizational systems over which its leader (the coach) had little influence. Specifically, the reward and career mobility systems of the parent organization assessed individual performance rather than team performance, and personnel decisions of great consequence for team members were based on those assessments. Even though members were interdependent in their work (competing with other teams), they were in competition with one another in their careers. This tension created difficulties for the team that defied all the coach's attempted remedies.

To reap the benefits of teamwork, one must actually build a team. Calling a set of people a team or exhorting them to work together is insufficient. Instead, explicit action must be taken to establish the team's boundaries, to define the task as one for which members are collectively responsible and accountable, and to give members the authority to manage both their internal processes and the team's relations with external entities such as clients and co-workers. Once this is done, management behavior and organizational systems gradually can be changed as necessary to support teamwork.

In some organizations, creating strong work teams may be next to impossible. The airline industry in which Ginnett's cockpit crew operated, for example, has a decidedly individualistic culture. Pilots bid for trips, positions, and aircraft as individuals, and bidding results depend strictly on seniority. Moreover, crew composition changes from trip to trip as individuals go off to training, take vacations, or begin new bidding cycles. The airline in which Ginnett's crew worked was relatively rare in civil aviation in that captains were required to conduct a briefing to build their teams before beginning work. It is more common for members to meet for the first time in the cockpit, where they may not even have time for proper introductions before starting to fly together. Even though the advantages of teamwork in the cockpit are widely recognized in the airline industry, the culture of that industry still emphasizes individual rather than team aspects of cockpit work.

The manager of the semiconductor plant that Abramis studied had a problem in supporting teamwork that originated entirely outside the organization. The market for the plant's products fluctuated widely and often unpredictably, and management constantly had to adjust team size in response to changes in demand. A team would just get settled when new members would be added or existing members furloughed. These changes significantly destabilized the teams and made it impossible for members to build and refine their teams over time. As our research was ending, the manager was experimenting with the idea of a core team whose members would, in effect, have tenure in the organization—that is, they would be protected from furlough. In exchange for their improved job security, core team members would accept responsibility both for maintaining their team's continuity and for managing the process when other individuals joined or left the team. Although we cannot say how this idea worked, it does provide one interesting way to use teams to do work even in uncertain and frequently changing circumstances.

Trip Wire #2: *Fall off the authority balance beam.*

The exercise of authority creates anxiety, especially when one must balance between assigning a team authority for some parts of the work and withholding it for other parts. Because both managers and team members tend to be uncomfortable in such situations, they may collude to "clarify" them. Sometimes the result is the assignment of virtually all authority to the team—which can result in anarchy or a team that heads off in an inappropriate direction. Other times, managers retain virtually all authority, dictating work procedures in detail to team members and, in the process, losing many of the advantages that can accrue from teamwork. In both cases, the anxieties that accompany a mixed model are reduced, but at significant cost to team effectiveness. In our research, we saw the managers in Kahn's baseball team and Davis-Sacks's credit team holding authority too tightly. Conversely, the manager of Eisenstat's Fairfield Components Plant and the director of one of the two plays that Friedman studied (*Gold for the Queen*) exercised too little authority. The balance appeared to be about right in Eisenstat's compressor team start-up and in Perkins and Abramis's federal prison staff team.

To achieve a good balance of managerial and team authority is difficult. Moreover, merely deciding how much authority will be assigned to the group and how much will be retained by management is insufficient. Equally important are the domains of authority that are assigned and retained. Our findings suggest that managers should be unapologetic and insistent about exercising their authority about *direction*—the end states the team is to pursue—and about *outer limit constraints* on team behavior—the things the team must always do or never do. At the same time, managers should assign to the team full authority for the *means* by which it accomplishes its work—and then do whatever they can to ensure that team members understand

and accept their responsibility and accountability for deciding how they will execute the work.

Indeed, effective team functioning may be impossible unless someone exercises authority about direction. Contrary to traditional wisdom about participative management, to authoritatively set a clear, engaging direction for a team is to empower, not depower, it. Having a clear direction helps align team efforts with the objectives of the parent organization, provides members with a criterion to use in selecting its performance strategies, and generates and sustains energy within the team. When direction is absent or unclear, members may wallow in uncertainty about just what they should be doing and may even have difficulty generating the motivation to do much of anything.

For most work teams in organizations, someone in the management structure holds authority for questions of direction. Sometimes, however, a team has the opportunity to set its own direction. In our sample, this was true for the string quartet and, to a lesser extent, for the top management teams. When a team has such authority, members should take the trouble to specify the team's direction quite explicitly. As numerous worker-owned cooperatives have discovered, just having the authority for self-direction is not very helpful; teams must actually *use* their authority if they are to realize its constructive potential—and this sometimes turns out to be difficult for members of a cooperative to bring themselves to do. Ultimately, *who* holds the authority to set direction for a work team is less important than that *some* person or group has, and exercises, that authority.

Few managerial behaviors are more consequential for the long-term well-being of teams than those that address the partitioning of authority between managers and teams. It takes skill to accomplish this well, and it is a skill that has emotional and behavioral as well as cognitive components. Just knowing the rules for partitioning authority is insufficient; one also needs some practice in applying those rules in situations where anxieties, including one's own, are likely to be high. Especially challenging for managers are the early stages in the life of a group (when managers often are tempted to give away too much authority) and when the going gets rough (when the temptation is to take authority back too soon). The management of authority relations with task-performing groups is indeed much like walking a balance beam, and our evidence suggests that it takes a good measure of knowledge, skill, and perseverance to keep from falling off.

Trip Wire #3: *Assemble a large group of people, tell them in general terms what needs to be accomplished, and let them "work out the details."*

Traditional, individually focused designs for work often are plagued by constraining structures that have been built up over the years to monitor and control employee behavior. When groups are used to perform work, such structures tend to be viewed as unnecessary bureaucratic impediments to team functioning. Thus, just as managers sometimes (and mistakenly) attempt to empower groups by relinquishing all authority to them, so do some attempt to get rid of the dysfunctional features of existing organizational structures simply by taking down all the structures they can. Apparently, the hope is that removing structures will release groups and enable members to work together creatively and effectively.

Managers who hold this view often wind up providing teams with less structure than they actually need. Tasks are defined only in vague, general terms. Group composition is unclear or fluid. The limits of the group's authority are kept deliberately fuzzy. The expectation, in the words of one manager, is that "the team will work out the details." The unstated assumption is that there is some magic in group interaction process and that by working together members will evolve any structures that the team actually needs.

It is a false hope; there is no such magic. Indeed, our findings suggest the opposite: groups that have appropriate structures tend to develop healthy internal processes, whereas groups with insufficient or inappropriate structures tend to have process problems. Worse, coaching and process consultation are unlikely to resolve these problems, precisely because they are rooted in the team structure. For members to learn how to interact well within a flawed or underspecified structure is to swim upstream against a very strong current.

Our findings, consistent with the orienting framework with which we began the research, suggest that an enabling structure for a work team has three components. First is a well-designed team task that engages and sustains member motivation. Special attention should be given to the inherent meaningfulness of the work, to the amount of autonomy members have in executing it, and to the degree to which carrying it out generates direct feedback about results. Second is a well-composed group—one that is as small as possible (given the work to be done), that has clear boundaries, that includes members with adequate task and interpersonal skills, and that has a good mix of members—people who are neither so similar to one another that they are like peas in a pod nor so different that they have trouble working together. Third is clear and explicit specification of the extent and limits of the team's authority and accountability. Group members who have a history of working in traditional, individually focused work systems may not automatically assume that such authority is theirs; indeed, they may presume the opposite. Therefore, it may take some repetition and persuasion before members accept that it is their right, and their obligation, constantly to monitor the environment, to forecast changes that may require a group response, and to actively plan and revise the team's performance strategies.

The structures of some teams we studied fit well with these guidelines—for example, those of Davis-Sacks's tracking team (before its work was terminated) and Cohen and Denison's three-person flight attendant team. Also appropriate were the structures created by the three teams that were responsible for their own design: Kahn's basketball team, Butterworth's string quartet, and Gersick's bankers. Less satisfactory were the structures of Shaw's mental health teams and Davis-Sacks's credit team. As we would expect, these last two teams experienced more difficulties with their internal processes than did the others. The key question about structure, then, turns out not to be how much structure a team has. In fact, all teams need structural supports. The question, instead, is about the *kind* of structure: does it enable and support collective work, or does it make teamwork more difficult and frustrating than it need be?

Trip Wire #4: *Specify challenging team objectives, but skimp on organizational supports.*

Even if a work team has clear, engaging direction and an enabling structure, its performance can go sour—or, at least, it can fall below the group's potential—if the team is not well supported. Teams in high-commitment organizations (Walton, 1985) fall victim to this trip wire when they are given "stretch" objectives but not the wherewithal to accomplish them; high initial enthusiasm soon changes into disillusionment. The costs of inadequate organizational support are evident in several of our teams, ranging from Cohen's corporate restructuring group to Wood's professional hockey team. In contrast, the benefits of good support from the surrounding organization are clearly visible in Gersick's bank product development team.

If the full potential of work teams is to be realized, organizational structures and systems must actively support competent teamwork. The key supports, as specified in our orienting framework and elaborated by our findings, include: (1) a reward system that recognizes and reinforces excellent team (not merely individual) performance, (2) an educational system that provides teams, at their initiative, whatever training and technical consultation they may need to supplement members' own knowledge and expertise, (3) an information system that makes available to the team the data and forecasts members need to proactively manage their work, and (4) the mundane material resources—equipment, tools, space, money, staff, or whatever—that teams need to execute their tasks.

It is no small undertaking to provide these supports to teams, especially in organizations designed to support work by individuals. Corporate compensation policy, for example, may make no provision for team bonuses and, indeed, may explicitly prohibit them. Human resource departments may be primed to identify individuals' training needs and provide first-rate courses to fill those needs, but training in team skills may not be available at all. Existing performance appraisal systems, which may be state-of-the-art for measuring individual contributions, are likely to be wholly inappropriate for assessing and rewarding work done by teams. Information and control systems may provide managers with the data they need to monitor and control work processes, but they may be neither available nor appropriate for use by work teams. Finally, the material resources required for the work may have been prespecified by those who originally designed it, and there may be no procedure in place for a team to secure the special configuration of resources it needs to execute the particular performance strategy it has developed.

To align existing organizational systems with the needs of teams often requires managers to exercise power and influence upward and laterally in the organization. And, as the production manager at Abramis's semiconductor plant and the head of Friedman's theater company discovered, one's managerial colleagues may not welcome suggestions to revise the systems that they have developed and with which they are comfortable or to release resources for use by teams—resources that others in the organization also seek. An organization set up to provide teams with full support for their work is noticeably different from one whose systems and policies are intended to support and control individual work, and many managers may find the prospect of changing to a group-oriented organization both unsettling and perhaps even vaguely revolutionary.

It is hard to provide good organizational support for task-performing teams, but generally it is worth the trouble. The potential of a well-directed, well-structured, well-supported team is tremendous. Moreover, to stumble over the organizational support trip wire is, perhaps, the saddest of all team failures. When a group is both excited about its work and all set up to execute it superbly, it is especially shattering to fail merely because the organizational supports required cannot be obtained. It is like being all dressed up and ready to go to the prom only to have the car break down en route.

Trip Wire #5: *Assume that members already have all the competence they need to work well as a team.*

Once a team is launched and operating under its own steam, managers sometimes assume their work is done. As we have seen, there are indeed some good reasons for giving a team ample room to go about its business in its own way: inappropriate or poorly timed managerial interventions impaired the work of more than one group described in this book. However, a strict hands-off managerial stance also can limit a team's effectiveness, particularly when members are not already skilled and experienced in teamwork.

Thus, it can be helpful for leaders and managers to provide some direct, hands-on coaching as members develop the skills they need to work well in a team and as teams learn how to operate as task-performing units. There is no one best way to accomplish this, nor, despite volumes of research on the topic, is there any one leadership style that is optimal for coaching and helping work teams. The leaders of the teams in this book, for example, had very different styles. Some were energetic and free with advice and counsel, others were laid-back and soft-spoken, and still others were eclectic—doing whatever they could to help group members invent their own solutions to team problems. Coaching a group, like teaching a class, is done best when the leader exploits his or her own personality and style to get the lesson across. An active, energetic leader is likely to behave actively and energetically with his or her team, while a person who is generally soft-spoken and relaxed will tend to use that style. We would not have it any other way: when a leader tries to adopt a coaching style that is at variance with his or her personal style, leadership effectiveness inevitably suffers.

While we have a decidedly agnostic stance regarding leadership style, our findings point to three other leadership issues for which there are some specific right and wrong directions. One has to do with the timing of leader interventions. It is clear that groups are far more open and responsive to such interventions at certain times in their lives than they are at others. Favorable times for intervention include when a group is first launched, when it reaches a natural break in its work, and when it has completed its product or reached the end of a performance period. When a group has its collective head buried in the actual execution of the work, on the other hand, is a decidedly bad time for intervention.

A second implication of our findings is that coaching activities are unlikely to have lasting benefit if a team's performance situation is unfavorable. If members have little idea what they are supposed to be doing, if the team has been set up poorly, or if the surrounding organization undermines rather than fosters work by teams, then a leader would be better advised to address these problems rather than spend time on process consultations intended to help members work together well in what is a fundamentally untenable performance situation.

Finally, our findings affirm that whatever occurs when a team is created—when members first meet and begin to come to terms with one another and the work they will do—has enduring effects. For this reason, one of the most powerful and constructive interventions a leader can make is to help a team get off to a good start. Because start-up is rarely a crisis time, both time and energy usually are available to help a team become established and start functioning as a task-performing unit. If this is done, then the chances improve that the team will have reserves available to apply to a crisis when and if one does occur. If it is not, performance may still be satisfactory as long as the team is not seriously tested. But when all of the team's resources are required to meet a significant work challenge—such as completing a task on time despite serious and unavoidable last-minute problems—the long-term costs of a poor launch may, at last, become evident.

The role of a team leader or manager, then, involves three kinds of activities: (1) creating favorable performance conditions for the team, either on one's own authority or by exercising influence upward or laterally with managerial colleagues, (2) building and maintaining the team as a performing unit, and (3) coaching and helping the team in real time.

If a leader focuses on these activities, he or she will need to have little concern about the five trip wires discussed above. The team will be an intact performing unit that perceives itself as such (and that others deal with as such) rather than an aggregation of individual workers. It will have a clear, authoritative, and engaging direction for its work. The structure of the team—its task, composition, and authority—will promote rather than impede good performance. The organizational context will provide support and reinforcement for excellence through policies and systems explicitly designed to support team work. And ample, expert coaching will be available to the team at those times when members need and are ready to receive it.

It takes both work and skill on the part of leaders and managers to put these conditions into place and to keep them there. In our view, the payoff is more than worth the required investment. Indeed, our findings suggest that when the conditions specified above are present, the chances are good that a group will perform its work well—and, in the process, build the competence of the team as a performing unit and contribute positively to the personal well-being of team members.

Note

1. We should have been more alert to this phenomenon than we were, given that the substantive content of groups' tasks was found to affect performance in the project leader's very first study of group behavior (Hackman, 1968).

MAKING GROUPS EFFECTIVE

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4

IMPROVING THE GROUP DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Zander ?

Anyone who has sat in meetings when decisions were being made knows that all such sessions are pretty much alike. A number of persons are at a table talking and listening. They ask questions, give answers, and make suggestions while seeking a view they can jointly accept. Their discussion moves through several stages: A problem is presented to them for their attention; they shape the problem to make it more discussable, propose alternative solutions for the problem, and eventually select one option as the answer. The participants decide on a course of action following this decision, designating who will do what and when.

But no meeting is exactly like another; each is different enough in important respects that it is not easy to generalize about decision-making groups. In many cases, a resolution is a product of talking past one another, offering conflicting ideas and evidence, ignoring each other's comments, saying the same things over and over, displaying one's biases, and deciding to agree on some plan, any plan, because time is running out.

Because a group's decisions can affect persons both inside and outside that unit, scholars have long been interested in how they are made. One purpose of this research is practical, as investigators try to identify how groups reach a conclusion most efficiently. Another purpose is scientific, as students

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try to understand what happens in the flow of discussion and explain what causes these events. The results of the practical and scientific approaches together suggest ways whereby groups or their leaders can improve methods for making decisions.

The simple fact that members have a part in discussing and deciding arouses a desire in them to develop sound plans and to collaborate in reaching the best answer they can. When they adopt a decision, moreover, those who helped to make it are committed to it, and want to make sure it is implemented—unless it is a weak solution that is poorly supported within the group. Participants derive benefits from being in a group that is seeking an answer which they are less likely to derive if they are working on that issue alone. They gain a better and shared understanding of the matter being discussed and of the varied viewpoints colleagues hold on the question. They have a greater quantity and variety of ideas to consider in the discussion. They create notions during their give and take that are unusual, irreverent, or even overdue challenges to the group's valued standards. They invent plans that are better than those the most capable members can contrive. And they learn to trust and depend on one another. Such advantages are less likely to occur if the leader of a group, or an external agent, forces a decision on them which members have to accept (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1993).

Members of a group, or outsiders who have an interest in the work of that body, may see disadvantages in group decision making. The deciders may be asked to settle an issue that has already been solved by higher authorities—thus, the meeting is merely a place to air dissatisfaction about the problem at hand, not to develop a new plan. The group leader may be unskilled in leading a problem-solving discussion, so members waste time in reaching a solution, develop disorder, and arouse little interest in implementing the final agreement. Some members may talk considerably more than their share, offer useless ideas, and thereby make it impossible for more helpful ones to have the floor. A group's decision may not be welcomed by nonmembers who believe that the results of collaborative thinking cannot be as useful as the product of one wise problem solver.

The Problem-Solving Process

The need for group members to work toward a decision arises while they are engaged in a larger activity called *problem solving.* The distinction between solving a problem and making a decision is not important in a natural setting because one seldom occurs without the other, but the two processes differ in their range of activities. Problem solving requires that members attend more closely to matters before and after a decision is made—a process of several steps. Group decision making is but a single step in problem solving. To trace the development of the problem-solving process, first let us define terms.

A *problem* for a group is a specific situation to which members must respond if the group is to function effectively. Members face a *dilemma* if they have no immediate effective response for the problem. In a group *problem-solving process,* members identify alternative ways of dealing with the situation and then select the most satisfactory course, the solution. A *solution* to a group's problem is therefore a response that alters the specific situation so that it no longer causes a dilemma. Thus, *group decision making* is the selection of a preferred solution from several alternative solutions. If there is no problem, no decision is needed, and things continue as they are, unless a need for a decision arises because members wish to make an improvement in their group or in their group's environment when an opportunity arises to do so.

Defining Problems

A problem-solving process begins when a problem is stated for the group and members respond to this presentation by considering whether the issue is worthy of discussion, whether they ought to work on it, and if so, how the discussion should begin.

How do members know a problem when they see it? Moreland and Levine suggest that "problems usually betray themselves by producing symptoms that attract the attention of group members. These symptoms involve unusual and often unpleasant events within the group. A problem is detected when group members notice its symptoms and realize that something is wrong. They may not understand the exact nature of the problem, but they do know that it exists" (1992, p. 19).

These authors go on to say that once a problem is detected, members try to understand the problem by giving it a label and then speculating about why the issue developed and what will happen if it is ignored. The more chances there are that a problem will create undesirable consequences if ignored, the more weight members attach to it.

Members are more likely to accept an issue as being worthy of study under certain circumstances. One of these conditions is the severity of the problem. When a problem is more serious, it is more noticeable, more arousing, and probably easier for discussants to understand. A second condition is the familiarity of the problem; discussants previously worked on issues like the current one and recognize it as one they know how to handle. Another is that the problem is not too complex; its causes and consequences are not so tangled that members cannot see how to attack it. A further condition is that norms in the group do not forbid discussion of the matter. As examples, they are not prohibited from discussing such topics as salaries of superior officers, discrimination against older members, poor food at their club's potluck dinners, failures by the group's leaders, domination of discussions by a few members, or religious or political issues (Moreland and Levine, 1992).

An additional condition is members' detection of poor group processes during an evaluation of the group. One more is that members notice problems in their unit as a result of comparing its procedures with ones used by bodies like their own. And last, members may be told about a problem within their group by outsiders who have an interest in the unit's functions and outcomes.

Suppose a member of a group recognizes that the unit faces a problem, but no colleague seems to see it. What might the former do? There are several available options. The member might deny (to himself) that the problem exists and say nothing about it to others if he feels it is too difficult for the unit to solve or if he is responsible for that undesirable state of affairs

and hopes to conceal it. He might wait to see what happens if the group is already burdened with difficulties, the matter appears to be a minor one, or he fears being labeled as a complainer. He might try to solve the problem on his own if he is an expert in such matters and does not need or want others' help while working on it. Or he may seek help from nonmembers who are capable of solving such a problem. The point is that leaders of a group cannot be confident that a responsible member will always speak up when he or she recognizes a problem exists or is likely to arise. A chairperson, therefore, must generate an atmosphere in which insightful members feel free to share their beliefs without fear of retribution from colleagues or of generating discomfort among them (Moreland and Levine, 1992).

There has been no research on how a problem needing a solution should be presented to discussants, but experience suggests that the person raising the issue should not overlook certain practical matters. It is sensible, at the outset, for the presenter to explain the significance of the issue facing members without revealing her feelings about it or her preferred solution, because a slanted introduction stimulates biased comments from discussants. The problem poser ought to explain what information members need and where this may be obtained so that they can consider the matter in the light of relevant data. Finally, it helps if the one who presents the problem makes it clear what kind of action, if any, is needed and what the outcome of an appropriate decision eventually could be.

Although the point is obvious, it is important that the problem be stated clearly by the person presenting it. Members cannot easily clarify a muddy topic when a discussion is under way, and they usually feel compelled to begin discussing when asked to do so, even though they are not sure what kind of contribution they should offer; the discussion is accordingly disjointed. Members are embarrassed if they do not know what is relevant, and they do not like to ask the chairman what is supposed to be going on. Discussants need to understand the problem in the same terms so they can work on the same issue in light of the same facts. I have seen groups proceed directly to comparisons of potential solutions without defining the problem they are trying to solve, such as faculty members in a university department arguing about what changes should be made in the curriculum before they agreed on what is wrong with the current menu of courses. Such a discussion cannot be efficient, because no one is sure what topic is under consideration.

When members judge a problem worthy of attention, they nevertheless may feel it is unwise to discuss it because certain characteristics of the problem, such as too many parts, excessive differences among these parts, or vagueness in definition of the main issue, make it difficult to handle. Thus, members may decide to pass a problem along to a subgroup, to the leader, or to a consultant. It is clear that some matters are not suitable for group consideration, but little is known about what characteristics of issues make them more appropriate. Reasons why some problems are more fitting for a meeting are suggested by the results of early studies into the comparative effectiveness of group versus individual problem solving. The work revealed that a problem for which there is only one correct answer is better given to a group than an individual because when a number of people consider a topic, the probability is greater that one of them will come up with the solution and that inferior contributions will be discarded during the searching and evaluating of ideas that goes on during a discussion. A problem more appropriate for individual than group consideration is one whose solution requires careful, sustained, and logical thought without the distractions that occur during group members' give and take. Also, a group is not as quick as an individual when an answer is needed in a hurry.

Identifying Potential Solutions

Once members accept a problem as worthy of their effort, they begin to think up solutions. It is clear that the soundness of the final answer depends on the quality of the ideas developed during this searching stage and the willingness of discussants to find answers that meet the needs of the group rather than their personal desires. Because a better resolution is more likely to be found if deciders have more alternatives to compare, test, and

choose from, the climate in the group and the methods members use in collecting these notions must be such that they feel free to say what they have in mind. It is often necessary that participants be encouraged to stretch their thinking and generate unfamiliar ways of approaching the issue at hand so that creative solutions are made possible, and that conferees not settle too quickly upon a likely looking proposal or start evaluating suggestions before that activity is appropriate. In order to encourage freestyle searching for alternative solutions, the leaders of a group may use idea-stimulating procedures like the following.

Brainstorming. In 1937, Osborn proposed a discussion method for increasing the number of ideas a group develops during deliberations. The four basic rules of this procedure are that criticisms of one another's suggestions is strictly prohibited, free thinking and wild notions are welcome, numerous ideas are sought, and combination or modification of notions already offered is in order. Osborn suggests that members be instructed at the outset on the four basic rules, be asked to practice their use before the discussion begins, and then be required to follow them closely. Each idea offered by a speaker is to be recorded on a blackboard or pad of newsprint, and the question for discussion should be as open-ended as possible.

Does brainstorming improve the quality of ideas? The results of research and experience (Camadena, 1984; Connolly, Routhieux, and Schneider, 1993; Fisher, Ury, and Patton, 1991) suggest that the method is more useful under certain circumstances. For instance, after members can think of nothing more to say, they are asked to invent improvements for the ideas on hand while criticism is permitted. Things also go better if the group is small (five to eight members), each participant is to speak in turn, the atmosphere is informal, and discussants are allowed a chance to think about the question privately before the contributing of suggestions begins. Among the four basic rules, the prohibition against criticism of others' ideas is the most important. Better-producing groups, in brainstorming sessions, contain persons who like the activity more and who tolerate ambiguous situations better, as measured on a standardized test of that personal characteristic.

The most important value in brainstorming is that members who ordinarily might talk very little feel free to take part. Any group, when in need of new ideas during a regular meeting, can generate the good effects of brainstorming by temporarily imposing its four rules on interaction among members. As a result, participants will find that no one person dominates the group's flow of ideas, more members talk than usual, discussants feel free to offer unusual notions, they develop more suggestions than is typical in a brief period of time, no members are "lost in the crowd," and they are surprised at their creativity while having fun.

2 *Electronic Support Systems.* In years to come, an increasing number of groups will have a computer for each member and a hookup among these machines so that everyone in the unit can communicate with everyone else. The members of a group with such equipment need not be in the same room. Thus, they can hold a "meeting" while miles apart. One among many advantages in using such a system is that data relevant to the topic under discussion can be on file in the computers and brought forth where doing so appears to be useful. When this is done, members can interact with evolving ideas as well as with each other. Thus, the advantages and disadvantages of social relations in a group are minimized while participants deal with processing information and generating solutions. Usually, members using these electronic aids develop more ideas than they do in face-to-face groups (Nagasandaram and Dennis, 1993).

3. *Nominal Group Technique.* This discussion method takes advantage of research that indicates people are more productive if they perform a task in the presence of an audience, a phenomenon known as *social facilitation* (Zajonc, 1960). The inventors of this procedure (Delbeq, Van de Ven, and Gustafson, 1975) assume that participants will be more comfortable in offering ideas on a topic in need of careful consideration if they have an opportunity to think about and write down what they might say while sitting among persons who will soon hear those ideas. The term "nominal" in the title of this method is to denote that the conferees are often strangers, not a true group. In fact, the method is especially useful when a number of citizens who do not know one another, and may be uncomfortable in that situation, come together to develop ideas on a topic that is important to them.

The procedure moves through four steps after the leader states the central issue, phrased as simply as possible. (1) Those present write private responses; no talk among them is allowed. (2) Each person is then called upon in turn to offer one of his suggestions. This is posted publicly, and no comment is allowed at that moment. Subsequent ideas of each participant are noted until all have been recorded. (3) Those present may ask questions about the meaning of any items on the list that are not clear to them. (4) Participants decide which ideas among the total are most important and rank-order these. The result is a pool of suggestions, ranked according to their significance, ready for comparative evaluation.

4. *The Delphi Technique.* This procedure makes it possible for participants to offer ideas anonymously on a question that needs better reasoned answers than members typically can create at a conference table. It allows respondents to comment on ideas proposed by others, at their leisure, without knowing who the authors of those remarks are. The method is especially useful when discussants come from different status levels, have different degrees of expertise or power, or can decide the fate of those involved in the procedure. Usually, respondents never meet face-to-face (Delbeq, Van de Van, and Gustafson, 1975; Moore, 1987).

The process takes time (as long as seven weeks), requires several people to run an operational headquarters, and demands skill in devising questionnaires and coding written answers. Although this method is complicated and slow, it provides thoughtful results no other method can.

The technique employs a series of questionnaires. The first one, containing a few open-ended questions, is sent to the chosen respondents, who return their answers in writing. These initial questions are devoted to problems, goals, predictions, or requests for objective information. After the first questionnaires are returned, the headquarters team summarizes them and returns the results to the respondents with a new set of questions in which they are asked to comment on the main themes among the previous answers. After these questionnaires have been received, a new one is again developed and sent out. This cycle is repeated as many times as necessary to arrive at a reasonable consensus among participants.

The Delphi procedure is especially valuable when it is necessary to learn what a specific set of persons think about a general issue, future goals, or priorities among alternative activities; where disagreement is great or a problem cannot be resolved in objective terms, but judgments on the issue would be useful. The only limits to the number of participants is the time needed for coding questionnaires, and the cost of mailing new versions of these.

5. *Ringi.* This procedure is used in Japan in cases where decision makers are stalled or ensnarled in superficial observations, because conferees in that nation do not like to disagree with one another face-to-face (Rohlen, 1975). In order to avoid this discomfort, a written document dealing with the issue at hand, prepared by an anonymous individual, is sent from member to member and edited, by each in turn, without any oral interaction. After each such cycle, the draft is rewritten and sent around again for comments, as many times as necessary, until no more changes are made and all have put their personal seals on the final version. Some groups find it useful to assign separate parts of a problem to each of several subgroups, who prepare a draft of an answer for their section. These smaller reports are then circulated before discussion begins in the larger body.

Group leaders who use structured discussion methods like ones just described assume that conferees will offer relevant information and that members will pool it sensibly. The ideas individuals bring forth may not, however, fit together well. Members can pool their wisdom more effectively if they limit the number of ideas, make each member aware that he or she has unique ideas to contribute, and help everyone know the kinds of information others have that may be useful (Stasser, 1992).

Students of group decision making have done research on the value of preplanned discussion procedures like those just described. The researchers report that groups using such methods probably make better decisions, their members are more satisfied with the group's solutions, and participants abide by their agreements more closely than persons in units that allow discussion to flow in a random manner. Also, preplanned procedures make it more probable that all members will have a say, regardless of their status in the group, and that their ideas will have an equal chance to gain the attention of other members (Pavitt, 1993).

Choosing the Best Answer

When the leaders of a discussion realize that no more alternatives are going to be offered, they turn participants to selecting the best among those on hand. Members begin to test whether a given alternative might provide a sound resolution and to determine the side effects that may occur if it becomes the chosen course. More precisely, they consider such issues as: What gains or losses would the group or interested nonmembers get from each potential solution? What gains or losses will persons served by the group attain? How much will members approve or disapprove of their group after it has selected a specific solution, and why? What will be the reaction of nonmembers?

When working toward a decision, participants often follow the principle of least effort, choosing whatever course is easiest because they used it previously. Thus, one of the first questions raised in a group when its members are evaluating potential solutions is, What has this group done in the past on such a matter? Or members may explore what other committees have done under like circumstances and borrow their solutions. When making their choice, discussants consider the special interests of special persons: constituents whose lives may be touched by the group's choice, experts' ideas, or the preferences of the most respected members.

Ordinarily it is sensible to avoid the requirement that a decision be unanimous, because this hampers the efficiency of members when they choose among available options. A study of hypothetical juries found that the need for a unanimous decision often prevented the group from reaching any decision at all. Seeking a unanimous vote (compared to trying for a majority) caused more conflict between participants, more shifts of opinion, slower movement toward a conclusion, but more confidence in the final answer.

Ordinarily, if all goes well, members have enough commonality among their opinions to agree about which alternatives are better. The way to such an agreement is seldom straight, however, and often is the result of bargaining, arguing, and negotiating among discussants. In addition, members who have more social power tend to have more to say in the ultimate decision.

Sometimes, none of the available ideas for a solution is truly appealing. In such a case they may select the least objectionable proposal. If they do this, they are inclined to justify their choice to themselves and others by inventing arguments in favor of it, a form of rationalizing called *bolstering*. When engaged in this activity, participants try to make their choice appear reasonable by listing favorable consequences that will follow from the decision, minimizing unfavorable consequences, denying any adverse reactions, exaggerating the need for action right away, ignoring the interests of persons outside the group, and playing down the members' responsibility for the consequences of their action (Janis and Mann, 1977).

When a decision-making body makes little progress in settling a difficult question, a skilled officer can move things along by asking deciders to consider what process they might better use on the problem. To sharpen the discussion about procedure, she may ask members to identify the factors contributing to their difficulty in making a selection, such as biases among colleagues, incomplete background information, inability to predict trends in the future, rivalrous subgroups within the entity, unclarity about alternatives, or lack of understanding about the cause of the problem under discussion. On the basis of this diagnosis, the leader and members devise a way of removing the restraints, making them inefficient.

In choosing a procedure to use when making a decision, Fisher, Ury, and Patton (1991) say it ought to have three qualities. First, it should produce a wise agreement—one that satisfies relevant interests of members as much as possible, resolve conflicts among discussants, and give proper weight to the needs of the group and relevant persons outside that unit. Second, it ought to be an efficient method. And third, it should foster, not damage, harmony among members.

When a group has a set of alternative solutions at hand, these authors suggest that it is more sensible for members to avoid arguing over the merits of each solution. They should consider instead what needs or interests will be satisfied if each option were to be chosen. The authors make this suggestion for several reasons. When a participant insists his preference is the best, he locks himself into that view, increasingly defends it against attack or change, and thus becomes more convinced than ever that he is correct. "As more attention is paid to positions, less attention is devoted to meeting the underlying concerns of the parties. Agreement becomes less likely" (p. 5). And whatever agreement members finally reach may simply be a compromise, a splitting of the differences between two unfounded beliefs, instead of a soundly developed solution. Arguing over preferred solutions also makes a group inefficient because members are tempted to engage in gamesmanship, stalling, threatening to withdraw, or offering a tiny concession that only slows things down. Arguing over positions generates a contest within the group.

In order to avoid unfavorable consequences of arguing over preferred solutions, the authors propose a method of negotiation that is intended to produce a sound solution smoothly. They call this ***negotiation on the merits***. The procedure has four features.

1. Discussants must separate people from the problem, because during a lively discussion they tend to become emotionally involved and do not speak or think clearly. They may become angry and say hostile things to those with whom they disagree. They must not be allowed to make ad hominem remarks, so that they will work on the problem, not on each other.
2. Participants must focus on others' underlying interests in favoring a particular alternative, not the merits of their proposed solution. The deciders are to recognize that a solution must satisfy the reasons people have for favoring a given action by the group. Their interests behind their choice (desires, wants, concerns, fears) are to be the prime topic of discussion.

3. Participants should develop and weigh many options before making a decision, because members are more likely to strike a useful agreement if they have numerous alternatives to choose among and can look for the one that best resolves differences in the underlying interests of discussants.

4. Decision makers must, at the outset, define the qualities a sound solution ought to have, because doing so makes it possible for members to select an answer that meets these criteria of merit, selected in advance. Doing so helps them avoid an answer that is pressed upon members with special demands. Another method for choosing an answer from among a number of alternatives—for evaluating potential solutions—is described in Chapter Twelve.

The members of most groups probably believe it is best to keep their emotions hidden during decision-making discussions if they can. Yet expressions of affect are hard to conceal if the group faces questions where there are differences of opinion concerning fairness, justice, morality, influence, or derogation of the group itself. And many groups contain a person who believes it is a great idea for discussants to display their feelings because everyone's thoughts will flow more freely after they have had an emotional catharsis. What helps a group's effectiveness most during a meeting: suggesting that members express their feelings whenever they wish, or suppressing them during a discussion? The results of research on this question suggest that the highest quality decisions are developed in groups where members agree before a meeting to delay any show of affect until after they have reached a decision. The participants in groups with such an agreement also see their associates as more effective and energetic, compared to participants in bodies where members are allowed to express their emotions openly in the meeting. The groups in which members readily express their feelings come up with fewer ideas and do not work as hard (Guzzo and Waters, 1982).

Irving Janis studied the processes groups in natural settings use when making decisions on important matters (1989, p. 30). He says that a vigilant group takes seven separate steps in reaching a solution and that every one of them is a must. A good decision cannot be attained if any is omitted. In his seven steps, which serve to summarize ideas on preceding pages, a group does the following:

1. Surveys a wide range of objectives to be filled, taking account of the multiplicity of values at stake
2. Canvasses a wide range of courses of action
3. Intensively searches for new information relevant to evaluating the alternatives
4. Correctly assimilates and takes account of new information or expert judgments to which [members are] exposed, even when the information or judgment does not support the course of action initially preferred
5. Reconsiders the positive and negative consequences, as well as positive consequences of alternatives originally regarded as unacceptable, before making a final choice
6. Carefully examines the costs and risks of negative consequences, as well as positive consequences, that could flow from the alternative that is preferred
7. Makes detailed provisions for implementing and monitoring the chosen course of action, with special attention to contingency plans that might be required if various risks were to materialize

The reverse of any of these seven describes a typical mistake a group of deciders might make.

Implementing a Decision

Members of a decision-making unit sometimes forget, after a solution has been made, that implementing actions need to be taken either by a part of their unit or by persons other than themselves. The deciders are responsible for considering what problems implementers might meet when putting the decision into place and what procedures they might use in meeting such dilemmas.

A failure of persons assigned to establish a planned change may be due to their misunderstanding of the group's decision because they received imperfect instructions. The would-be implementers may also demur if the proposed innovation does not fit what they usually have done or if they do not see the importance of the change they are asked to bring about, are anxious about the effects of the proposed transformation, or lack the necessary resources, ability, energy, or time.

Because new plans may arouse anxiety among those who are asked to change their ways, a group may devote extra attention to methods of winning acceptance for their revised standards. Useful procedures include inviting those who are expected to use the change to provide advice on the decision and its enactment or asking discussants to identify the events that might help or hinder their implementation of the change. On the basis of this diagnosis, plans can be made to encourage sound procedures and to avoid useless ones. Such an approach takes advantage of findings from research which show that individuals are more likely to abide by a group decision in which they had a part than a decision they made alone (Lippitt, Watson, and Westley, 1958).

Conditions That Limit Effective Decision Making

✓ Some conditions interfere with the work of a group as it moves toward a decision. Several of these have been studied.

1. *Superficiality of Method.* During a meeting, if the agenda is crowded, time is limited, or members are bored with the topic, they may make a decision too quickly. Such a rapid-fire approach tends to be simplistic and based on inflexible rules. As a consequence, conferees may forgo use of good methods (Janis, 1989).

One such quick procedure is to seize the first useful suggestion members develop (ignoring other possibilities) because this notion seems to solve the problem well enough. In a second method, members choose a plan that worked in the past: the current problem resembles a dilemma members recall resolving earlier, fits a maxim that is popular among members, or has become the standard procedure in situations like this one. In such a case, discussants search their memories and choose a solution from among ones they find there. Dependence on the past has an attractive quality: it requires little effort to reach a resolution. In a third superficial procedure, members ask one of their number to examine the problem closely, so they will not have to do so, and to inform them about it: defining it, identifying its source, and offering an array of alternative solutions. The discussants then make a decision on the basis of that person's briefing.

Superficial procedures are used more often when members underestimate the seriousness of an issue, grasp at an "obvious" solution without evaluating it, try to simplify a complex problem so they can solve it more easily, fear that extensive discussion of a question may cause dissension among members, want to satisfy personal motives, or become emotional because of a threat they see in the issue. Superficial methods can be helpful on matters where past experience in the use of them has been good. But they may lead to a poor solution if the problem is complicated and requires clarification as well as background facts before it can be sensibly resolved (Janis, 1989).

? *Groupthink.* This source of ineffectiveness is due to a style of deliberating that members use when their desire to preserve good relations with one another is more important than the quality of their decision. Instead of searching for the best answer, they search for an outcome that best preserves harmony in the group. Five kinds of behavior characterize these attempts to keep everyone comfortable: (1) the discussants consider only a few alternatives and ignore others, (2) they fail to examine adverse consequences that might follow their preferred course of action, (3) they drop alternatives that appear unsatisfactory at first mention without examining them well, (4) they do not seek the advice of experts, and (5) they fail to create fallback procedures in case the chosen solution does not work out (Janis, 1972; 'tHart, 1990).

Five techniques may prevent groupthink or weaken the conditions that arouse it: (1) ask each member to be a critical evaluator of the group's procedure and ideas, (2) request each to discuss the content of their group's deliberations with friends outside the group and to report the results of these conversations, (3) assign the role of devil's advocate to one of the members,

(4) examine the views of persons whose ideas are known to conflict with this group's, and (5) once a decision is taken, have participants consider any remaining doubts at a later meeting.

3 *Status of Group Members.* In many groups there is a distinct difference in the status of members. An example is the staff of a law firm in which recent graduates serve along with veterans, or an executive committee of a hospital where nurses sit with physicians. Individuals who differ widely in their social standing are not always comfortable with one another, which may make their interactions stilted, cautious, and less helpful than they might be in a unit composed of peers.

We know from research that higher-status persons talk more often in a meeting and direct their comments mostly to other high-status members, while lower-status participants talk less and also send their remarks to higher-status people. The superior members, moreover, believe that their inferiors talk too much. A group's leader may find it useful to point out this imbalance in participation if it occurs and to ask more powerful persons (outside the conference room) to give more consideration to subordinates' contributions and to direct more remarks to those people. If such suggestions do not make the frequency of comments more nearly equal, a chairperson may ask members of separate status levels to meet in separate rooms on the assumption they will talk more freely in those more homogenous meetings. Later, these groups are brought together to share their ideas. The head of a group need not try to get everyone talking; generally, only 30 percent of those present do most of the commenting in a comfortable and efficient group.

Stress Felt by the Group. Members usually modify how they move toward a decision when they feel threatened because they cannot define a problem precisely, are under attack, need an urgent answer, or have a heavy work load. Under stress they fear they will function poorly and develop an inadequate answer. Their sense of threat is enhanced, moreover, if they are unsure of what causes the problem, wonder whether the difficulty will get worse, or lack control over perceived causes of it.

Ordinarily a group becomes more cohesive when it is threatened by external agents or states, because participants seek the protection of one another. When cohesiveness is high, members interact in useful ways, as noted earlier, unless participants believe they are being threatened because they are members of that group, and the only way they can achieve relief is to leave the body. During anxiety created by stress, moreover, decision makers tend to be less flexible and imaginative than they might otherwise be (Holsti, 1971; Janis, 1989). Their attention narrows; they pay too much attention to trivial data. Their speed of performance is impaired, but not the quality of the ideas they finally develop, provided they can take their time to reach a good solution (Turner, 1992).

If members of a committee must deal with an emergency such as a storm, strike, earthquake, or fire, they are prone to make errors when choosing a course of action either because the pressure of time makes them consider fewer options or the problem is given to a subset of members that does not include experts on the issue. Moreover, during a critical period, information coming to the group is often of poor quality because messages sent hastily are either badly stated or inadequately thought out. If the issue is significant for the organization, the information available may be biased by the wishes and expectations of those who seek to influence the decision. Members listen to one another more than to the designated leader, and lower-status members are especially inclined to attend to remarks made by higher-status persons (Driskell and Salas, 1991).

When a group is under stress, some members fear that the situation will have unfavorable consequences for them; they ask themselves how they might be hurt and how they can avoid painful personal outcomes. In a case like this, they tend to cope with their needs (for gain or approval) by urging that colleagues use such emotional behavior as relying on unreasoning intuition, not letting attackers get away with their behavior, attacking external opponents, or resigning from the group (Janis, 1989).

Studies of decision making in an emergency, conducted by the Office of Naval Research, indicate that the most difficult part of reaching a rapid answer is diagnosing the nature of the threat and its source. These researchers urge that members of a decision-making unit be trained in identifying and assessing the nature of a problem. A group will do a better job of resolving a problem quickly, these researchers say, if each knows what others' roles are, all have the same information about the problem and share the same understanding about what is being done to solve it, and each can anticipate what others are likely to say or desire to do (Adler, 1993).

Suppression of Minority Dissent. During discussion of solutions for a problem, it often happens that a majority of members argue for one resolution while a minority hold out for a different approach (are dissenters). If the majority will not listen to or consider the views of the minority, the performance by their group is likely to be poorer than if they pay attention to the ideas offered by the smaller set of members (Nemeth, 1992).

Outside Criticism. A familiar cause of inefficiency in making decisions is an attack on a group by critics who have an interest in its conclusions. A city council, for example, considers whether to rezone an area of the city and is exposed to pressures by nonmembers who wish to express their views before that body, with feeling. A faculty committee debates whether research using hazardous materials should be allowed on the campus, and a set of critics who oppose this research complain to the community about that committee's procedures and plans. The critic's comments must be answered if they are incorrect, even though correcting takes time, is embarrassing for the correctors and irritating to the critics, arouses emotional tension, and makes committee members advocates of their own views rather than unbiased problem solvers. Advocacy also slows down the process of reaching a decision. There is much to be learned about what conditions cause critics' comments to hinder rather than help the quality of a group's decision.

People who belong to some groups must settle issues on which nonmembers have both supporting and rejecting views. An example is a board of trustees elected by a popular referendum. Trustees are supposed to ensure that the institution they guide serves the interests of the public at large as well as the needs of persons who have a stake in the institution. To perform their duty properly, therefore, members of the board must know whether the public's interest is pro or con and understand the desires of special groups. If this information is not on hand, members cannot be sure which path to follow. This uncertainty is heightened if board members are in the midst of a campaign for reelection. In such a case, members must make it clear in meetings that they are listening to all sides and being fair in their deliberations. When a decision has been influenced by the arguments of persons who are not in the group, its members must demonstrate that they have been influenced. Such displays take time and contribute little to the quality of the discussion or decision, but they reduce the social pressure felt by trustees.

Legally mandated groups often operate under "sunshine laws" that require all meetings to be open to observers. Members of the audience must be given an opportunity, moreover, to comment on questions under consideration. The effect of this required openness is that those in the group tend to keep quiet on matters they would prefer to discuss in a closed meeting, or they play up to the audience on topics they know their constituents support. The presence of an audience can cause biases and distortions in making a decision; this is especially so when the issue is hard to understand or diagnose.

Tenure of Members. In light of the foregoing, groups whose members have had considerable experience working together would be expected to perform better than ones with a brief history or ad hoc groups created to resolve a specific problem. In a study comparing the behavior of members in twenty long-established committees and twenty groups created de novo, the veteran units were superior in decision making and in dealing with conflicts among their members (Hall and Williams, 1966).

If experience improves the ability of a group, it is likely that a unit's quality of work can be enhanced if members are taught (by a skilled nonmember) how to make decisions most efficiently. To test this notion, a number of groups were told how to deal with differences of opinion among members and how to participate in an open discussion, while other groups were given no instructions. The researchers report that instructed groups, compared to uninstructed ones, made better-quality decisions and better use of resources but took a longer time to complete the task (Nemiroff and King, 1975). Good processes, apparently, cause members to be more thoughtful, and thoughtfulness takes time.

Competence of Members. Although a group is greater than the sum of its parts and often makes decisions superior to those any member would develop alone, it can create even better decisions if members are competent and well-informed about the issue they are to discuss. Sometimes an ad hoc group is created to deal with a controversial issue. In order to assure observers that these decision makers are unbiased, the committee is composed of persons who know nothing about the problem at hand. When the matter is a technical one, the problem solvers are bound to reach a naive solution based on superficial discussion of peripheral topics unless the group is allowed to bring experts before them (Zander, 1979). A leader of a group composed of persons with little skill or wisdom (on either the substantive topic or the group's process) soon sees it is difficult to keep participants on the subject, because much of what they say is not useful in reaching a solution. Members of a group can sense when their solution is not of high quality and are less likely to abide by their unit's decision when they do not think it is a good one.

In a study of the qualities characterizing effective and ineffective groups of many kinds, it was observed that the most successful bodies had a majority of competent members. Such persons had more of the skills, abilities, and knowledge needed for doing that group's work; greater desire to contribute to that effort; and more capability of working with others. Among these three personal qualities, the researchers gave the greatest weight to the latter—the ability to work well with others (Larson and LaFasto, 1989).

Summary

Making a group decision is part of a larger process called group problem solving. Problem solving usually moves through four

stages: describing the problem that requires a response, identifying a number of possible solutions, selecting the best solutions from among these alternatives, and taking action to implement that decision. When searching for possible answers, members benefit from using one or more structured procedures: brainstorming, electronic support systems, nominal group technique, Delphi technique, or ringi. In selecting among potential solutions, they will make a sounder decision, more smoothly, if their negotiating is based on the merits of each and on an understanding of the underlying interests of those who advocate different outcomes.

Conditions within a group can limit the effectiveness of decision making. Among such interfering circumstances are use of too superficial a method, failure to evaluate ideas on their merit (that is, groupthink), barriers against participating in the give and take because of differences in status of members, excessive size of group, lack of imagination in developing ideas during a discussion, errors occurring in a group during an emergency or crisis, suppression of dissent by a subset within the group, criticism of the group by outsiders, inexperience of members as a unit, incompetence of members, and absence of an appropriate social policy or set of values.

Implementing the Problem-Solving Process

- Clearly state the problem for the group, explain the significance of the problem, and make it evident what kind of action is needed by the group.
- Keep discussion focused on the issue, stop work on a problem when consideration of it is completed, and call for a vote when the time is right; don't let the discussion drag on when members seem ready to decide.
- Break a complex problem into separate parts and have members make decisions about each part.
- Help members learn how to work with others' ideas so they do more in a meeting than convince themselves that their original ideas were correct all along.
- If no solution is clearly correct or appealing, make the least objectionable choice.

- Where possible, avoid the need for a unanimous decision.
- Use one or more preplanned processes when searching for potential solutions.
- Encourage members to consider any adverse consequences from a potential solution before making a final decision.
- Be sure that those who are to implement a group's decision understand exactly what they are to do.

Overcoming Ineffective Decision Making

- Develop special roles for members, such as devil's advocate, or searcher for needed information, if it appears that groupthinking may make the group inefficient.
- Avoid wide differences in status levels among discussants.
- If status differences cannot be avoided, help members recognize and reduce the inhibitions these differences create in a meeting.
- Use the brainstorming method to help members feel willing to participate, not only to improve the quantity and quality of ideas offered during a discussion.
- Protect the rights of a disagreeing minority among members so that their views will be heard.
- Plan ahead for procedures to use when a decision must be urgently made or a crisis arises.
- Recognize that external critics of a decision-making group can provide useful ideas but that they can also damage the objectivity and effectiveness of those in the criticized body unless members stay calm.
- Plan special discussion methods to use if scientific facts and value judgments must be jointly considered when making a decision.
- Encourage members to evaluate their group's skill and learn ways of improving it.
- If members are incompetent to deal with an issue, get the help of outside experts.

Recommended Readings

Delbeq, A., Van de Ven, A., and Gustafson, D. *Group Techniques for Program Planning.* Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1975.

Presents several straightforward methods for increasing the number and quality of ideas in conferences.

Fisher, R., Ury, W., and Patton, B. *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.
A highly readable account of methods decision makers may use to reach a resolution that satisfies participants.

Janis, I. *Victims of Groupthink.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.
This lively monograph describes how important committees in government made poor decisions because of their desire to avoid controversy within their group.

Janis, I. *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management.* New York: Free Press, 1989.
Describes procedures required for making sound decisions and ways to avoid poor processes.

Moore, C. *Group Techniques for Idea Building.* Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1987.
This book describes several methods for generating, developing, and selecting among ideas in group meetings.

8
Group Dynamics

THE NATURE OF HIGHLY EFFECTIVE GROUPS
Rensis Likert
GROUPTHINK
Irving L. Janis

THE NATURE OF HIGHLY EFFECTIVE GROUPS

Rensis Likert

Ve concluded in Chapter 8 that the form of organization which will make the reatest use of human capacity consists of highly effective work groups linked ogether in an overlapping pattern by other similarly effective groups. The highly ffective work group is, consequently, an important component of the newer theory f management. It will be important to understand both its nature and its performnce characteristics. We shall examine these in this chapter, but first a few words bout groups in general.

Although we have stressed the great potential power of the group for building ffective organizations, it is important to emphasize that this does *not* say that ll groups and all committees are highly effective or are committed to desirable oals. Groups as groups can vary from poor to excellent. They can have desirable alues and goals, or their objectives can be most destructive. They can accomplish uch that is good, or they can do great harm. There is nothing *implicitly* good r bad, weak or strong, about a group.

The nature of the group determines the character of its impact upon the development of its members. The values of the group, the stability of these values, the group atmosphere, and the nature of the conformity demanded by the group determine whether a group is likely to have a positive or negative impact upon the growth and behavior of its members. If the values of the group are seen by the society as having merit, if the group is warm, supportive, and full of understanding, the group's influence on the development of its members will be positive. A hostile atmosphere and socially undesirable or unstable values produce a negative impact upon the members' growth and behavior.

Loyalty to a group produces pressures toward conformity. A group may demand conformity to the idea of supporting, encouraging, and giving recognition for individual creativity, or it may value rigidity of behavior, with seriously narrowing and dwarfing consequences. This latter kind of pressure for conformity keeps the members from growing and robs the group of original ideas. Many writers have pointed to these deleterious effects of conformity. They often overlook the capacity of groups to stimulate individual creativeness by placing a high value on imaginative and original contributions by their members. As Pelz's findings, reported in Chapter 2, demonstrate, groups can contribute significantly to creativity by providing the stimulation of diverse points of view within a supportive atmosphere which encourages each individual member to pursue new and unorthodox concepts.

Some business executives are highly critical of groups—or committees—and the inability of committees to accomplish a great deal. Their criticisms are often well warranted. In many instances, committees are wasteful of time and unable to reach decisions. Sometimes the decisions, when reached, are mediocre. Moreover, some members of management at various hierarchical levels use committees as escape mechanisms—as a way to avoid the responsibility for a decision.

The surprising thing about committees is not that many or most are ineffective, but that they accomplish as much as they do when, relatively speaking, we know so little about how to use them. There has been a lack of systematic study of ways to make committees effective. Far more is known about time-and-motion study, cost accounting and similar aspects of management than is known about groups and group processes. Moreover, in spite of the demonstrated potentiality of groups, far less research is being devoted to learning the role of groups and group processes and how to make the most effective use of them in an organization than to most management practices. We know appreciably less about how to make groups and committees effective than we know about most matters of managing.

We do know that groups can be powerful. The newer theory takes this into account and tries to make constructive use of the group's potential strength for developing and mobilizing human resources.

In this and other chapters the use of the term "group" may give the impression that groups have the capacity to behave in ways other than through the behavior of their members. Thus, such expressions appear as the "group's goals," "the group decides," or the "group motivates." In many instances, these expressions are used to avoid endless repetition of the words, "the members of the group." In other instances, something more is meant. Thus, in speaking of "group values,"

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the intent is to refer to those values which have been established by the group through a group-decision process involving consensus. Once a decision has been reached by consensus, there are strong motivational forces, developed within each individual as a result of his membership in the group and his relationship to the other members, to be guided by that decision. In this sense, the group has goals and values and makes decisions. It has properties which may not be present, as such, in any one individual. A group may be divided in opinion, for example, although this may not be true of any one member. Dorwin Cartwright puts it this way: "The relation between the individual members and the group is analogous to the distinction made in mathematics between the properties of a set of elements and the properties of the elements within a set. Every set is composed of elements, but sets have properties which are not identical with the properties of the elements of the set."

THE HIGHLY EFFECTIVE WORK GROUP

Much of the discussion of groups in this chapter will be in terms of an ideal organizational model which the work groups in an organization can approach as they develop skill in group processes. This model group, of course, is always part of a large organization. The description of its nature and performance characteristics is based on evidence from variety of sources. Particularly important are the observational and experimental studies of small groups such as those conducted by the Research Center for Group Dynamics (Cartwright & Zander, 1960; Hare et al., 1955; Institute for Social Research, 1956; Institute for Social Research, 1960; Thibaut & Kelly, 1959). Extensive use is made of data from studies of large-scale organizations. Another important source is the material from the National Training Laboratories (Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1960d; National Training Laboratories, 1953; National Training Laboratories, 1960; Stock & Thelen, 1958). The NTL has focused on training in sensitivity to the reactions of others and in skills to perform the leadership and membership roles in groups.

In addition to drawing upon the above sources, the description of the ideal model is derived from theory. Some of the statements about the model for which there is little or limited experimental or observational data have been derived directly from the basic drive to achieve and maintain a sense of importance and personal worth. At several points in this chapter the author has gone appreciably beyond available specific research findings. The author feels, however, that the generalizations which are emerging based on research in organizations and on small groups, youth, and family life, personality development, consumer behavior, human motivation, and related fields lend strong support to the general theory and the derivations contained in this book.

It has been necessary to go beyond the data in order to spell out at this time in some detail the general pattern of the more complex but more effective form of organization being created by the higher-producing managers. The author hopes that the theory and model proposed will stimulate a substantial increase in basic and developmental research and that they will be tested and sharpened by that research.

The body of knowledge about small groups, while sufficiently large to make possible this description of the ideal model, is still relatively limited. Without question, as the importance of the work group as the basic building block of organizations becomes recognized, there will be a great increase in the research on groups and our knowledge about them. The over-all pattern of the model described here will be improved and clarified by such research. Our understanding of how to develop and use groups effectively will also be greatly advanced.

The following description of the ideal model defines what we mean by *a highly effective group.* The definition involves reference to several different variables. Each of them can be thought of as a continuum, i.e., as a characteristic which can vary from low to high, from unfavorable to favorable. For example, a group can vary from one in which there is hostility among the members to one in which the attitudes are warm and friendly. The ideal model is at the favorable end of each variable.

THE NATURE OF HIGHLY EFFECTIVE WORK GROUPS

The highly effective group, as we shall define it, is always conceived as being a part of a larger organization. A substantial proportion of persons in a company are members of more than one work group, especially when both line and staff are considered. As a consequence, in such groups there are always linking functions to be performed and relationships to other groups to be maintained. Our highly effective group is not an isolated entity.

All the persons in a company also belong to groups and organizations outside of the company. For most persons, membership in several groups both within and outside the company is the rule rather than the exception. This means, of course, that no single group, even the highly effective work group, dominates the life of any member. Each member of the organization feels pressures from membership in several different groups and is not influenced solely by loyalty to any one group.

Since the different groups to which a person belongs are apt to have somewhat different and often inconsistent goals and values, corresponding conflicts and pressures are created within him. To minimize these conflicts and tensions, the individual seeks to influence the values and goals of each of the different groups to which he belongs and which are important to him so as to minimize the inconsistencies and conflicts in values and goals. In striving for this reconciliation, he is likely to press for the acceptance of those values most important to him.

The properties and performance characteristics of the ideal highly effective group are as follows:

1. The members are skilled in all the various leadership and membership roles and functions required for interaction between leaders and members and between members and other members.
2. The group has been in existence sufficiently long to have developed a well-established, relaxed working relationship among all its members.

3. The members of the group are attracted to it and are loyal to its members, including the leader.

4. The members and leaders have a high degree of confidence and trust in each other.

5. The values and goals of the group are a satisfactory integration and expression of the relevant values and needs of its members. They have helped shape these values and goals and are satisfied with them.

6. In so far as members of the group are performing linking functions, they endeavor to have the values and goals of the groups which they link in harmony, one with the other.

7. The more important a value seems to the group, the greater the likelihood that the individual member will accept it.

8. The members of the group are highly motivated to abide by the major values and to achieve the important goals of the group. Each member will do all that he reasonably can—and at times all in his power—to help the group achieve its central objectives. He expects every other member to do the same. This high motivation springs, in part, from the basic motive to achieve and maintain a sense of personal worth and importance. Being valued by a group whose values he shares, and deriving a sense of significance and importance from this relationship, leads each member to do his best. He is eager not to let the other members down. He strives to do what he believes is expected of him.

9. All the interaction, problem-solving, decision-making activities of the group occur in a supportive atmosphere. Suggestions, comments, ideas, information, criticisms are all offered with a helpful orientation. Similarly, these contributions are received in the same spirit. Respect is shown for the point of view of others both in the way contributions are made and in the way they are received.

There are real and important differences of opinion, but the focus is on arriving at sound solutions and not on exacerbating and aggravating the conflict. Ego forces deriving from the desire to achieve and maintain a sense of personal worth and importance are channeled into constructive efforts. Care is taken not to let these ego forces disrupt important group tasks, such as problem-solving. Thus, for example, a statement of the problem, a condition which any solution must meet, a suggested solution, or an item of relevant fact are all treated as from the group as a whole. Care is taken so that one statement of the problem is not John's and another Bill's. A suggested solution is not referred to as Tom's and another as Dick's. All the material contributed is treated as *ours:* "One of our proposed solutions is *A*, another is *B*." In all situations involving actual or potential differences or conflict among the members of the group, procedures are used to separate the ego of each member from his contribution. In this way, ego forces do not stimulate conflict between members. Instead, they are channeled into supporting the activities and efforts of the group.

The group atmosphere is sufficiently supportive for the members to be able to accept readily any criticism which is offered and to make the most constructive use of it. The criticisms may deal with any relevant topic such as operational problems, decisions, supervisory problems, interpersonal relationships, or group processes, but whatever their content, the member feels sufficiently secure in the supportive atmosphere of the group to be able to accept, test, examine, and benefit from the criticism offered. Also, he is able to be frank and candid, irrespective of the content of the discussion: technical, managerial, factual, cognitive, or emotional. The supportive atmosphere of the group with the feeling of security it provides, contributes to a cooperative relationship between the members. And this cooperation itself contributes to and reinforces the supportive atmosphere.

10. The superior of each work group exerts a major influence in establishing the tone and atmosphere of that work group by his leadership principles and practices. In the highly effective group, consequently, the leader adheres to those principles of leadership which create a supportive atmosphere in the group and a cooperative rather than a competitive relationshp among the members. For example, he shares information fully with the group and creates an atmosphere where the members are stimulated to behave similarly.

11. The group is eager to help each member develop to his full potential. It sees, for example, that relevant technical knowledge and training in interpersonal and group skills are made available to each member.

12. Each member accepts willingly and without resentment the goals and expectations that he and his group establish for themselves. The anxieties, fears, and emotional stresses produced by direct pressure for high performance from a boss in a hierarchical situation are not present. Groups seem capable of setting high performance goals for the group as a whole and for each member. These goals are high enough to stimulate each member to do his best, but not so high as to create anxieties or fear of failure. In an effective group, each person can exert sufficient infuence on the decisions of the group to prevent the group from setting unattainable goals for any member while setting high goals for all. The goals are adapted to the member's capabity to perform.

13. The leader and the members believe that each group member can accomplish "the impossible." These expectations stretch each member to the maximum and accelerate his growth. When necessary, the group tempers the expectation level so that the member is not broken by a feeling of failure or rejection.

14. When necessary or advisable, other members of the group will give a member the help he needs to accomplish successfully the goals set for him. Mutual help is a characteristic of highly effective groups.

15. The supportive atmosphere of the highly effective group stimulates creativity. The group does not demand narrow conformity as do the work groups under authoritarian leaders. No one has to "yes the boss," nor is he rewarded for such an attempt. The group attaches high value to new, creative approaches and solutions to its problems and to the problems of the organization of which it is a part. The motivation to be creative is high when one's work group prizes creativity.

16. The group knows the value of "constructive" conformity and knows when to use it and for what purposes. Although it does not permit conformity to affect adversely the creative efforts of its members, it does expect conformity on mechanical and administrative matters to save the time of members and to facilitate the group's activities. The group agrees, for example, on administrative forms and procedures, and once they have been established, it expects its members to abide by them until there is good reason to change them.

17. There is strong motivation on the part of each member to communicate fully and frankly to the group all the information which is relevant and of value

to the group's activity. This stems directly from the members' desire to be valued by the group and to get the job done. The more important to the group a member feels an item of information to be, the greater is his motivation to communicate it.

18. There is high motivation in the group to use the communication process so that it best serves the interests and goals of the group. Every item which a member feels is important, but which for some reason is being ignored, will be repeated until it receives the attention that it deserves. Members strive also to avoid communicating unimportant information so as not to waste the group's time.

19. Just as there is high motivation to communicate, there is correspondingly strong motivation to receive communications. Each member is genuinely interested in any information on any relevant matter that any member of the group can provide. This information is welcomed and trusted as being honestly and sincerely given. Members do not look "behind" the information item and attempt to interpret it in ways opposite to its purported intent. This interest of group members in information items and treatment of such items as valid reinforces the motivation to communicate.

20. In the highly effective group, there are strong motivations to try to influence other members as well as to be receptive to influence by them. This applies to all the group's activities: technical matters, methods, organizational problems, interpersonal relationships, and group processes.

21. The group processes of the highly effective group enable the members to exert more influence on the leader and to communicate far more information to him, including suggestions as to what needs to be done and how he could do his job better, than is possible in a man-to-man relationship. By "tossing the ball" back and forth among its members, a group can communicate information to the leader which no single person on a man-to-man basis dare do. As a consequence, the boss receives all the information that the group possesses to help him perform his job effectively.

22. The ability of the members of a group to influence each other contributes to the flexibility and adaptability of the group. Ideas, goals, and attitudes do not become frozen if members are able to influence each other continuously.

Although the group is eager to examine any new ideas and methods which will help it do its job better and is willing to be influenced by its members, it is not easily shifted or swayed. Any change is undertaken only after rigorous examination of the evidence. This stability in the group's activities is due to the steadying influence of the common goals and values held by the group members.

23. In the highly effective group, individual members feel secure in making decisions which seem appropriate to them because the goals and philosophy of operation are clearly understood by each member and provide him with a solid base for his decisions. This unleashes initiative and pushes decisions down while still maintaining a coordinated and directed effort.

24. The leader of a highly effective group is selected carefully. His leadership ability is so evident that he would probably emerge as a leader in any unstructured situation. To increase the likelihood that persons of high leadership competence are selected, the organization is likely to use peer nominations and related methods in selecting group leaders.

An important aspect of the highly effective group is its extensive use of the principle of supportive relationships. An examination of the above material reveals that virtually every statement involves an application of this principle.

LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS

Several different characteristics of highly effective groups have been briefly examined. The role of the leader in these groups is, as we have suggested, particularly important. Certain leadership functions can be shared with group members; others can be performed only by the designated leader. In any organization, for example, the leader of a unit is the person who has primary responsibility for linking his work group to the rest of the organization. Other members of the group may help perform the linking function by serving as linking pins in overlapping groups other than that provided by the line organization, but the major linking is necessarily through the line organization. The leader has full responsibility for the group's performance and for seeing that his group meets the demands and expectations placed upon it by the rest of the organization of which it is a part. Other members of the group may share this responsibility at times, but the leader can never avoid full responsibility for the adequate performance of his group.

Although the leader has full responsibility, he does not try to make all the decisions. He develops his group into a unit which, with his participation, makes better decisions than he can make alone. He helps the group develop efficient communciation and influence processes which provide it with better information, more technical knowledge, more facts, and more experience for decision-making purposes than the leader alone can marshal.

Through group decision-making each member feels fully identified with each decision and highly motivated to execute it fully. The over-all performance of the group, as a consequence, is even better than the excellent quality of the decisions.

The leader knows that at times decisions must be made rapidly and cannot wait for group processes. He anticipates these emergencies and establishes procedures with his group for handling them so that action can be taken rapidly with group support.

The leader feels primarily responsible for establishing and maintaining at all times a thoroughly supportive atmosphere in the group. He encourages other members to share this responsibility, but never loses sight of the fact that as the leader of a work group which is part of a larger organization his behavior is likely to set the tone.

Although the leader accepts the responsibility associated with his role of leader of a group which is part of a larger organization, he seeks to minimize the influence of his hierarchical position. He is aware that tyrying to get results by "pulling rank" affects adversely the effectiveness of his group and his relationship to it. Thus, he endeavors to deemphasize status. He does this in a variety of ways that fit his personality and methods of leading, as for example by:

1. Listening well and patiently.
2. Not being impatient with the progress being made by the group, particularly on difficult problems.
3. Accepting more blame than may be warranted for any failure or mistake.
4. Giving the group members ample opportunity to express their thoughts without being constrained by the leader pressing his own views.
5. Being careful never to impose a decision upon the group.
6. Putting his contributions often in the form of questions or stating them speculatively.
7. Arranging for others to help perform leadership functions which enhance their status.

The leader strengthens the group and group processes by seeing that all problems *which involve the group* are dealt with by the group. He never handles such problems outside of the group nor with individual members of the group. While the leader is careful to see that all matters which involve and affect the whole group are handled by the whole group, he is equally alert not to undertake in a group-meeting agenda items or tasks which do not concern the group. Matters concerning one individual member and only that member are, of course, handled individually. Matters involving only a subgroup are handled by that subgroup. The total group is kept informed, however, of any subgroup action.

The leader fully reflects and effectively represents the views, goals, values, and decisions of his group in those other groups where he is performing the function of linking his group to the rest of the organization. He brings to the group of which he is the leader the views, goals, and decisions of those other groups. In this way, he provides a linkage whereby communication and the exercise of influence can be performed in both directions.

The leader has adequate competence to handle the technical problems faced by his group, or he sees that access to this technical knowledge is fully provided. This may involve bringing in, as needed, technical or resource persons. Or he may arrange to have technical training given to one or more members of his group so that the group can have available the necessary technical know-how when the group discusses a probelm and arrives at a decision.

The leader is what might be called "group-centered," in a sense comparable with the "employee-centered" supervisor described. He endeavors to build and maintain in his group a keen sense of responsibility for achieving its own goals and meeting its obligations to the larger organization.

The leader helps to provide the group with the stimulation arising from a restless dissatisfaction. He discourages complacency and passive acceptance of the present. He helps the members to become aware of new possibilities, more important values, and more significant goals.

The leader is an important source of enthusiasm for the significance of the mission and goals of the group. He sees that the tasks of the group are important and significant and difficult enough to be challenging.

As an over-all guide to his leadership behavior, the leader understands and uses with sensitivity and skill the principle of supportive relationships.

Many of these leadership functions, such as the linking function, can be performed only by the designated leader. This makes clear the great importance of selecting competent persons for leadership positions.

ROLES OF MEMBERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP

In the highly effective group, many functions are performed either by the leader or by the members, depending upon the situation or the requirements of the moment. The leader and members, as part of their roles in the group, establish and maintain an atmosphere and relationships which enable the communication, influence, decision-making, and similar processes of the group to be performed effectively. This means not only creating positive conditions, such as a supportive atmosphere, but also eliminating any negative or blocking factors. Thus, for example, groups sometimes have to deal with members who are insensitive, who are hostile, who talk too much, or who otherwise behave in ways adversely affecting the capacity of the group to function. In handling such a problem, the group makes the member aware of his deficiency, but does this in a sensitive and considerate manner and in a way to assist the member to function more effectively in the group. The members of most ordinary groups stop listening to a member who expresses himself in a fuzzy or confused manner. In a highly effective group, the members feed back their reaction to the person involved with suggetions and assistance on how to make his contributions clear, important, and of the kind to which all will want to listen. Friendly assistance and coaching can help a member overcome excessive talking or help him to learn to think and express himself more clearly.

Benne and Sheats (1948) have prepared a description of the different roles played in well-functioning groups. These roles may at times be performed by one or more group members, at other times by the leader. The list, while prepared on the basis of roles in discussion and problem-solving groups, is useful in considering the functions to be performed in any work group which is part of a larger organization.

The following material is taken from the Benne and Sheats article (pp. 42–45) with slight modifications. Group roles are classified into two broad categories:

1. *Group task roles.* These roles are related to the task which the group is deciding to undertake or has undertaken. They are directly concerned with the group effort in the selection and definition of a common problem and in the solution of that problem.
2. *Group building and maintenance roles.* These roles concern the functioning of the group as a group. They deal with the group's efforts to strengthen, regulate, and perpetuate the group as a group.

Group Task Roles

The following analysis assumes that the task of the group is to select, define, and solve common problems. The roles are identified in relation to functions of facilitation and coordination of group problem-solving activities. Each member may, of course, enact more than one role in any given unit of participation and a wide range of roles in successive participations. Any or all of these roles may be performed, at times, by the group "leader" as well as by various members.

1. *Initiating-contributing:* suggesting or proposing to the group new ideas or a changed way of regarding the group problem or goal. The novelty proposed may take the form of suggestions of a new group goal or a new definition of the problem. It may take the form of a suggested solution or some way of handling a difficulty that the

group has encountered. Or it may take the form of a proposed new procedure for the group, a new way of organizing the group for the task ahead.

2. *Information seeking:* asking for clarification of suggestions made in terms of their factual adequacy, for authoritative information and facts pertinent to the problems being discussed.
3. *Opinion seeking:* seeking information not primarily on the facts of the case, but for a clarification of the values pertinent to what the group is undertaking or of values involved in a suggestion made or in alternative suggestions.
4. *Information giving:* offering facts or generalizations which are "authoritative" or involve presenting an experience pertinent to the group problem.
5. *Opinion giving:* stating beliefs or opinions pertinent to a suggestion made or to alternative suggestions. The emphasis is on the proposal of what should become the group's view of pertinent values, not primarily upon relevant facts or information.
6. *Elaborating:* spelling out suggestions in terms of examples or developed meanings, offering a rationale for suggestions previously made, and trying to deduce how an idea or suggestion would work out if adopted by the group.
7. *Coordinating:* showing or clarifying the relationships among various ideas and suggestions, trying to pull ideas and suggestions together or trying to coordinate the activities of various members or sub-groups.
8. *Orienting:* defining the position of the group with respect to its goals by summarizing what has occurred, departures from agreed upon directions or goals are pointed to, or questions are raised about the direction the group discussion is taking.
9. *Evaluating:* subjecting the accomplishment of the group to some standard or set of standards of group functioning in the context of the group task. Thus, it may involve evaluating or questioning the "practicality," the "logic," or the "procedure" of a suggestion or of some unit of group discussion.
10. *Energizing:* prodding the group to action or decision, attempting to stimulate or arouse the group to "greater" activity or to activity of a "higher quality."
11. *Assisting on procedure:* expediting group movement by doing things for the group—performing routine tasks, e.g., distributing materials, or manipulating objects for the group, e.g., rearranging the seating or running the recording machine, etc.
12. *Recording:* writing down suggestions, making a record of group decisions, or writing down the product of discussion. The recorder role is the "group memory."

Group Building and Maintenance Roles

Here the analysis of member-functions is oriented to those activities which build group loyalty and increase the motivation and capacity of the group for candid and effective interaction and problem-solving. One or more members or the leader may perform each of these roles.

1. *Encouraging:* praising, showing interest in, agreeing with, and accepting the contributions of others; indicating warmth and solidarity in one's attitudes toward other group members, listening attentively and seriously to the contributions of group members, giving these contributions full and adequate consideration even though one may not fully agree with them; conveying to the others a feeling that—"that which you are about to say is of importance to me."
2. *Harmonizing:* mediating the differences between other members, attempting to reconcile disagreements, relieving tension in conflict situations through jesting, or pouring oil on troubled waters, etc.
3. *Compromising:* operating from within a conflict in which one's ideas or position is involved. In this role one may offer a compromise by yielding status, admitting error, by disciplining oneself to maintain group harmony, or by "coming half-way"
4. *Gate-keeping and expediting:* attempting to keep communication channels open by encouraging or facilitating the participation of others or by proposing regulation of the flow of communication.
5. *Setting standards or ideals:* expressing standards for the group or applying standards in evaluating the quality of group processes.
6. *Observing:* keeping records of various aspects of group process and feeding such data with proposed interpretation into the group's evaluation of its own procedures. The contribution of the person performing this role is usually best received or most fittingly received by the group when this particular role has been performed by this person at the request of the group and when the report to the group avoids expressing value judgments, approval, or disapproval.
7. *Following:* going along with the group, more or less passively accepting the ideas of others, serving as an audience in group discussion and decision.

The *group task roles* all deal with the intellectual aspects of the group's work. These roles are performed by members of the group during the problem-solving process, which usually involves such steps as:

1. Defining the problem.
2. Listing the conditions or criteria which any satisfactory solution to the problem should meet.
3. Listing possible alternative solutions.
4. Obtaining the facts which bear on each possible solution.
5. Evaluating the suggested solutions in terms of the conditions which a satisfactory solution should meet.
6. Eliminating undesirable solutions and selecting the most desirable solution.

The *group building and maintenance roles* are, as the label suggests, concerned with the emotional life of the group. These roles deal with the group's attractiveness to its members, its warmth and supportiveness, its motivation and capacity to handle intellectual problems without bias and emotion, and its capacity to function as a "mature" group.

The membership roles proposed by Benne and Sheats, while they are not definitive or complete, nevertheless point to the many complex functions performed in groups and dealt with by leader and members. The members of a highly effective group handle these roles with sensitivity and skill, and they see that the emotional life of the group contributes to the performance of the group's tasks rather than interfering with them.[1]

The highly effective group does not hesitate, for example, to look at and deal with friction between its members. By openly putting such problems on the table and sincerely examining them, they can be dealt with constructively. An effective group does not have values which frown upon criticism or which prevent bringing friction between members into the open. As a consequence, it does not put the lid on these emotional pressures, causing them to simmer below the surface and be a constant source of disruption to the performance of group tasks. The

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[1] Although the Benne and Sheats list does not define each category unambiguously, it is useful in helping a group analyze and improve its processes. Another list has been prepared by Bales (1950) which has relatively precise definitions. The Bales list will be of interest to those who wish to do research on group processes or who wish to observe and analyze them systematic."

GROUP THINK

Irving L. Janis

"How could we have been so stupid?" President John F. Kennedy asked after he and a close group of advisers had blundered into the Bay of Pigs invasion. For the last two years I have been studying that question, as it applies not only to the Bay of Pigs decision-makers but also to those who led the United States into such other major fiascos as the failure to be prepared for the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Korean War stalemate and the escalation of the Vietnam War.

Stupidity certainly is not the explanation. The men who participated in making the Bay of Pigs decision, for instance, comprised one of the greatest arrays of intellectual talent in the history of American Government—Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Douglas Dillon, Robert Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Allen Dulles and others.

It also seemed to me that explanations were incomplete if they concentrated only on disturbances in the behavior of each individual within a decision-making body: temporary emotional states of elation, fear, or anger that reduce a man's mental efficiency, for example, or chronic blind spots arising from a man's social prejudices or idiosyncratic biases.

I preferred to broaden the picture by looking at the fiascos from the standpoint of group dynamics as it has been explored over the past three decades, first by the great social psychologist Kurt Lewin and later in many experimental situations by myself and other behavioral scientists. My conclusion after pouring over hundreds of relevant documents—historical reports about formal group meetings and informal conversations among the members—is that the groups that committed the fiascos were victims of what I call "group think."

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"GROUPY"

In each case study, I was surprised to discover the extent to which each group displayed the typical phenomena of social conformity that are regularly encountered in studies of group dynamics among ordinary citizens. For example, some of the phenomena appear to be completely in line with findings from social-psychological experiments showing that powerful social pressures are brought to bear by the members of a cohesive group whenever a dissident begins to voice his objections to a group consensus. Other phenomena are reminiscent of the shared illusions observed in encounter groups and friendship cliques when the members simultaneously reach a peak of "groupy" feelings.

Above all, there are numerous indications pointing to the development of group norms that bolster morale at the expense of critical thinking. One of the most common norms appears to be that of remaining loyal to the group by sticking with the policies to which the group has already committed itself, even when those policies are obviously working out badly and have unintended consequences that disturb the conscience of each member. This is one of the key characteristics of groupthink.

1984

I use the term groupthink as a quick and easy way to refer to the mode of thinking that persons engage in when *concurrence-seeking* becomes so dominant in a cohesive ingroup that it tends to override realistic appraisal of alternative courses of action. Groupthink is a term of the same order as the words in the newspeak vocabulary George Orwell used in his dismaying world of *1984*. In that context, groupthink takes on an invidious connotation. Exactly such a connotation is intended, since the term refers to a deterioration in mental efficiency, reality testing and moral judgments as a result of group pressures.

The symptoms of groupthink arise when the members of decision-making groups become motivated to avoid being too harsh in their judgments of the leaders' or their colleagues' ideas. They adopt a soft line of criticism, even in their own thinking. At their meetings, all the members are amiable and seek complete concurrence on every important issue, with no bickering or conflict to spoil the cozy, "we-feeling" atmosphere.

KILL

Paradoxically, soft-headed groups are often hard-hearted when it comes to dealing with outgroups or enemies. They find it relatively easy to resort to dehumanizing solutions—they will readily authorize bombing attacks that kill large numbers of civilians in the name of the noble cause of persuading an unfriendly government to negotiate at the peace table. They are unlikely to pursue the more difficult and controversial issues that arise when alternatives to a harsh military solution come up for discussion. Nor are they inclined to raise ethical issues that carry the implication that *this fine group of ours, with its humanitarianism and its high-minded principles, might be capable of adopting a course of action that is inhumane and immoral.*

NORMS

There is evidence from a number of social-psychological studies that as the members of a group feel more accepted by the others, which is a central feature of increased group cohesiveness, they display less overt conformity to group norms. Thus we would expect that the more cohesive a group becomes, the less the members will feel constrained to censor what they say out of fear of being socially punished for antagonizing the leader or any of their fellow members.

In contrast, the groupthink type of conformity tends to increase as group cohesiveness increases. Groupthink involves nondeliberate suppression of critical thoughts as a result of internalization of the group's norm's, which is quite different from deliberate suppression on the basis of external threats of social punishment. The more cohesive the group, the greater the inner compulsion on the part of each member to avoid creating disunity, which inclines him to believe in the soundness of whatever proposals are promoted by the leader or by a majority of the group's members.

In a cohesive group, the danger is not so much that each individual will fail to reveal his objections to what the others propose but that he will think the proposal is a good one, without attempting to carry out a careful, critical scrutiny of the pros and cons of the alternatives. When groupthink becomes dominant, there also is considerable suppression of deviant thoughts, but it takes the form of each person's deciding that his misgivings are not relevant and should be set aside, that the benefit of the doubt regarding any lingering uncertainties should be given to the group concensus.

STRESS

I do not mean to imply that all cohesive groups necessarily suffer from groupthink. All ingroups may have a mild tendency toward groupthink, displaying one or another of the symptoms from time to time, but it need not be so dominant as to influence the quality of the group's final decision. Neither do I mean to imply that there is anything necessarily inefficient or harmful about group decisions in general. On the contrary, a group whose members have properly defined roles, with traditions, concerning the procedures to follow in pursuing a critical inquiry, probably is capable of making better decisions than any individual group member working alone.

The problem is that the advantages of having decisions made by groups are often lost because of powerful psychological pressures that arise when the members work closely together, share the same set of values and, above all, face a crisis situation that puts everyone under intense stress.

The main principle of groupthink, which I offer in the spirit of Parkinson's Law, is this:

> *The more amiability and esprit de corps there is among the members of a policy-making ingroup, the greater the danger that independent critical thinking will be replaced by groupthink, which is likely to result in irrational and dehumanizing actions directed against outgroups.*

SYMPTOMS

In my studies of high-level governmental decision-makers, both civilian and military, I have found eight main symptoms of groupthink.

1 Invulnerability

Most or all of the members of the ingroup share an *illusion* of invulnerability that provides for them some degree of reassurance about obvious dangers and leads them to become overoptimistic and willing to take extraordinary risks. It also causes hem to fail to respond to clear warnings of danger.

The Kennedy ingroup, which uncritically accepted the Central Intelligence Agency's disastrous Bay of Pigs plan, operated on the false assumption that they ould keep secret the fact that the United States was responsible for the invasion f Cuba. Even after news of the plan began to leak out, their belief remained nshaken. They failed even to consider the danger that awaited them: a world-vide revulsion against the U.S.

A similar attitude appeared among the members of President Lyndon B. ohnson's ingroup, the "Tuesday Cabinet," which kept escalating the Vietnam Var despite repeated setbacks and failures. "There was a belief," Bill Moyers commented after he resigned, "that if we indicated a willingness to use our power, hey [the North Vietnamese] would get the message and back away from an all-ut confrontation. . . . There was a confidence—it was never bragged about, it was ust there—that when the chips were really down, the other people would fold."

A most poignant example of an illusion of invulnerability involves the ingroup round Admiral H. E. Kimmel, which failed to prepare for the possibility of a apanese attack on Pearl Harbor despite repeated warnings. Informed by his ntelligence chief that radio contact with Japanese aircraft carriers had been lost, immel joked about it: "What, you don't know where the carriers are? Do you nean to say that they could be rounding Diamond Head (at Honolulu) and you vouldn't know it?" The carriers were in fact moving fullsteam toward Kimmel's ommand post at the time. Laughing together about a danger signal, which labels t as a purely laughing matter, is a characteristic manifestation of groupthink.

2 Rationale

As we see, victims of groupthink ignore warnings: they also collectively contruct rationalizations in order to discount warnings and other forms of negative eedback that, taken seriously, might lead the group members to reconsider their assumptions each time they recommit themselves to past decisions. Why did the Johnson ingroup avoid reconsidering its escalation policy when time and again the expectations on which they based their decisions turned out to be wrong? James C. Thompson Jr., a Harvard historian who spent five years as an observing participant in both the State Department and the White House, tells us that the policymakers avoided critical discussion of their prior decisions and continually invented new rationalizations so that they could sincerely recommit themselves to defeating the North Vietnamese.

In the fall of 1964, before the bombing of North Vietnam began, some of the policymakers predicted that six weeks of air strikes would induce the North Vietnamese to seek peace talks. When someone asked, "What if they don't?" the answer was that another four weeks certainly would do the trick.

Later, after each setback, the ingroup agreed that by investing just a bit more effort (by stepping up the bomb tonnage a bit, for instance), their course of action would prove to be right. *The Pentagon Papers* bear out these observations.

In *The Limits of Intervention*, Townsend Hoopes, who was acting Secretary of the Air Force under Johnson, says that Walt W. Rostow in particular showed a remarkable capacity for what has been called "instant rationalization." According to Hoopes, Rostow buttressed the group's optimism about being on the road to victory by culling selected scraps of evidence from news reports or, if necessary, by inventing "plausible" forecasts that had no basis in evidence at all.

Admiral Kimmel's group rationalized away their warnings, too. Right up to December 7, 1941, they convinced themselves that the Japanese would never dare attempt a full-scale surprise assault against Hawaii because Japan's leaders would realize that it would precipitate an all-out war which the United States would surely win. They made no attempt to look at the situation through the eyes of the Japanese leaders—another manifestation of groupthink.

3 Morality

Victims of groupthink believe unquestioningly in the inherent morality of their ingroup; this belief inclines the members to ignore the ethical or moral consequences of their decisions.

Evidence that this symptom is at work usually is of a negative kind—the things that are left unsaid in group meetings. At least two influential persons had doubts about the morality of the Bay of Pigs adventure. One of them, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., presented his strong objections in a memorandum to President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk but suppressed them when he attended meetings of the Kennedy team. The other, Senator J. William Fulbright, was not a member of the group, but the President invited him to express his misgivings in a speech to the policymakers. However, when Fulbright finished speaking the President moved on to other agenda items without asking for reactions of the group.

David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory, in *The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam*, report that during 1966 President Johnson's ingroup was concerned primarily with selecting bomb targets in North Vietnam. They based their selections on four factors—the military advantage, the risk to American aircraft and pilots, the danger of forcing other countries into the fighting, and the danger of heavy civilian casualties. At their regular Tuesday luncheons, they weighed these factors the way school teachers grade examination papers, averaging them out. Though evidence on this point is scant, I suspect that the group's ritualistic adherence to a standardized procedure induced the members to feel morally justified in their destructive way of dealing with the Vietnamese people—after all, the danger of heavy civilian casualties from U.S. air strikes was taken into account on their checklists.

4 Stereotypes

Victims of groupthink hold stereotyped views of the leaders of enemy groups: they are so evil that genuine attempts at negotiating differences with them are unwarranted, or they are too weak or too stupid to deal effectively with whatever attempts the ingroup makes to defeat their purposes, no matter how risky the attempts are.

Kennedy's groupthinkers believed that Premier Fidel Castro's air force was so ineffectual that obsolete B-26s could knock it out completely in a surprise attack before the invasion began. They also believed that Castro's army was so weak that a small Cuban-exile brigade could establish a well-protected beachhead at the Bay of Pigs. In addition, they believed that Castro was not smart enough to put down any possible internal uprisings in support of the exiles. They were wrong on all three assumptions. Though much of the blame was attributable to faulty intelligence, the point is that none of Kennedy's advisers even questioned the CIA planners about these assumptions.

The Johnson advisers' sloganistic thinking about "the Communist apparatus" that was "working all around the world" (as Dean Rusk put it) led them to overlook the powerful nationalistic strivings of the North Vietnamese government and its efforts to ward off Chinese domination. The crudest of all stereotypes used by Johnson's inner circle to justify their policies was the domino theory ("if we don't stop the Reds in South Vietnam, tomorrow they will be in Hawaii and next week they will be in San Francisco," Johnson once said). The group so firmly accepted this stereotype that it became almost impossible for any adviser to introduce a more sophisticated viewpoint.

In the documents on Pearl Harbor, it is clear to see that the Navy commanders stationed in Hawaii had a naive image of Japan as a midget that would not dare to strike a blow against a powerful giant.

5 Pressure

Victims of groupthink apply direct pressure to any individual who momentarily expresses doubts about any of the group's shared illusions or who questions the validity of the arguments supporting a policy alternative favored by the majority. This gambit reinforces the concurrence-seeking norm that loyal members are expected to maintain.

President Kennedy probably was more active than anyone else in raising skeptical questions during the Bay of Pigs meetings, and yet he seems to have encouraged the group's docile, uncritical acceptance of defective arguments in favor of the CIA's plan. At every meeting, he allowed the CIA representatives to dominate the discussion. He permitted them to give their immediate refutations in response to each tentative doubt that one of the others expressed, instead of asking whether anyone shared the doubt or wanted to pursue the implications of the new worrisome issue that had just been raised. And at the most crucial meeting, when he was calling on each member to give his vote for or against the plan he did not call on Arthur Schlesinger, the one man there who was known by the President to have serious misgivings.

Historian Thompson informs us that whenever a member of Johnson's ingroup began to express doubts, the group used subtle social pressures to "domesticate" him. To start with, the dissenter was made to feel at home, provided that he lived up to two restrictions: 1) that he did not voice his doubts to outsiders, which would play into the hands of the opposition: and 2) that he kept his criticisms within the bounds of acceptable deviation, which meant not challenging any of the fundamental assumptions that went into the group's prior commitments. One such "domesticated dissenter" was Bill Moyers. When Moyers arrived at a meeting, Thompson tells us, the President greeted him with, "Well, here comes Mr. Stop-the-Bombing."

6 Self-Censorship

Victims of groupthink avoid deviating from what appears to be group consensus; they keep silent about their misgivings and even minimize to themselves the importance of their doubts.

As we have seen, Schlesinger was not at all hesitant about presenting his strong objections to the Bay of Pigs plan in a memorandum to the President and the Secretary of State. But he became keenly aware of his tendency to suppress objections at the White House meetings. "In the months after the Bay of Pigs I bitterly reproached myself for having kept so silent during those crucial discussions in the cabinet room," Schlesinger writes in *A Thousand Days.* "I can only explain my failure to do more than raise a few timid questions by reporting that one's impulse to blow the whistle on this nonsense was simply undone by the circumstances of the discussion."

7 Unanimity

Victims of groupthink share an *illusion* with unanimity within the group concerning almost all judgments expressed by members who speak in favor of the majority view. This symptom results partly from the preceding one, whose effects are augmented by the false assumption that any individual who remains silent during any part of the discussion is in full accord with what the others are saying.

When a group of persons who respect each other's opinions arrives at a unanimous view, each member is likely to feel that the belief must be true. This reliance on consensual validation within the group tends to replace individual critical thinking and reality testing, unless there are clear-cut disagreements among the members. In contemplating a course of action such as the invasion of Cuba, it is painful for the members to confront disagreements within their group, particularly if it becomes apparent that there are widely divergent views about whether the preferred course of action is too risky to undertake at all. Such disagreements are likely to arouse anxieties about making a serious error. Once the sense of unanimity is shattered, the members no longer can feel complacently confident about the decision they are inclined to make. Each man must then face the annoying realization that there are troublesome uncertainties and he must diligently seek out the best information he can get in order to decide for himself exactly how serious the risks might be. This is one of the unpleasant consequences of being in a group of hardheaded, critical thinkers.

To avoid such an unpleasant state, the members often become inclined, without quite realizing it, to prevent latent disagreements from surfacing when they are about to initiate a risky course of action. The group leader and the members support each other in playing up the areas of convergence in their thinking, at the expense of fully exploring divergencies that might reveal unsettled issues.

"Our meetings took place in a curious atmosphere of assumed consensus," Schlesinger writes. His additional comments clearly show that, curiously, the consensus was an illusion—an illusion that could be maintained only because the major participants did not reveal their own reasoning or discuss their idiosyncratic assumptions and vague reservations. Evidence from several sources makes it clear that even the three principals—President Kennedy, Rusk and McNamara—had widely differing assumptions about the invasion plan.

8 Mindguards

Victims of groupthink sometimes appoint themselves as mindguards to protect the leader and fellow members from adverse information that might break the complacency they shared about the effectiveness and morality of past decisions. At a large birthday party for his wife, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who had been constantly informed about the Cuban invasion plan, took Schlesinger aside and asked him why he was opposed. Kennedy listened coldly and said, "You may be right or you may be wrong, but the President has made his mind up. Don't push it any further. Now is the time for everyone to help him all they can."

Rusk also functioned as a highly effective mindguard by failing to transmit to the group the strong objections of three "outsiders" who had learned of the invasion plan—Undersecretary of State Chester Bowles, USIA Director Edward R. Murrow, and Rusk's intelligence chief, Roger Hilsman. Had Rusk done so, their warnings might have reinforced Schlesinger's memorandum and jolted some of Kennedy's ingroup, if not the President himself, into reconsidering the decision.

PRODUCTS

When a group of executives frequently displays most or all of these interrelated symptoms, a detailed study of their deliberations is likely to reveal a number of immediate consequences. These consequences are, in effect, products of poor decision-making practices because they lead to inadequate solutions to the problems being dealt with.

First, the group limits its discussions to a few alternative courses of action (often only two) without an initial survey of all the alternatives that might be worthy of consideration.

Second, the group fails to reexamine the course of action initially preferred by the majority after they learn of risks and drawbacks they had not considered originally.

Third, the members spend little or no time discussing whether there are nonobvious gains they may have overlooked or ways of reducing the seemingly prohibitive costs that made rejected alternatives appear undesirable to them.

Fourth, members make little or no attempt to obtain information from experts within their own organizations who might be able to supply more precise estimates of potential losses and gains.

Fifth, members show positive interest in facts and opinions that support their preferred policy; they tend to ignore facts and opinions that do not.

Sixth, members spend little time deliberating about how the chosen policy might be hindered by bureaucratic inertia, sabotaged by political opponents, or temporarily derailed by common accidents. Consequently, they fail to work out contingency plans to cope with foreseeable setbacks that could endanger the overall success of their chosen course.

SUPPORT

The search for an explanation of why groupthink occurs had led me through a quagmire of complicated theoretical issues in the murky area of human motivation. My belief, based on recent social psychological research, is that we can best understand the various symptoms of groupthink as a mutual effort among the group members to maintain self-esteem and emotional equanimity by providing social support to each other, especially at times when they share responsibility for making vital decisions.

Even when no important decision is pending, the typical administrator will begin to doubt the wisdom and morality of his past decisions each time he receives information about setbacks, particularly if the information is accompanied by negative feedback from prominent men who originally had been his supporters. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that individual members strive to develop unanimity and esprit de corps that will help bolster each other's morale, to create an optimistic outlook about the success of pending decisions, and to reaffirm the positive value of past policies to which all of them are committed.

PRIDE

Shared illusions of invulnerability, for example, can reduce anxiety about taking risks. Rationalizations help members believe that the risks are really not so bad after all. The assumption of inherent morality helps the members to avoid feelings of shame or guilt. Negative stereotypes function as stress-reducing devices to enhance a sense of moral righteousness as well as pride in a lofty mission.

The mutual enhancement of self-esteem and morale may have functional value in enabling the members to maintain their capacity to take action, but it has maladaptive consequences insofar as concurrence-seeking tendencies interfere with crucial, rational capacities and lead to serious errors of judgment.

While I have limited my study to decision-making bodies in Government, groupthink symptoms appear in business, industry and any other field where small, cohesive groups make the decisions. It is vital, then for all sorts of people—and especially group leaders—to know what steps they can take to prevent groupthink.

REMEDIES

To counterpoint my case studies of the major fiascos, I have also investigated two highly successful group enterprises, the formulation of the Marshall Plan in the Truman Administration and the handling of the Cuban missile crisis by President Kennedy and his advisers. I have found it instructive to examine the steps Kennedy took to change his group's decision-making processes. These changes ensured that the mistakes made by his Bay of Pigs ingroup were not repeated by the missile-crisis ingroup, even though the membership of both groups was essentially the same.

The following recommendations for preventing groupthink incorporate many of the good practices I discovered to be characteristic of the Marshall Plan and missile-crisis groups:

1. The leader of a policy-forming group should assign the role of critical evaluator to each member, encouraging the group to give high priority to open airing of objections and doubts. This practice needs to be reinforced by the leader's acceptance of criticism of his own judgments in order to discourage members from soft-pedaling their disagreements and from allowing their striving for concurrence to inhibit criticism.
2. When the key members of a hierarchy assign a policy-planning mission to any group within their own organization, they should adopt an impartial stance instead of stating preferences and expectations at the beginning. This will encourage open inquiry and impartial probing of a wide range of policy alternatives.
3. The organization routinely should set up several outside policy-planning and evaluation groups to work on the same policy questions, each deliberating under a different leader. This can prevent the insulation of an ingroup.
4. At intervals before the group reaches a final consensus, the leader should require each member to discuss the group's deliberations with associates in his own unit of the organization—assuming that those associates can be trusted to adhere to the same security regulations that govern the policy-makers—and then to report back their reactions to the group.
5. The group should invite one or more outside experts to each meeting on a staggered basis and encourage the experts to challenge the views of the core members.
6. At every general meeting of the group, whenever the agenda calls for an evaluation of policy alternatives, at least one member should play devil's advocate, functioning as a good lawyer in challenging the testimony of those who advocate the majority position.
7. Whenever the policy issue involves relations with a rival nation or organization, the group should devote a sizable block of time, perhaps an entire session, to a survey of all warning signals from the rivals and should write alternative scenarios on the rivals' intentions.
8. When the group is surveying policy alternatives for feasibility and effectiveness, it should from time to time divide into two or more subgroups to meet separately, under different chairmen, and then come back together to hammer out differences.
9. After reaching a preliminary consensus about what seems to be the best policy, the group should hold a "second-chance" meeting at which every member expresses as vividly as he can all his residual doubts, and rethinks the entire issue before making a definitive choice.

HOW

These recommendations have their disadvantages. To encourage the open airing of objections, for instance, might lead to prolonged and costly debates when a rapidly growing crisis requires immediate solution. It also could cause rejection, depression and anger. A leader's failure to set a norm might create cleavage between leader and members that could develop into a disruptive power struggle if the leader looks on the emerging consensus as anathema. Setting up outside evaluation groups might increase the risk of security leakage. Still, inventive executives who know their way around the organizational maze probably can figure out how to apply one or another of the prescriptions successfully, without harmful side effects.

They also could benefit from the advice of outside experts in the administrative and behavioral sciences. Though these experts have much to offer, they have had few chances to work on policy-making machinery within large organizations. As matters now stand, executives innovate only when they need new procedures to avoid repeating serious errors that have deflated their self-images.

In this era of atomic warheads, urban disorganization and ecocatastrophes, it seems to me that policymakers should collaborate with behavioral scientists and give top priority to preventing groupthink and its attendant fiascos.

MANAGING CONFLICT AND NEGOTIATING

We read or hear every day in the news about various types of negotiations. Nations often negotiate with each other over land or fishing rights, trade agreements, or diplomatic relations. Land developers often negotiate with city councils for variances on local zoning laws for their projects. Businesses often spend considerable time negotiating employee salaries and fringe benefits with labor unions. In a similar fashion, negotiations go on every day about matters ranging from high school athletic schedules to where a new office copying machine will be located. In one sense, all these negotiations, big or small, are similar. In every case, representatives from different groups meet to resolve some sort of conflict. Conflict is an inevitable fact of life and an inevitable fact of leadership. Researchers have found that first-line supervisors and middle-level managers can spend more than 25 percent of their time dealing with conflict (Thomas & Schmidt, 1976), and resolving conflicts has been found to be an important factor in leadership effectiveness (Morse & Wagner, 1978). In fact, successfully resolving conflicts is so important that it is a central theme in some of the literature about organizations (Brown, 1983; Ouchi, 1981; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Moreover, successfully resolving conflicts will become an increasingly important skill as leadership and management practice moves away from authoritarian directives and toward cooperative approaches emphasizing rational persuasion, collaboration, compromise, and solutions of mutual gain.

What Is Conflict?

There are times in life when we confront values worth fighting for. This is one such time.
George Bush (before the allied attack on Iraq) *Time*, January 21, 1991.

Should the Americans become embroiled, we will make them swim in their own blood.
Saddam Hussein (before the allied attack on Iraq) *Time*, January 21, 1991.

Conflict occurs when two opposing parties have interests or goals that appear to be incompatible (Robbins, 1986). There are a variety of sources of conflict in team, committee, work-group, and organizational settings. For example, conflict can occur when group or team members (*a*) have strong differences in values, beliefs, or goals; (*b*) have high levels of task or lateral interdependence; (*c*) are competing for scarce resources or rewards; (*d*) are under high levels of stress; or (*e*) face uncertain or incompatible demands (i.e., role ambiguity and role conflict) (Yukl, 1989). Conflict can also occur when leaders act in a manner inconsistent with the vision and goals they have articulated for the organization (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1984). Of these factors contributing to the level of conflict within or between groups, teams, or committees, probably the most important source of conflict is the lack of communication between parties (Thomas & Schmidt, 1976). Because many conflicts are the result of misunder-

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

HIGHLIGHT 14–3

Managing Creativity

R. T. Hogan and Morrison (in press) maintained that people who are seen as more creative tend to have several distinguishing personality characteristics. In general, creative people are more open to information and experience, have high energy, can be personally assertive and even domineering, react emotionally to events, are impulsive, are more interested in music and art than in hunting and sports, and finally are very motivated to prove themselves (i.e., are concerned with personal adequacy). Thus, creative people tend to be independent, willful, impractical, unconcerned with money, idealistic, and nonconforming. Given that these tendencies may not make them ideal followers, the interesting question raised by Hogan and Morrison is, How does one lead or manage creative individuals?

This question becomes even more interesting when considering the personality traits of successful leaders or managers. As discussed in Chapter Seven, successful leaders tend to be intelligent, dominant, conscientious, stable, calm, goal-oriented, outgoing, and somewhat conventional. Thus, one might think that the personalities of creative followers and successful leaders might be the source of considerable conflict and make them natural enemies in organizational settings. Because many organizations depend on creativity to grow and prosper, being able to successfully lead creative individuals may be a crucial aspect of success for these organizations.

Given that creative people already possess technical expertise, imaginative thinking skills, and intrinsic motivation, Hogan and Morrison suggested that leaders take the following steps to successfully lead creative followers:

1. *Set goals.* Because creative people value freedom and independence, this step will be best accomplished if leaders use a high level of participation in the goal-setting process. Leaders should ask followers what they can accomplish in a particular time frame.
2. *Provide adequate resources.* Followers will be much more creative if they have the proper equipment to work with, as they can devote their time to resolving the problem rather than spending time finding the equipment to get the job done.
3. *Reduce time pressures, but keep followers on track.* Try to set realistic milestones when setting goals, and make organizational rewards contingent on reaching these milestones. Moreover, leaders need to be well organized to acquire necessary resources and to keep the project on track.
4. *Consider nonmonetary as well as monetary rewards.* Creative people often gain satisfaction from resolving the problem at hand, not from monetary rewards. Thus, feedback should be aimed at enhancing their feelings of personal adequacy. Monetary rewards perceived to be controlling may decrease rather than increase motivation toward the task.

HIGHLIGHT 14–3 *(concluded)*

5. *Recognize that creativity is evolutionary, not revolutionary.* Although followers can create truly novel products (such as the Xerox machine), often the key to creativity is continuous product improvement. Making next year's product faster, lighter, cheaper, or more efficient requires minor modifications that can, over time, culminate in major revolutions. Thus, it may be helpful if leaders think of creativity more in terms of small innovations, not major breakthroughs.

Source: R. T. Hogan and J. Morrison, "Managing Creativity." ed. A. Montouri. *Create & Be Free: Essays in Honor of Frank Barron* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, in press).

standings and communication breakdowns, leaders can minimize the level of conflict within and between groups by improving their communication and listening skills as well as spending time networking with others (Yukl, 1989).

Before reviewing specific negotiation tips and conflict-resolution strategies, it is necessary to describe several aspects of conflict that can have an impact on the resolution process. First, the "size" of an issue ("bigger" issues are more difficult to resolve), the extent to which parties define the problem egocentrically (how much they have personally invested in the problem), and the existence of hidden agendas (unstated but important concerns or objectives) can all affect the conflict resolution process. Second, seeing a conflict situation in win/lose or either/or terms restricts the (perceived) possible outcomes to either total satisfaction or total frustration. A similar but less extreme variant is to see a situation in zero-sum terms. A **zero-sum situation** is one in which intermediate degrees of satisfaction are possible (i.e., not either/or), but wherein increases in one party's satisfaction inherently decrease the other party's satisfaction, and vice versa. Still another variant can be when parties perceive a conflict as unresolvable. In such cases neither party gains at the expense of the other, but each continues to perceive the other as an obstacle to satisfaction (Thomas, 1976).

Is Conflict Always Bad?

So far, we have described conflict as an inherently negative aspect of any group, team, committee, or organization. This certainly was the prevailing view of conflict among researchers during the 1930s and 40s, and it probably also represents the way many people are raised today (i.e., most people have a strong value of minimizing or avoiding conflict). Today, researchers studying group effectiveness have come to a different conclusion. Some level of conflict may be helpful in order to bolster innovation and performance (Robbins, 1986). Conflict that enhances group productivity is viewed as useful, and conflict that

HIGHLIGHT 14–4

The Creative Genius of Walt Disney

Walt Disney's creative genius has imprinted our cultural landscape with characters and stories more familiar to many people than their neighbors. Read through this brief description of his life and career, and as you do so think about what different factors contributed to his effectiveness as a creative leader. Do you think he practiced the principles of managing creativity described in Highlight 14–3?

Disney built a major studio that produced motion picture masterpieces like *Snow White* and *Fantasia*. Throughout his career, he pioneered technical innovations that set new standards for the industry. These innovations included introducing sound and color to cartoons, inventing special cameras to create new effects in films, and developing sophisticated robotics. He changed the nature of amusement parks in America with Disneyland and Walt Disney World. In fact, these parks are so visionary they've been required study at many schools of architecture. Far more than "fun places," they are serious experiments in urban design, testing radical ideas for solving the problems facing our cities.

For example, the Magic Kingdom at Walt Disney World is really a small city built on top of a huge service-and-utility tunneled infrastructure. The entire park was designed from the start with a quiet and efficient monorail system for mass transit. The area is unique, probably in the world, for setting nearly one third of its acreage aside for conservation of natural habitat. It is, in sum, a city built with people in mind and a plan for the future. Disney originally intended that EPCOT be a test bed of concepts of planning and living that would always be 25 years ahead of its time and always evolving (EPCOT stands for Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow). Walt Disney, who once experimented with drawings that move, became a designer of communities for the 21st century (P. Blake, 1972, 1973).

What kind of a person was Walt Disney? What enabled him to accomplish all this? Certainly his creativity and resourcefulness were apparent early in his life. He was a cartoonist for his school paper, and while serving overseas as an ambulance driver during World War I (he was too young for actual military duty), he built a small business selling souvenir German helmets that appeared to have weathered rough combat. (He actually used new helmets painted to look old and used. A partner pounded dents in the helmets and shot holes in them; they even got human hair from a barber to put in the holes!) (Miller, 1956).

Disney always was committed to making his product the best, from souvenir war helmets to his films. He continuously experimented with new ways of doing things, innovating new technologies to produce the effects he wanted. In the 1930s, he had his special effects staffs make slow-motion pictures of bubbles popping, smoke blowing, and balls bouncing to improve their animation of such actions. He developed rigorous training programs for his animation staffs to help them draw more lifelike cartoons, like learning to blur fast-moving figures. And he had an uncanny sense of timing. For example, Disney profited from the emergence of sound and color in live-action film by seeing their potential application to animated subjects sooner and more clearly than others. He acquired exclusive rights to the Technicolor process because he showed commitment to the new technique when other cartoon producers were skeptical (Thomas, 1976).

Disney had a genius for spotting talent, and he surrounded himself with other creative people, even eccentric ones. After he found them, though, he was a taskmaster. At work, he was all business, not what you might call a people person. He did not like dealing with others' personal problems, and he had a well-known temper. One of Disney's biographers wrote the following:

> He was incapable of small talk. His employees learned not to engage him in the banter that animators used as relief from the tedium of drawing. His mind was too involved with the problems of the moment—a storyline that defied solution; a cartoon that failed to evoke laughs at the preview; an overdue check from Columbia Pictures that threatened next week's payroll. His workers learned not to be offended if he passed them in the hallway without a word; they knew that he was preoccupied with a studio problem. (Thomas, 1976, p. 111).

Disney also had a sixth sense about what would appeal broadly to the American culture, young and old. He trusted his intuition and judgment to an extraordinary degree, and took great risks with his studio to back them up. Furthermore, he made sure that every project had his personal stamp on it, including such details as what voices to use for the various characters. He was unique in Hollywood for the close personal supervison he gave his work. Walt Disney's name on a film meant it had received his individual touch (Thomas, 1976).

hinders group performance is viewed as counterproductive (Robbins, 1986). Various possible positive and negative effects of conflict are listed in Table 14–2.

Along these lines, researchers have found that conflict can cause a radical change in political power (Bass, 1985; Weber, 1947; Willner, 1984), as well as dramatic changes in organizational structure and design, group cohesiveness, and group or organizational effectiveness (Roberts & Bradley, 1988; Kanter, 1983). Nevertheless, it is important to realize that this current conceptualization of conflict is still somewhat limited in scope. For example, increasing the level of conflict within a group or team may enhance immediate performance but may also have a disastrous effect on organizational climate and turnover. As described in Chapter Four, leaders may be evaluated in terms of many criteria, only one of which is group performance. Thus, leaders should probably use criteria such as turnover and absenteeism rates and followers' satisfaction or organizational climate ratings in addition to measures of group performance when trying to determine whether conflict is good or bad. Leaders are cautioned against using group performance alone, as these indices may not reveal the overall effects of conflict on the group or team.

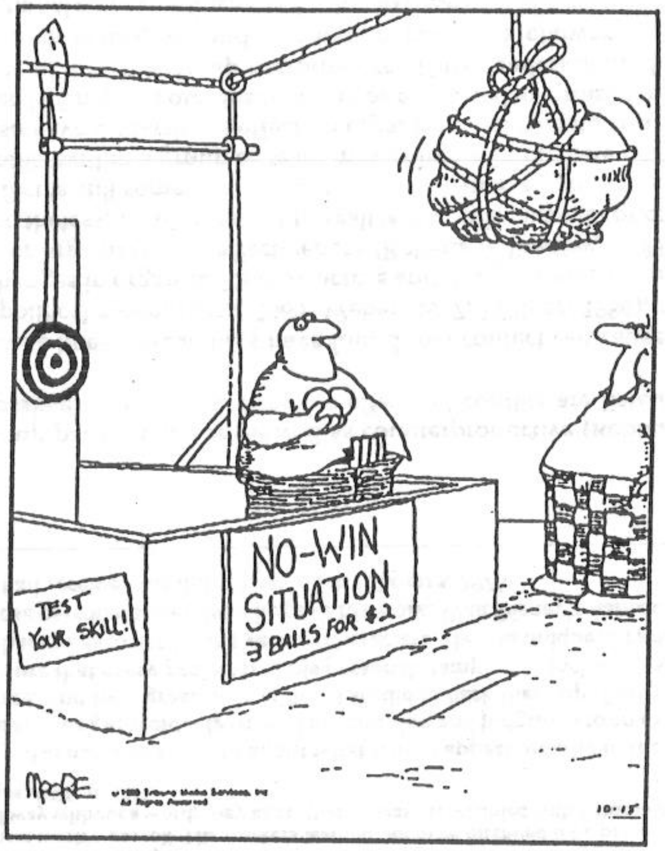
Negotiation Tips

Given that conflicts can have detrimental effects, and that a leader's effectiveness depends to some extent on his or her skills in managing conflict with and between groups or teams, the following negotiation tips are provided. For the most part, the negotiation tips are steps all leaders should consider when trying to resolve conflicts. These tips, from Fisher and Ury (1981), include taking the time to prepare for a negotiating session; keeping the people and problems separate; focusing on issues, not positions; and seeking win-win outcomes.

To successfully resolve conflicts, leaders may need to *spend considerable time preparing for a negotiating session.* Leaders should anticipate each side's key concerns and issues, attitudes, possible negotiating strategies, and goals. Fisher and Ury (1981) also advise negotiators to *separate the people from the problem.* Because all negotiations involve substantive issues *and* relationships between negotiators, it is easy for these parts to become entangled. When that happens, parties may inadvertently treat the people and the problem as though they were the same. For example, a group of teachers angry that their salary has not been raised for the fourth year in a row may direct their personal bitterness toward the school board president. However, reactions such as these are usually a mistake, as the decision may be out of the other party's hands, and personally attacking the other party often only serves to make the conflict even more difficult to resolve.

There are several things leaders can do to separate the people from the problem. First, leaders should not let their fears color their perceptions of each side's intentions. It is easy to attribute negative qualities to others when one feels threatened. Similarly, it does no good to blame the other side for one's own problems (Blake, Shepard, & Mouton, 1964). Even if it is justified, it is still usually counterproductive. Another thing leaders can do to separate the people from the problem is to communicate clearly. Earlier in this text, we suggested techniques for active listening. Those guidelines are especially helpful in negotiating and resolving conflicts.

Another of Fisher and Ury's (1981) main points is to *focus on interests, not positions.* Focusing on interests depends on understanding the difference between interests and positions. Here is one example. Say Raoul had the same reserved seats to the local symphony every season for several years and that he was just notified he will no longer get his usual tickets. Feeling irate, he goes to the ticket office to complain. One approach he could take would be to demand the same seats he has always had; this would be his *position.* A different approach would be to find alternative seats that are just as satisfactory as his old seats had been; this would be his *interest.* In negotiating, it is much more constructive to satisfy



Tribune Media Services

TABLE 14–2
Possible Effects of Conflict

Possible Positive Effects of Conflict	*Possible Negative Effects of Conflict*
Increased effort	Reduced productivity
Feelings get aired	Decreased communication
Better understanding of others	Negative feelings
Impetus for change	Stress
Better decision making	Poorer decision making
Key issues surfaced	Decreased cooperation
Critical thinking stimulated	Political backstabbing

interests than to fight over positions. Furthermore, it is important to focus on both your counterpart's interests (not position) as well as your own interests (not position).

Finally, winning a negotiation at your counterpart's expense is likely to be only a short-term gain. Leaders should attempt to work out a resolution by looking at long-term rather than short-term goals, and they should try to build a working relationship that will endure and be mutually trusting and beneficial beyond the present negotiation. Along these lines, leaders should always seek win-win outcomes, which try to satisfy both sides' needs and continuing interests. This often takes creative problem solving to find new options that provide gains for both sides. Realistically, however, not all situations may be conducive to seeking win-win outcomes (see Highlight 14-5).

Conflict Resolution Strategies

In addition to spending time understanding and clarifying positions, separating people from the problem, and focusing on interests, there are five strategies or approaches leaders can use to resolve conflicts. Perhaps the best way to differentiate between these five strategies is to think of conflict resolution in terms of two independent dimensions: cooperativeness/uncooperativeness and assertiveness/unassertiveness (see Figure 14-2). Parties in conflict do vary in their commitment to satisfy the other's concerns, but they also vary in the extent to which they assertively stand up for their own concerns (Thomas, 1976). Thus, conflict resolution can be understood in terms of how cooperative or uncooperative the parties are *and* how assertive or unassertive they are.

Using this two-dimension scheme, Thomas (1976) described five general approaches to managing conflict:

1. **Competition** reflects a desire to achieve one's own ends at the expense of someone else. This is domination, also known as a win-lose orientation.
2. **Accommodation** reflects a mirror-image of competition, entirely giving in to someone else's concerns without making any effort to achieve one's own ends. This is a tactic of appeasement.
3. **Sharing** is an approach that represents a compromise between domination and appeasement. Both parties give up something, yet both parties get something. Both parties are moderately, but incompletely, satisfied.
4. **Collaboration** reflects an effort to fully satisfy both parties. This is a problem-solving approach that requires the integration of each party's concerns.
5. **Avoidance** involves indifference to the concerns of both parties. It reflects a withdrawal from or neglect of any party's interests.

HIGHLIGHT 14-5

How to Swim with Sharks

It is dangerous to swim with sharks, but not all sharks are found in the water. Some people may behave like sharks, and a best-selling book for executives written a few years ago took its title from that theme. However, an article appeared in the journal *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* nearly two decades ago claiming to be a translated version of an essay written in France more than a century earlier for sponge divers (Cousteau, 1973). The essay notes that while no one *wants* to swim with sharks, it is an occupational hazard for certain people. For those who must swim with sharks, it can be essential to follow certain rules. See if you think the following rules for interacting with the sharks of the sea serve as useful analogies for interacting with the sharks of everyday life.

Rule 1: Assume any unidentified fish is a shark. Just because a fish may be acting in a docile manner does not mean it is not a shark. The real test is how it will act when blood is in the water.

Rule 2: Don't bleed. Bleeding will prompt even more aggressive behavior and the involvement of even more sharks. Of course, it is not easy to keep from bleeding when injured. Those who cannot do so are advised not to swim with sharks at all.

Rule 3: Confront aggression quickly. Sharks usually give warning before attacking a swimmer. Swimmers should watch for indications an attack is imminent and take prompt counteraction. A blow to the nose is often appropriate since it shows you understand the shark's intentions and will respond in kind. It is particularly dangerous to behave in an ingratiating manner toward sharks. People who once held this erroneous view often can be identified by a missing limb.

Rule 4: Get out of the water if anyone starts bleeding. Previously docile sharks may begin attacking if blood is in the water. Their behavior can become so irrational, even including attacking themselves, that it is safest to remove yourself entirely from the situation.

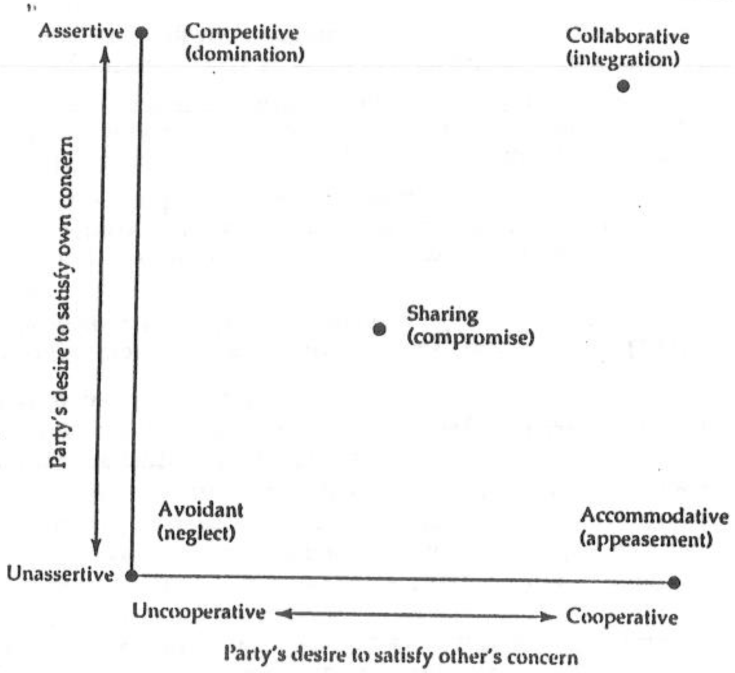
Rule 5: Create dissension among the attackers. Sharks are self-centered and rarely act in an organized fashion with other sharks. This significantly reduces the risk of swimming with sharks. Every now and then, however, sharks may launch a coordinated attack. The best strategy then is to create internal dissension among them since they already are quite prone to it; often sharks will fight among themselves over trivial or minor things. By the time their internal conflict is settled, sharks often have forgotten about their organized attack.

Rule 6: Never divert a shark attack toward another swimmer. Please observe this final item of swimming etiquette.

Does one of these approaches seem clearly a better method than the other to you? Each of them does, at least, reflect certain culturally valued modes of behavior (Thomas, 1977). For example, the esteem many people hold for athletic, business, and military heroes reflects our cultural valuation of competition. Valuation of a pragmatic approach to settling problems is reflected in the com-

FIGURE 14–2

Five Conflict-Handling Orientations, Plotted According to Party's Desire to Satisfy Own and Other's Concerns


Assertive
Competitive (domination)
Collaborative (integration)
Party's desire to satisfy own concern
Sharing (compromise)
Avoidant (neglect)
Accommodative (appeasement)
Unassertive
Uncooperative
Cooperative
Party's desire to satisfy other's concern

Source: Thomas, K. W. "Conflict and Conflict Management." In *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, ed. M. D. Dunnette. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976. Used by permission of Marvin D. Dunnette.

promising approach. Cultural values of unselfishness, kindness, and generosity are reflected in accommodation, and even avoidance has roots in philosophies that emphasize caution, diplomacy, and turning away from worldly concerns. These cultural roots to each of the approaches to managing conflict suggest that no single one is likely to be the right one all the time. There probably are circumstances when each of the modes of conflict resolution can be appropriate. Rather than seeking to find some single best approach to managing conflict, it may be wisest to appreciate the relative advantages and disadvantages of all approaches, and the circumstances when each may be most appropriate. A summary of experienced leaders' recommendations for when to use each strategy is presented in Table 14–3 (Thomas, 1977).

TABLE 14–3

Situations in Which to Use the Five Approaches to Conflict

Competing

1. When quick, decisive action is vital (e.g., emergencies).
2. On important issues where unpopular actions need implementing (e.g., cost cutting, enforcing unpopular rules, discipline).
3. On issues vital to company welfare when you know you're right.
4. Against people who take advantage of noncompetitive behavior.

Collaborating

1. To find an integrative solution when both sets of concerns are too important to be compromised.
2. When your objective is to learn.
3. To merge insights from people with different perspectives.
4. To gain commitment by incorporating concerns into a consensus.
5. To work through feelings that have interfered with a relationship.

Compromising

1. When goals are important, but not worth the effort or potential disruption of more assertive modes.
2. When opponents with equal power are committed to mutually exclusive goals.
3. To achieve temporary settlements to complex issues.
4. To arrive at expedient solutions under time pressure.
5. As a backup when collaboration or competition is unsuccessful.

Avoiding

1. When an issue is trivial, or more important issues are pressing.
2. When you perceive no chance of satisfying your concerns.
3. When potential disruption outweighs the benefits of resolution.
4. To let people cool down and regain perspective.
5. When gathering information supersedes immediate decision.
6. When others can resolve the conflict more effectively.
7. When issues seem tangential or symptomatic of other issues.

Accommodating

1. When you find you are wrong—to allow a better position to be heard, to learn, and to show your reasonableness.
2. When issues are more important to others than yourself—to satisfy others and maintain cooperation.
3. To build social credits for later issues.
4. To minimize loss when you are outmatched and losing.
5. When harmony and stability are especially important.
6. To allow subordinates to develop by learning from mistakes.

Source: K. W. Thomas, "Toward Multidimensional Values in Teaching: The Example of Conflict Management," *Academy of Management Review* 2, no. 3, (1977), pp. 484–490. Used with permission.

MANAGING STRESS

As discussed in Chapter Thirteen, too much stress can take a toll on individuals and their organizations. For individuals, the toll can be in terms of their health, mental and emotional well-being, job performance, or interpersonal relationships. For organizations, the toll includes decreased productivity and increased employee absenteeism, turnover, and medical costs. It stands to reason, then, that leaders in any activity should know something about stress. Leaders should understand the nature of stress because the leadership role itself can be stressful and because leaders' stress can impair the performance and well-being of followers. To prevent stress from becoming so excessive that it takes a toll in some important dimension of your own or your followers' lives, the following rules and practices for effective stress management are provided.

One of the most important steps in managing stress is to *monitor your own and your followers' stress levels.* Although this seems straighforward, a seemingly paradoxical fact about stress is that it often takes a toll without one's conscious awareness. A person experiencing excessive stress might manifest various symptoms apparent to everyone but him- or herself. For that reason, it is useful to develop the habit of regularly attending to some of the warning signs that your stress level may be getting too high. Some of the warning signs of stress are in Table14-4. If you answered yes to any of these questions, then your own or your followers' stress levels may be getting too high and it would probably be a good idea to put some of the following stress management strategies into practice right away. On the other hand, answering some of the questions affirmatively does not necessarily mean your stress level is too high. There could, for example, be some other physiological explanation.

Monitoring your stress will reduce the chances that it will build to an unhealthy level before you take action, but monitoring is not enough. Leaders also need to *identify what is causing the stress.* It may seem at first that the causes of stress always will be obvious, but that is not true. Sometimes the problems are clear enough even if the solutions are not (e.g., family finances, or working in a job with a high workload and lots of deadlines). Other times, however, it may be difficult to identify the root problem. For example, a coach may attribute his anger to the losing record of his team, not recognizing that a bigger cause of his emotional distress may be the problems he is having at home with his teenage son. A worker may feel frustrated because her boss overloads her with work, not realizing that her own unassertiveness keeps her from expressing her feelings to her boss. Problem solving can be applied constructively to managing stress, but only if the problem is identified properly in the first place. Once the problem is identified, then a plan for minimizing stress or the effects of the stressor can be developed.

Practicing a healthy lifestyle is one of the best ways to minimize stress. There are no substitutes for balanced nutrition, regular exercise, adequate sleep, abstention from tobacco products, and drinking only moderate amounts of alcohol (if at all) as keys to a healthy life. A long-term study of the lifestyles of nearly 7,000 adults confirmed these as independent factors contributing to wellness and the absence of stress symptoms (Wiley & Camacho, 1980). Insufficient sleep saps energy, interferes with alertness and judgment, increases irritability, and lowers resistance to illness. Exercise, besides being a valuable part of any long-term health strategy, is also an excellent way to reduce tension.

TABLE 14–4
Stress Symptoms

- **Are you behaving "unlike" yourself?**
- **Has your mood become negative, hostile, or depressed?**
- **Do you have difficulty sleeping?**
- **Are you defensive or touchy?**
- **Are your relationships suffering?**
- **Have you made more mistakes or bad decisions lately?**
- **Have you lost interest in normally enjoyable activities?**
- **Are you using alcohol or other drugs?**
- **Do you seem to have little energy?**
- **Do you worry a lot?**
- **Are you nervous much of the time?**
- **Have you been undereating or overeating?**
- **Have you had an increase in headaches or back pains?**

This checklist can also be used to help determine the level of stress in followers.

Although physical exercise is a good relaxation technique, sometimes you will need to relax but not have an opportunity to get a workout. Having practiced other relaxation techniques will come in handy when the situation prevents strenuous exercise. Also, of course, some people simply prefer alternate relaxation techniques to exercise. *Deep-breathing techniques, progressive muscle relaxation,* and *thinking of calming words and images* can be powerful on-the-spot calming techniques to reduce arousal level. They are applicable in stressful situations ranging from job interviews to sports. The effectiveness of these techniques is somewhat a matter of personal preference, and no single one is best for all purposes or all people.

Another powerful antidote to stress is having a *network of close and supportive relationships* with others (Berkman & Syme, 1979). People who have close ties to others through marriage, church membership, or other groups tend to be healthier than those with weaker social ties. Also, social supports of various kinds (e.g., the supportiveness of one's spouse, one's co-workers, or boss) can buffer the impact of job stress (Cummings, 1990; Jayaratne, Himle, & Chess, 1988), and unit cohesion is believed to be a critical element of soldiers' ability to withstand even the extreme physical and psychological stresses of combat (West Point Associates, 1988). Leaders can play a constructive role in developing mutual supportiveness and cohesiveness among subordinates, and their own open and frank communication with subordinates is especially important when a situation is ambiguous as well as stressful.

As we noted earlier, the stressfulness of any event depends partly on the way one interprets it, not just on the event itself. For example, a poor grade on an examination may be more stressful for one student than for another, just as a rebuke from a boss may be more stressful for one worker than for another. This is partly due, of course, to the fact individuals "invest" themselves in activities to different degrees because they value different things. A problem in an area of heavy personal investment is more stressful than one in an area of little personal investment. It goes deeper than that, however. Managing stress effectively depends on *keeping things in perspective.* This is difficult for some people because they have a style of interpreting events that aggravates their felt stress.

Individuals who have relatively complex self-concepts, as measured by the number of different ways they describe or see themselves, are less susceptible to common stress-related complaints than are people with lesser degrees of "self-complexity" (Linville, 1987). Take, for example, someone who has suffered a setback at work, such as having lost out to a colleague for a desired promotion. Someone low in self-complexity (e.g., a person whose self-concept is defined solely in terms of professional success) could be devastated by the event. Low self-complexity implies a lack of resilience to threats to one's ego. Consider, on the other hand, someone with high self-complexity facing the same setback. The person could understandably feel disappointed and perhaps dejected about work, but if she were high in self-complexity, then the event's impact would be buffered by the existence of relatively uncontaminated areas of positive self-image. For example, she might base her feelings of professional success on more criteria than just getting (or not getting) a promotion. Other criteria, such as being highly respected by peers, may be even more important bases for her feelings of professional success. Furthermore, other dimensions of her life (e.g., her leadership in the local Democratic party, support to her family, etc.) may provide more areas of positive self-image.

Unfortunately, because there are no shortcuts to developing self-complexity, it is not really a viable stress management strategy. There are other cognitive approaches to stress management, however, that can produce more immediate results. These approaches have the common goal of changing a person's self-talk about stressful events. One of the simplest of these to apply is called the A-B-C model (Ellis & Harper, 1975; Steinmetz, Blankenship, Brown, Hall, & Miller, 1980).

To appreciate the usefulness of the A-B-C model, it is helpful to consider the chain of events that precedes feelings of stress. Sometimes people think of this as a two-step sequence. Something *external* happens (i.e., a stressful event), and then something *internal* follows (i.e., symptoms of stress). We can depict the sequence like this:

A. Triggering Event
   (e.g., knocking your boss's coffee onto his lap)
C. Feelings and Behaviors
   (e.g., anxiety, fear, embarrassment, perspiration)

In other words, many people think their feelings and behaviors result directly from external events. Such a view, however, leaves out the critical role played by our thoughts, or self-talk. The actual sequence looks like this:

A. Triggering Event
   (knocking your boss's coffee onto his lap)
B. Your Thinking
   ("He must think I'm a real jerk.")
C. Feelings and Behaviors
   (anxiety, fear, embarrassment, perspiration)

From this perspective you can see the causal role played by inner dialogue, or self-talk, in contributing to feelings of stress. Such inner dialogue can be rational or irrational, constructive or destructive—and which it will be is under the individual's control. People gain considerable freedom from stress when they realize that by changing their own self-talk they can control their emotional responses to events around them. Consider a different sequence for our scenario:

A. Triggering Event
   (knocking your boss's coffee onto his lap)
B. Your Thinking
   ("Darn it! But it was just an accident.")
C. Feelings and Behavior
   (apologizing and helping clean up)

Thus, a particular incident can be interpreted in several different ways, some likely to increase feelings of stress and distress, and others likely to maintain self-esteem and positive coping. You will become better at coping with stress as you practice listening to your inner dialogue and changing destructive self-talk to constructive self-talk. Even this is not a simple change to make, however. Changing self-talk is more difficult than you might think, especially in emotionalized situations. Because self-talk is covert, spontaneous, fleeting, and reflexive (McKay, Davis, & Fanning, 1981), it, like any bad habit, can be difficult to change. Nevertheless, precisely because self-talk *is* just a habit, you can change it.

Finally, leaders need to recognize their role in their followers' stress levels. A leader in a stressful situation who is visibly manifesting some of the symptoms found in Table 14-3 is not going to set much of an example for followers. On the contrary, because followers look to leaders for guidance and support, these behaviors and symptoms could become contagious and may serve to increase followers' stress levels. Leaders need to recognize the importance of role modeling in reducing (or increasing) followers' stress levels. Leaders also need to make sure their style of interacting with subordinates does not make the leaders "stress carriers."

DIAGNOSING PERFORMANCE PROBLEMS IN INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, AND ORGANIZATIONS

One way to integrate many of the topics covered in Parts I through IV is to discuss how they can impact individual, group, and organizational performance. The model in Figure 14-3 provides a framework for these topics and is a modification of models developed by J.P. Campbell (1977) and J.P. Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, and Sager (in press). We hypothesize that performance (i.e., those behaviors directed toward accomplished or satisfied goals) is a function of abilities, skills, task understanding, choice to perform, level of effort and persistence, resources, group factors, and organizational and environmental factors. As a multiplicative rather than compensatory model, a deficit in any one component should result in a substantial decrement in performance that cannot easily be made up by increasing other components. Like the example described earlier of the high school basketball team playing the Chicago Bulls, exerting more effort will not always compensate for lacking the abilities or skills needed for performance.

The model provides general guidance about the actions leaders can take to improve follower, group, or organizational performance. The model also indicates how certain leader actions actually may disrupt performance. Primarily, though, we offer the model as a tool to show how ideas from several preceding chapters all play a part in performance.

FIGURE 14-3
A Model of Performance

Performance = *f* (Abilities × Skills × Task understanding
× Choice to perform × Level of effort and persistence
× Necessary resources × Group factors
× Organizational and environmental factors)

Abilities

Abilities include such individual difference variables as athleticism, intelligence, and creativity, and are characteristics that are relatively difficult to change with training. In other words, abilities represent raw talent. For example, it would probably be impossible to take a person off the street and train him to be as good a hockey player as Wayne Gretzky or Mario Lemieux, just as it would be very difficult to train people to have extremely high levels of intelligence or creativity. Because abilities are relatively insensitve to training interventions, sending people who lack the required abilities to more training or motivating them to work harder will have relatively little effect on performance. Instead, performance deficits in this area can be more easily resolved by selecting those individuals with the abilities needed for performance.

Skills

As discussed in Chapter Nine, skills consist of a well-defined body of knowledge, a set of related behaviors, and clear criteria of competent performance. Individuals or groups often have the abilities but lack the necessary skills to perform at a high level. Such is the case with many athletic teams or musical groups at the beginning of a season or when a work group gets a new set of equipment or responsibility for tasks they have no previous experience with. Skills are very amenable to training, and leaders with high levels of technical expertise may perform the training themselves, see that it is obtained in other ways on the job, or send their people to training programs in order to improve followers' skill levels.

Task Understanding

Performance problems often occur because individuals or groups do not understand what they are supposed to do. There are many instances where talented, skilled groups accomplished the wrong objective because of miscommunication or sat idly by waiting for instructions that never arrived. Leaders can minimize the effects of communication breakdowns on performance by improving their own communciation and listening skills. Leaders must do more than communicate clearly; they must ensure that their messages are fully understood.

Choice to Perform

Sometimes people will choose not to perform a task even when they have the necessary abilities, skills, and task understanding. If this occurs, leaders should first try to learn why. For example, the task may involve risks the leader is unaware of. Another possibility, of course, is that motivation is low. If this is the case, leaders should replace nonperformers with others who are more intrinsically interested in the task or more achievement-oriented. Leaders could also increase followers' choice to perform by setting goals, restructuring rewards to encourage performance, making the paths between effort-to-performance and performance-to-reward clearer, or redesigning the task to increase skill variety, autonomy, or feedback. If all these interventions fail, and the tasks to be performed are reasonable, then leaders may need to use punishment as a sanction for choosing not to perform.

Level of Effort and Persistence

Sometimes individuals or groups just seem to run out of steam. If this happens, then leaders need to communicate with followers to find out why their effort has dropped off. They may find that more periodic feedback is all that is needed to increase the level of effort or return effort to prior levels. Other interventions to enhance the level of effort and persistence include selecting followers who are intrinsically motivated by the task, setting longer-term goals, changing rewards to promote long-term rather than short-term effort, and redesigning the job to provide greater responsibility, autonomy, task significance, or task identity.

Necessary Resources

Performance also can be limited when followers lack the resources needed to get the job done. These may include equipment, computers, supplies, or even time, money, and additional manpower. Effective two-way communication is a key aspect of determining what followers need. Beyond that, leaders need good relationships with suppliers and some means of influence or exchange for securing resources.

Group Factors

Factors such as norms and cohesiveness can affect both individual and group performance. For example, leaders may run into situations where the group is not very cohesive or where the group has a low performance norm. In either case, leaders may need to create **superordinate goals** in order to increase group cohesiveness and performance. Superordinate goals are those that are achievable only when *all* group members exert effort; individual effort alone will not result in goal achievement. Moreover, group cohesiveness and performance might also be enhanced by deemphasizing individual rewards and promoting group rewards. Group norms can also be changed by changing the group's membership or composition.

Organizational and Environmental Factors

Leaders, particularly those in more senior positions, need to consider how the design, structure, or culture of the organization affects individual, group, and organizational performance. There are limits, however, to how much even the most senior or high-ranking leaders can change these factors. Particularly with regard to environmental factors, perhaps the best leaders can do is recognize how they can affect individual, group, or organizational performance. By recognizing that political, legal, and social factors sometimes may be the primary factors affecting performance, leaders can at least avoid taking actions based on a misdiagnosis of the problem, which may, in fact, turn out to be detrimental to performance in the long term.

Concluding Comments on the Diagnostic Model

In summary, this model provides an integrative framework for many of the topics affecting performance previously reviewed in this text. It reviews some of the factors that affect performance and suggests ideas for rectifying performance problems. It should be emphasized, however, that this model concerns only follower, group, or organizational performance. Leaders need to be mindful that there are other desirable outcomes, too, such as organizational climate and job satisfaction, and that actions designed to increase performance (especially just in the short term) may adversely impact these other desirable outcomes.

SUMMARY

This chapter was designed to improve your skills in five areas related to leadership and followership effectiveness. Because both leaders and followers often organize meetings, the first section in this chapter provided specific advice on how you can make meetings more effective. The second section in this chapter reviewed some of the pertinent literature concerning creativity. Creativity was defined as the ability to make fresh observations or to see things in new ways, and technical expertise, imaginative thinking skills, and intrinsic motivation are all important components of creativity. These three components of creativity provided leaders with several suggestions on how to improve their own and their followers' creativity.

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CHAPTER 11

Managing Conflict

Someone once observed that "life is just one damned thing after another." In most organizations, those "damned things" are conflicts of various sorts, for all too often corporate life seems to be one conflict after another. Indeed, organizational conflict seems to be inevitable. Throughout this text, we have stressed the interdependence of organizational members and the continuing need for them to behave cooperatively. Yet this interdependence, this continuing necessity for interaction among people, makes conflict unavoidable. As Bernard points out, stress and conflict will occur in organizations because they are "inherent in the conception of free will in a changing environment."[1]

As we shall soon see, conflict is not in and of itself bad. Indeed, in many situations, some conflict is necessary for the organization to function at maximum efficiency. If some conflicts remain unsolved or if they are managed poorly, the organization as a whole will suffer. In this chapter, we turn our attention to yet another aspect of communication among groups of people: identifying, analyzing, and managing conflict. Communication to manage conflict comprises a complex set of strategies involving both informative and persuasive elements. In an effort to understand these strategies, we will consider the role of conflict in organizations, noting attitudes toward conflict and the settings, causes, and consequences of organizational disputes. Then we will examine several methods by which each type of organizational conflict may be managed. In so doing, we hope to develop communication strategies by which organizational conflict may be managed for the benefit of the organization as a whole.

The Role of Conflict in Organizations

Attitudes toward Conflict

As we saw in chapter 1, a great number of changes have occurred in the thinking of organizational and management theorists during the past century. None of these changes has been as dramatic as the change in theorists' attitudes toward organizational conflict. Classical organizational theorists, such as Taylor[2] and Fayol,[3] said rather little about organizational conflict, probably because they assumed that managers were basically rational, unlike workers. Because of their rationality, they could clearly see the objectives of their organization and plan logically. When disputes broke out among irrational workers, the function of the manager was to act as a sort of fire fighter, stamping out the conflict so that the workers could return to the rational task of doing work and making money. In effect, then, conflict had no role in organizations in the view of Classical management and organizational theorists.

In the Human Relations approach to organizations, conflict played a more prominent role. Theorists of the Human Relations school[4] felt that the key to organizational functioning was the maintenance of satisfactory social relationships. Since conflict was indicative of a breakdown in human relationships, they felt the success of the organization rested upon management's ability to prevent conflicts from ever occurring. Human Relations managers thus spent considerable time and energy making sure that everyone was happy and no one was arguing. Workers in Human Relations organizations spent an equal amount of time and energy hiding conflicts from their managers lest they be reprimanded for engaging in such antisocial behaviors. As a consequence, conflicts were "swept under the rug," not managed, so that while they disappeared temporarily, they often reappeared some time later, bigger and more difficult to handle than before. By stressing conflict avoidance, Human Relations managers and theorists did not succeed in truly avoiding conflict. Rather, they created frustrations and conflicts that were far greater than the original problem.

More recent views of organizational conflict happily have been somewhat more realistic. Evan typifies these views in his characterization of recent attitudes about conflict.

1. Conflicts always occur because of disagreement about expectations or organizational goals.
2. Conflicts can be good or bad for both the organization and the individual..
3. Conflicts can be validly minimized for crisis (armies) or routine (manufacturers) organizations but may not be best minimized for knowledge and technology (research and development) organizations.[5]

Thus, theorists and practitioners in organizational development all have arrived at the realization that conflict in organizations not only is inevitable but may be beneficial.

In fact, some organizational leaders take the view that creating conflict can be a useful strategy for achieving organizational change. As a manager, one is constantly battling inertia. If no tensions are felt, the status quo is likely to continue. That's why some leaders create conflict: to demonstrate, for example, how organizational values are not reflected in employee behavior, how advertising is false or misleading, or how supervisors have different standards for their employees than they have for themselves. The tension generated by conflict typically leads to some attempts to reduce or eliminate the tension level—and that means that the conflict must be confronted. With effective leadership, it will be confronted and managed in an appropriate way. To manage conflict effectively, one must know something about the settings, causes, and consequences of conflict. We turn now to these matters.

Settings of Conflict

Berelson and Steiner define social conflict as "the pursuit of incompatible, or at least seemingly incompatible, goals, such that gains to one side come about at the expense of the other."[6] Herbert provides another view of conflict, defining it as occurring "whenever the attainment of a goal is hindered."[7] While these definitions disagree in some minor respects, both imply that *conflict involves the simultaneous presence of two or more incompatible elements*. In this section, we will examine some of the settings in which such conflicting elements often are found.

Intrapersonal Conflict

Two conflict forms, frustration and goal conflict, occur commonly within individuals in organizations. *Frustration* is the simpler of the two, occurring when one's ability to attain a goal is hampered by the imposition of some barrier. For example, we may have a strong desire to perform in a superior fashion, yet because of some limitation (limited

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Conflict Settings

Intrapersonal conflict	Conflict within the person, such as frustration or goal conflict
Interpersonal conflict	Conflict between people, such as individual versus individual or individual versus group
Intergroup conflict	Conflict between two or more groups
Interorganizational conflict	Conflict between entire organizations

ability, inadequate education, or a supervisor who does not like us), our performance evaluations consistently are "average." We then might try somehow to improve matters, perhaps by working harder, taking evening courses at a local college, or trying to obtain a transfer to another department. If these measures fail, frustration results and less productive behaviors are likely to follow.

More complex than frustration is a second sort of intrapersonal conflict, *goal conflict,* where the attainment of one goal excludes the possibility of attaining another. Three principal types of goal conflict can be identified.

1. *Approach-approach conflict*—in which the individual is caught between trying to decide on one or another of two attractive goals that are mutually exclusive. The college graduate with two attractive job offers has to deal with this kind of conflict.
2. *Approach-avoidance conflict*—in which the individual has both positive and negative feelings about trying to attain a goal because the goal possesses both attractive and unattractive characteristics. The individual faces this kind of conflict when she is offered a promotion and a pay hike but must transfer from San Francisco to Antarctica to take the new job.
3. *Avoidance-avoidance conflict*—in which the individual must choose between two mutually exclusive goals, both of which are unattractive. Here, alas, the job hunter must pick between selling used cars and selling encyclopedias, neither of which seems like a good idea.

Interpersonal Conflict

Conflict between organizational members also takes two forms: *individual versus individual* and *individual versus group*. Examples of the first are infinite: two managers competing for the same promotion, two women vying for a tennis championship, two students vying for the top grade in the class. In each instance, the competitors are striving for possession of some resource available to only one of them. Although the competition may even be enjoyable to the participants, uncontrolled conflict of this sort is often destructive to the organization.

On occasion, conflict also occurs *between an individual and a group*. As we pointed out previously, some groups demand absolute conformity by their members, so that a "rugged individualist" who happens to join that group might find himself in conflict with other members. Or an individual who is particularly eager to promote her own interests may do so by breaking group norms. Work groups, for example, typically have informal but rigidly enforced production limits such that anyone outproducing the rest of the group is labeled a "rate buster" and pressured to conform.

Interpersonal conflicts produce stress within the organization and must be managed correctly if they are to become beneficial rather than detrimental to the organization.

Intergroup Conflict

As we already know, much of our life in organizations is spent in groups: work groups, decision-making groups, social groups. Often these groups come into conflict with one another. Two particular types of intergroup conflict deserve mention. *Functional conflicts* occur when business functions are divided up into departments that often have entirely different perspectives of organizational processes. Manufacturing divisions tend to have short time perspectives and seek to maximize their own goals of long production runs and standardized products to meet unit cost goals. Marketing divisions tend to have long time perspectives, to evaluate products and services from the perspective of the consumer, and to endeavor to customize and provide many options to suit each customer individually. Conflicts between these groups are common, and managers must seek means for their resolution.

Line and staff conflicts represent a second type of intergroup conflict, as staff groups are responsible for measuring, monitoring, analyzing, and projecting the work and results of the organization, while line groups are concerned only with the actual execution of the work. Line may see staff as being impractical, overeducated, inexperienced, or abstract; while staff may view line as dull, narrow, inflexible, or unimaginative. Perceptual incongruities such as these are virtually guaranteed to produce conflict between line and staff groups.

Interorganizational Conflict

While individuals and groups within organizations often are embroiled in conflicts, the organizations themselves usually are involved in disputes as well. For example, consider some of the organizations with which an automobile manufacturer comes into contact. General Motors buys automotive parts from Borg-Warner. Although these two corporations are acting cooperatively to build automobiles, they are also in conflict: Borg-Warner wants to get the highest possible prices from General Motors for the parts it supplies, while General Motors wants to pay the lowest possible prices. Similarly, advertising agencies handling the General Motors account want to charge the highest possible prices, while General Motors wants to keep its advertising budget as low as possible. Executive recruiting firms are eager to charge high fees for finding new executives to staff General Motors, while GM wants to keep recruiting costs low. The United Auto Workers want as many union members as possible to be employed by General Motors (since those people must pay dues to the UAW), and they are eager to have their members well paid by General Motors. General Motors wants to keep its

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When the Boss Is Wrong

A particulary ticklish conflict situation arises when you feel your boss is wrong. Submission to authority is expected in most organizations, but thinking employees will ask, "Don't I have a responsibility to speak up if I see something wrong?" Of course, you do. But the key issue is authority: how can you provide your boss with information he or she needs about his or her decision without usurping the boss's decison-making authority?

When you need to disagree with your boss, try to offer alternatives rather than direct opposition. For example:

If your boss asks you to do something you feel should not be your responsibility, don't say,"But that isn't in my job description." Instead, you might offer to take the work to some other more appropriate person ("Maria does this kind of thing a lot. Do you mind if I ask her to do this?"), or ask your boss what activities you should give up to perform this new task ("I'd be happy to do this, but I need your help in deciding what things I should leave until later.").

If your boss has an idea you feel won't work, don't say, "That won't work; I have a better idea." Rather, ask the boss, "Help me to understand why we are going to do it this way." After hearing the reasons, you might add, "If that's what you want, I'll do it; but could I suggest a way that might be faster (cheaper, more efficient, and so on)?"

If your boss gives you a directive that contradicts some other boss' instructions (particularly instructions given you by your boss' boss), you are caught in the middle. But don't say, "That goes against this other boss' directives." Instead, let your boss know of the other instructions you have been given and suggest that the three of you meet to identify what the priorities are.

If your boss asks you to do something you feel is not right, don't say, "I won't do that; it's unethical." Try to prevent this situation from ever arising by discussing ethical issues with your boss well in advance: what things does the company stand for, and what do you personally believe in? If, nevertheless, you are asked to do something you feel is unethical, explain the conflict between the request and your ethical standards and ask the boss not to ask you to do that.

Presented by Don Michael McDonald, "How to Tell Your Boss He's Wrong," *Management Solutions* 43 (December 1988): 3–9; Fernando Bartolome, "When You Think the Boss is Wrong," *Personal Journal* 69 (August 1990): 66–73.

labor costs down. The federal government imposes regulations concerning safety and pollution that are supposed to reflect the public interest. General Motors tries to keep manufacturing costs minimal. The automobile-buying public wants quality cars at low prices, while General Motors wants to make a profit. In all of these instances, partial conflict (but also a partial sharing of goals) exists between each group. Yet only by overcoming these conflicts can each group have its needs met to some degree.

Causes of Conflict

Implicit in our discussion of the settings of conflict have been several conflict causes. Although conflict can arise for many different reasons, we will next discuss some common contributors to organizational conflict.

1. *Competition for rewards.* Every organization offers a limited number or amount of rewards to its members. Individuals compete for promotions, raises, and status symbols; departments compete for budget allocations; organizations compete for a larger share of the market. These situations are called "win-lose" or "zero-sum" conditions. What one competitor wins, another loses, so that if the amount won and the amount lost are summed, they add to zero.
2. *Interlevel incompatibilities.* The organization is composed of many levels of hierarchy. Some research suggests that as we move from one level of the hierarchy to the next, our perceptions of the corporation tend to change. For instance, Likert discovered that top staff, foremen, and line workers all felt that they understood other people's problems but were themselves misunderstood, and in fact discovered that none of them shared congruent perceptions of what the other's problems were.[8]
3. *Functional conflicts.* As we already have seen, conflicts occasionally arise when organizational subgroups have overlapping functions. In fact, any situation involving functional overlap may produce conflict. If the individuals, groups, or organizations involved have different values, perceptions, or ideas concerning how the job should be done, disagreements will spring up that must be resolved if the work is to be completed.
4. *Differences in values and goals.* Production and sales units often conflict in this way since sales is more geared toward rapid production for high volume and speedy delivery, while production prefers a slower pace that emphasizes quality. When speed as a value and quality as a value clash (as they often do when the sales division puts in a rush order or when production slows down), conflict is likely to result. Whenever groups or individuals within organizations possess different values, the resulting conflicts can be quite difficult to resolve.
5. *Deficiencies in the organization's information system.* An important message may not be received, a supervisor's instructions may be misinterpreted, or decision makers may arrive at different conclusions because they used different data bases. Conflicts based on missing or incomplete information tend to be straightforward in that clarifying previous messages or obtaining additional information generally resolves the disputes. Since value systems are not being challenged, these conflicts tend to be easily addressed by dealing directly with the information deficiency.
6. *Specialists versus generalists.* As jobs have become increasingly complex and science has made technology more intricate, the need for specialists to perform those jobs and use those technological innovations has become more and more pressing. Yet management functions typically require generalists to perform them. Most organizations are constructed so that a large number of specialists must be governed by a small number of generalists, which creates a host of potential

conflicts. The generalist manager often knows less about the job than does the specialist worker, so that the worker may find it frustrating or nonproductive to communicate with his boss. The worker may "short circuit" the organization's formal lines of communication, often to the dismay of the supervisor. Or there may be conflicting loyalties. Among professionals, loyalty to a discipline often conflicts with loyalty to the organization, as when a researcher feels himself a chemist first and a member of the organization second.

7. *Role conflict*. Occasionally, the job behaviors (termed one's organizational "role") expected of an individual provide a source of conflict. Generally, these sorts of conflicts fall into three categories. First, *intrarole conflict* occurs when an individual occupying a single role is subjected to stress. Organizational foremen often are subjected to contradictory expectations, as when management expects them to represent management interests during negotiations, while labor expects them to act as representatives of labor.

   Interrole conflict, on the other hand, occurs when someone is expected to simultaneously perform two different roles. Killian reports an instance of this sort of role conflict in his study of the disastrous Texas City fire.[9] When oil refineries caught fire and the blaze threatened the entire town, police were confronted with competing role demands: to play their "police" role by trying to protect the town's populace or to undertake their "father" role by looking after their families. In every case except one (a policeman whose family was out of town), the policemen chose the role that was more important to them and tended to their families. They experienced role conflict and resolved it by selecting the role they judged most important.

   Finally, *interpersonal role conflict* occurs when two or more individuals seek the same role position, as when two young executives compete for the same promotion or when roles overlap so that two or more people are called on to do the same things in different ways at the same time. Parents disciplining a child in different ways are an example of this second role-conflict type.

8. *Status conflict*. An important element of any organization is status, or the ranking of roles in the organization according to importance. Organizational members usually seek increases in status, which are achieved through promotions and accompanied by an increased number of status symbols: a bigger office, perhaps with a window; a larger desk; a personal parking space; or a key to the executive washroom. However, an item symbolizing status may be not only a source of motivation but a source of conflict. In past years, new members of an organization have entered at the bottom of the hierarchy and "worked their way up the ladder." With the advent of new technologies and an increased emphasis upon expertise and specialization, highly qualified and trained young specialists now are superseding older organizational members, much to the latter's dismay. Working for someone who is younger and has less seniority has produced a great deal of status conflict among older subordinates in modern organizations.

9. *Personal differences and incompatibilities*. Individuals may simply not like one another, thus contributing to organizational conflict. Differences in background,

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The importance of effective conflict resolution techniques is illustrated by the Harvard Business School's replacement of its traditional course in managerial economics with a course titled "Data, Decision, and Negotiation." This focus on negotiating skills stems from important changes in the workplace, according to Assistant Professor Robert Robinson:

The move away from permanent work groups. Temporary work teams assembled for specific tasks cannot use traditional bureaucratic methods to resolve conflicts and must instead depend on effective communication and negotiations.

The increasingly global marketplace. Negotiations across different cultures and legal systems require greater skill than ever.

The increasingly diverse work force. Employers now must take into account the often-conflicting interests of the work force when dealing with such issues as family and medical leave, granting same-sex spousal benefits, or establishing work schedules.

The changing nature of information technology. E-mail, faxes, voice mail, and other electronic technologies all must be used effectively for handling conflicts and can muddy issues by creating information overload.

From Marcie Schoor Hirsch, "New Ways to Negotiate," *Working Woman*, December 1993, 25–26.

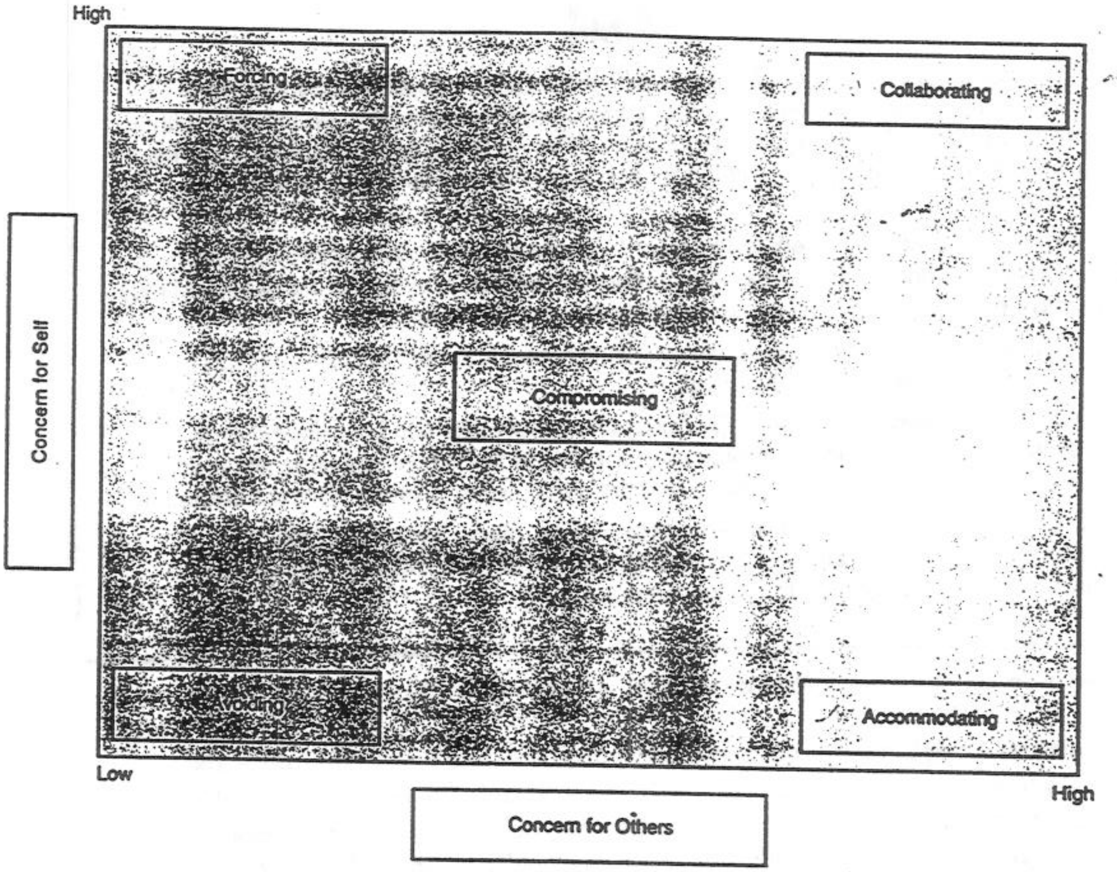
education, socialization, age, and expectations can produce different needs, perceptions, and goals. As noted above, if those differences stem from different attitudes and values, the resulting conflicts can be severe. In communicative exchanges involving individuals who are personally incompatible, discussions can become highly emotional and take on moral overtones.

10. *Environmental stress.* From a systems perspective, such stress is a major source of conflict. Other conflict sources can only become more salient in a stressful environment. Over the past few years, for instance, many large organizations have been downsizing, resulting in many people losing their jobs. When workers feel their jobs are threatened, and especially if there is much uncertainty about the rules by which the organization is operating, they will likely respond with frustration, hostility, and increased competitiveness.

Styles of Conflict Management

Researchers have discussed different conflict management styles since the mid-1960s. Among the first were Blake and Mouton, whose five-category conflict management grid was soon replicated and refined by others.[10] Blake and Mouton conceptualized conflict style as a characteristic mode or a habitual way that a person handles a dispute. Style can also be viewed as an orientation toward conflict or conflict tactics and strategies

Figure 11.1
Conflict management styles.



(either planned or enacted).[11] The styles studied generally emanate from a five-category scheme based on concern for self (or task) and concern for others. The five conflict styles (while variously labeled) are depicted in figure 11.1.

The first conflict style is ***avoiding***. Although aware of conflict at a cognitive level, the person using this style may withdraw by removing herself (psychologically or physically) from the conflict situation, refraining from arguing, or simply failing to confront. If the conflict is over serious or complex issues, avoidance behaviors may contribute to frustration, deny others' feelings, and generally aggravate the problem. Moreover, at a practical level, in organizational settings where interdependent tasks are commonly addressed, long-term avoidance is probably not an achievable strategy.

At the other extreme of managing conflict is *forcing*. Those who employ this style rely on coercion rather than on persuasion or collaboration. They use assertiveness, verbal dominance, and perseverance. When all else fails, they resort to their position power or formal authority, ordering others to comply simply because they are in charge.

Less direct, manipulative forms of forcing are also possible, however. For instance, a manager with a forcing style might manipulate the composition of a committee so that the solution he prefers emerges through a "democratic" process. Although forcing may be effective in some situations (where, for instance, quick action is required), when repeatedly used as a conflict style, it tends to breed hostility and resentment.

The third conflict style is *accommodating*, an approach that glosses over differences, plays down disagreements, and generally trivializes conflict. In the ultimate sense, those who accommodate simply give in, setting aside their own concerns and surrendering to those of others. Those who smooth over conflicts basically accommodate others, often with the goal of maintaining pleasant interpersonal relationships. Occasionally, accommodating is used strategically when someone sets aside her concerns on a particular issue, with the hope that the next time there is conflict, the other person will "owe her one." Whether or not this strategy is effective depends upon whether the terms of the accommodation are understood, as well as the standards governing the other party's actions. Accommodating is most appropriately used when the person who chooses to accommodate truly perceives the issue as trivial.

As an even-handed approach to conflict, the *compromising* style carries considerable appeal. Compromising involves searching for an intermediate position, splitting the difference, and meeting the opponent halfway. Thus, for both parties, partial satisfaction is achieved. Unlike the first three approaches, compromising appears fair and requires considerable effort and interaction (presumably involving both persuading and listening). The difficulty with compromising as a typical conflict style is that it is, above all, expedient. When used consistently, it sends the message that the individual is more interested in resolving the conflict than in actually finding an excellent solution to the problem. Moreover, no one is ever fully satisfied. While there are no real losers, neither are there any real winners. The feeling of accomplishment that can grow from working through a problem to consensus is never realized through compromise.

Finally, the preferred conflict style in many organizational contexts is *collaborating* or *problem solving*. This style calls upon the disputants to face the conflict openly and directly and to seek, by working together, an integrative solution. Collaboration grows from a trust-building process. It encourages everyone to express themselves assertively while reinforcing the value of listening to others and approaching the problem constructively. Consistent with notions of supportive communication behaviors and attitudes discussed in chapter 2, the collaborative approach demands a focus on the problem and its thoughtful analysis rather than on placing blame. It works best in organizational environments that foster openness, directness, and equality. With collaboration, the integrative approach to problem solving (as defined earlier) must prevail wherein the "pie" is expanded by avoiding fixed, inflexible, incompatible positions. For complex, important issues, the collaborative approach is preferable, both in the quality of the outcome achieved and the feelings of empowerment that grow from people having successfully exercised their problem-solving skills in addressing a significant issue.

While the collaborative approach is consistently hailed as effective in managing conflict, it is not always the most appropriate conflict management style for every situation. For instance, collaboration is not appropriate when the conflict is trivial and quick

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Traditionally, labor-management relations in the United States have been largely adversarial. However, rising competition from foreign firms has forced labor and management to adopt a more cooperative approach to contract negotiations: "win-win bargaining."

Among the earliest users of win-win bargaining were the United Paperworkers International Union Local 264 and the Waldorf Corporation's St. Paul, Minnesota, facility. Both sides also adopted a set of ground rules concerning the contract talks:

Discussion was to focus on issues, not personalities.

Everyone was to be permitted to speak, not just the spokespersons for each side.

Both sides would work at all times to maintain a "positive relationship."

Agendas would be developed and followed for each bargaining session.

Notes concerning each meeting would be kept jointly and approved by the participants at the next session.

Information would be shared and disseminated to employees through a jointly sponsored hot line and bulletin board communications.

The resulting contract was ratified by the membership almost unanimously and with far less turmoil than had been the case three years earlier. Participants in the process also reported much higher levels of satisfaction both with the process itself and with the contract it produced.

decisions are required. Avoidance may be quite effective for handling less important and highly volatile issues, and forcing may be appropriate for crisis situations or for moving forward with unpopular courses of action.[12] Problem solving or collaboration generally works well in situations where parties are interdependent, where supporting and implementing the solution is required, and where the conflict stems from ambiguity or inadequate shared information.

The limited or inadequate use of the collaborative style in managing conflicts has resulted in considerable speculation. Some argue that problem solving is not taught by our society as a way of life. Instead, the emphasis is upon obeying authority figures, such as teachers and parents. When children mature and eventually become authority figures, they may expect to be obeyed or to dominate others. This power-oriented view inhibits the individual's ability to choose problem solving or collaboration as a natural conflict management style.[13] Moreover, in comparison with any other style, collaboration requires a greater degree of time, energy, and commitment.[14] Thus, the combined problems—lack of skill in constructive confrontation and an unwillingness or inability to expend the necessary time, energy, or commitment—serve to diminish the extent to which collaboration is used in conflict situations.

Whatever the conflict style or strategy chosen, its effective implementation will depend on the disputants' ability to adapt to the situation, their fairness and objectivity in approaching the conflict, and the way in which they communicate.[15] There are many different ways of forcing, for instance—ranging from soft, persistent argument to unpleasant, loudly projected references to one's power and authority. Others will react differently, depending on the specific verbal and nonverbal communicative behaviors that make up the overall conflict style. Moreover, timing is important. Executives report that early intervention is critically related to effective conflict management—the longer the delay, the more likely the conflict will escalate, perhaps out of control.[16]

Structural Intervention in Managing Conflict: Third-Party Methods

When the conflicting parties are unwilling or unable to arrive at a resolution to their situation, they may resort to calling in a neutral third party for assistance. In this way, they extend or elaborate on the negotiation process. The third party could be a supervisor (in conflicts between employees), an upper-level manager (in conflicts between two departments), the chief executive officer (in conflicts between divisions), a government-appointed mediator (in labor-management disputes), or a judge in a courtroom (in conflicts between organizations). In these situations, the third party could play one of two roles: the *arbitrator*, who, after hearing both sides of the issue, makes a decision that both parties must live by, or the *mediator*, who tries to facilitate communication between the parties so that they can work through their problems and arrive at a decision of their own. Although both processes rely on communication to manage information and exert social influence, mediation is a type of facilitation that hinges almost exclusively on communication for its success.[17]

The mediator's task requires sensitivity. Assisting with the logical, decision-making part of the conflict is only a small part of the mediator's role. Because conflicts have usually escalated before the mediator becomes involved, she or he often finds that the parties are no longer particularly logical. Thus, the mediator will have to deal with a number of nonrational postures shaped by hurt feelings, a preoccupation with settling old scores, defensiveness, and distorted perceptions. Mediators, however, also have an advantage in this task. Because they are not as emotionally involved as are the disputants, they are usually much better able to maintain a proper perspective.

Mediators use varied tactics, including directive, nondirective, procedural, and reflexive techniques.[18] *Directive tactics* allow the mediator to exert substantive control over the negotiation by recommending proposals, giving opinions about positions, assessing the costs associated with demands, and occasionally including compliance.[19] In general, directive tactics are more effective in the latter stages of mediation than in early meetings.[20] *Nondirective tactics* capitalize on the mediator's role in securing information for the disputants and in clarifying misunderstandings. Thus, the mediator may act as a conduit by passing information between the parties or as a clarifier by paraphrasing messages and narrowing topics for discussion.[21] As *procedural tactics*, the mediator may organize separate or joint sessions, establish protocol for the sessions, regulate the agenda, and establish deadlines. Finally, mediators may use *reflexive tactics* by influencing the affective tone of the mediation—developing rapport with participants, using humor, and speaking the language of both sides. Effective mediators use a combination of these tactics, although they report that reflexive tactics are more effective than directive and nondirective ones in facilitating joint collaboration.[22] Clearly, communication is central to the mediation process. As Kolb points out, mediators are like the directors of a drama, who set the scene, manage impressions, orchestrate the script, and maintain dramatic inquiry throughout the process.[23]

Fortunately, most groups and organizations are able to manage their own conflict through negotiation and bargaining rather than having to call in third parties. Effective outcomes are more likely to be realized when individuals voluntarily solve their own disputes than when leaders or other third parties are asked to intervene. Thus, developing an understanding of productive collaborative approaches to managing conflict is crucial.

Collaborative Conflict Management

Where it is possible and desirable to approach conflict from a problem-solving perspective, several integrative negotiation strategies have been shown to foster collaboration.[24] First, and perhaps most important, is ***establishing superordinate goals***. The parties involved in the conflict should begin by focusing on what they share in common. As individuals become aware of the salience of their shared goals—for example, greater productivity, a safer work environment, lower costs, a fairer evaluation system, or improved working relationships—they tend to become sensitized to the merits of resolving their differences so that these mutual goals will not be jeopardized. When consensus on common goals is achieved, the disputants can begin to examine their specific differences. Once established, superordinate goals must be referred to throughout the deliberations. Some researchers have cautioned, however, that superordinate goals are more likely to reduce perceived rather than underlying conflict.[25] Whether or not superordinate goals are helpful depends on the groups developing a culture for mutual understanding and constructive interaction patterns.[26]

Another important collaborative behavior involves *separating the people from the problem*. Having defined the mutual benefits to be gained by successfully resolving the conflict, attention must be directed to the real issue at hand—solving a problem. Negotiations are more likely to result in mutual satisfaction if the parties depersonalize the discussions. The participants might benefit from viewing each other as advocates for differing points of view rather than rivals. They may need to suppress their desire for personal revenge or one-upmanship. From a communicative perspective, a person would refer to "an unreasonable argument" rather than calling her counterpart "an unreasonable person." In general, it is crucial to avoid loaded language, such as labeling others' ideas as stupid, crazy, naive, fascist, or ill-conceived.

In the preceding chapter, we discussed the importance of groups identifying and using criteria for determining the quality of alternative solutions to a problem.

BUSINESS BRIEF

11.5

Problem-Solving Negotiations

Participants in the Harvard Negotiation Project suggest an alternative to positional bargaining that they call "principled negotiation" or "negotiation on the merits." This problem-solving approach can be summarized in four points:

People: Separate the people from the problem. The participants should see themselves as working side-by-side, attacking the problem rather than each other.

Interests: Focus on interests, not positions. Rather than focusing on people's stated positions, the object of a negotiation should be to satisfy their underlying interests.

Options: Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do. Searching for one "right" solution inhibits creativity and narrows vision. A designated time should be set aside to develop a range of possible solutions that advance shared interests and creatively reconcile differing interests.

Criteria: Insist that the result be based on some objective standard. Developing a set of criteria whereby possible solutions might be judged (such as market value, expert opinion, custom or law) ultimately will help to arrive at a fair solution.

From Roger Fisher and William Ury, "Getting to Yes," *Management Review* 48 (1982): 16–21.

In situations involving conflict, *articulating and using objective criteria* is equally crucial. No matter how many goals are shared, some interests are bound to be incompatible. Rather than seizing on these as opportunities for testing wills, determining what is fair is far more productive. This requires that both parties agree on how fairness should be judged. As objective criteria are discussed and agreed upon, individuals begin to shift their thinking from "getting what I want" to "deciding what makes most sense"—fostering an attitude of reasonableness and open-mindedness.

Also related to the open-minded pursuit of solutions is *focusing on interests, not positions*. In bargaining and negotiation settings, positions are thought of as bottom-line demands the negotiator makes. By contrast, interests constitute the substructure of the evidence and reasoning underlying the demands. Establishing agreement on interests is easier because they tend to be broader and multifaceted. Achieving agreement, however, even on interests, involves a fair measure of creativity in redefining and broadening the problem to make it more tractable. For instance, once a problem has been defined, there are a variety of ways to enlarge, alter, or replace it. If a problem such as sagging productivity has been defined in a specific way (for example, worker laziness), other contributing causes exist and can be articulated. Thus, one way to proceed is by generating at least two alternative hypotheses for every problem discussed. The strategy is to broaden the problem definition by thinking in plural rather than singular terms.

BUSINESS BRIEF

11.6

In recent years, Chrysler Corporation and the United Auto Workers (UAW) have worked cooperatively to develop a more effective, less acrimonious approach to contract negotiations. A key element of that effort has been the development of "modern operating agreements" (or MOAs) for some Chrysler plants.

The MOA concept evolved in 1986–1987 as a joint effort between Chrysler management and the UAW to improve quality and productivity on the assembly line. The objective of the MOAs was to create a more democratic work environment, and they eliminated superficial labor-management distinctions and inefficient practices; reduced job classifications, supervisory personnel, and union representatives; and established self-directed work teams and a pay system that rewards workers for their job-related knowledge.

Each MOA has a team that participates in daily audits, assists in developing work assignments, corrects minor and reports major tooling and maintenance problems, provides input regarding production standards, assists in planning work methods, monitors and controls performance, coordinates overtime work, arranges vacation schedules, and performs various other tasks.

Generally, MOA plants have reported reduced operating costs, lower turnover, fewer grievances, and lower absenteeism. All of this has been a direct result of the realization that the company and the union share common interests and that working together rather than as adversaries more effectively serves those interests.

The questions should be phrased, "What are the problems?" "What are the meanings of this?" "What are the results?" Another possibility is to reverse the problem's definition by contradicting the currently accepted definition to expand the number of perspectives considered. For instance, a problem might be that morale is too high instead of too low or that a work environment is characterized by too little rather than too much structure. Opposites and backward looks often enhance creativity. When a variety of interests and problem definitions are examined, individuals are better able to understand each other's points of view and place their own views in perspective. The integrative question is "Help me understand why you are advocating that position?"

Another negotiation strategy requiring creativity is *inventing options for mutual gains*. Here, however, the creativity is focused on generating unusual solutions. While some negotiations may necessarily be distributive, negotiators should never begin by adopting a win-lose posture. By focusing both parties' attention on brainstorming alternative, mutually agreeable solutions, the negotiation dynamics naturally shift from competitive to collaborative. Moreover, the more options and combinations there are to explore, the greater the probability of reaching an integrative solution. Both goodwill and creativity are required as the parties ask, "What can we do that we haven't tried before?"

Several small group techniques discussed in the preceding chapter might prove useful, both in defining interests and problems and in generating solutions. Brainstorming (where ideas are tossed out without evaluation) is one potential technique. In addition, the nominal group procedure might be used, in which each participant brainstorms on paper, then the ideas are collected, shared, and discussed. Finally, group support systems allow for computer-assisted brainstorming, encouraging creativity and preserving anonymity. Whatever approach to brainstorming is employed, those who participate in the process are basically asking, "Now that we better understand each other's underlying concerns and objectives, let's brainstorm ways of satisfying both our needs."

Finally, the parties' approach to the notion of "success" is critical. By maintaining a realistic, optimistic attitude, *success can be defined in terms of gains, not losses.* The employee who seeks a 12 percent raise and receives an 8 percent raise can choose to view that outcome as either an accomplishment (that is, a gain over the present situation) or as a disappointment (in that expectations were not realized). Whichever interpretation, the objective outcome is the same, but the employee's satisfaction is likely to vary significantly. Individual reactions to an outcome are greatly influenced by the standards used to judge it. Thus, the agreed-upon criteria are especially salient and should be called upon to judge the value of the proposed solution or outcome. The question to be asked is, "Does this outcome constitute a meaningful improvement over current conditions?"

Using Technology as a Tool to Manage Conflict

In other chapters, we have shown how technology might be used to facilitate communication, team building, leadership, and organizational change. Here, we examine how technology can be used to manage conflict, and, in particular, we identify factors that may influence its impact on *groups* experiencing conflict.

All groups experience conflict at one time or another. In decision-making ventures aimed at building consensus, for example, actions taken or decisions made will clearly not meet with everyone's complete approval. Consensus is difficult to reach since most of us find it difficult on occasion to compromise our views. To help us make progress, we may choose to adopt external ground rules or guidelines to structure our group interactions, with the goal of approaching our tasks more positively and productively. For instance, Hall and Watson's guidelines might be used to help minimize conflict.[27] These guidelines instruct group members to:

1. Avoid arguing for your own evaluation. Approach the task on the basis of logic.
2. Avoid changing your mind only to avoid conflict. Support only solutions with which you are somewhat able to agree.
3. Treat differences of opinion as indicative of an incomplete sharing of relevant information.
4. View differences of opinion as both natural and helpful rather than as a hindrance in decision making.

BUSINESS BRIEF

11.7

Kare Anderson offers a three-step procedure that she terms "triangle talk" as a means of handling conflict more effectively. In her view, the tendencies most people have to either fight back or withdraw from conflicts can best be overcome by:

1. Knowing exactly what you want. By asking yourself "What do I want in this situation," you can gain greater control and focus.
2. Finding out what the other person wants and making him or her feel heard. Knowing the other person's objectives provides a basis for negotiations.
3. Proposing action in a way the other person can accept. This helps create the top of the triangle—the common ground between the two sides.

These three steps are best achieved by asking questions, Anderson contends. Vague, general questions should be used initially (such as "What do you think about this situation?"), but more specific questions should be used as negotiations continue ("Exactly what would make this proposal work better for you?").

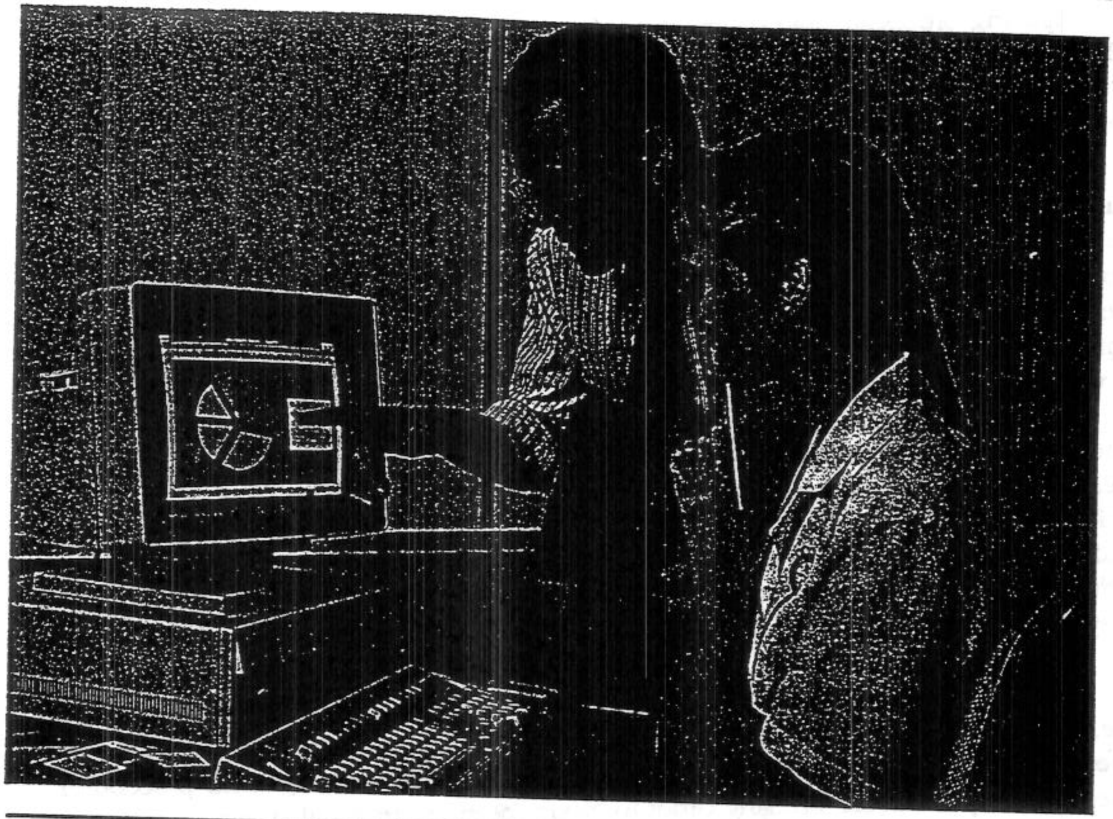
From Kare Anderson, *Getting What You Want: How to Reach Agreement and Resolve Conflict Every Time* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993).

During group meetings, conflicts may surface as ideas are generated, explored, consolidated, and evaluated—in other words, throughout the decision-making process. In an idea generation activity, for example, the brainstorming process can create polarization effects since each individual learns, perhaps for the first time, how other group members view the issue being discussed. In some cases, a particular group member may assume, before the meeting, that others support the same job candidate, course of action, or policy that he does. As views are expressed during a meeting, however, he may learn that he is wrong. When brainstorming is used to generate ideas, McGrath recommends that groups adopt techniques designed to:

1. Make sure that the creativity of each individual is not stifled by social influence processes that often operate in groups. Fear of social embarrassment, conformity pressures, and status systems that inhibit participation by low status members should be actively discouraged.
2. Take maximum advantage of whatever creativity-enhancing forces may operate in groups. Social support, reinforcement for contributing, and cross-stimulation of group members should be promoted.[28]

We have already seen that technology provides unique opportunities for channeling and supporting group work. Computer systems, particularly group and negotiation support systems, can act as intervention mechanisms to specifically address issues related to group conflict management.

Technology plays an increasingly prominent role in collaborative problem-solving ventures.



According to Argyris, *intervention* involves entering into a system of relationships, coming between or among persons, groups, or objects for the purpose of helping them.[29] The interventionist is someone or something that enters an ongoing system or set of relationships primarily to achieve three tasks:

1. to help generate valid and useful information.
2. to create conditions in which individuals can make informed and free choices, and
3. to help clients develop an internal commitment to their choice.

With regard to conflict management, group process interventions should consist of activities that help to promote:

a cooperative climate,

a focus on problems, not emotional issues,

an orderly and organized process,

consideration of a wide range of alternative solutions, and

avoidance of artificial conflict-reducing techniques, such as relying on the leader for making the final decision.[30]

Group support systems employ software and hardware to promote and enforce these conditions. GSS act as a group process intervention by:

1. imposing process-related structure on the meeting,
2. providing an electronic meeting channel that can improve communication among group members, and
3. delivering a structured heuristic to analyze the problem or task.

As we noted in chapter 9, GSS allow anonymous input and parallel and simultaneous processing, encouraging group member participation since views can be aired without inhibition or constraints. GSS also facilitate the imposition of decision-making heuristics and meeting agendas. These can help keep groups on track while allowing them to systematically work through conflict. And the ability of GSS to provide an electronic record of the meeting can help group members share a common understanding of what has transpired in their meetings.

Researchers Poole, Holmes, and DeSanctis conducted one of the first and the most extensive studies designed to test the impact of GSS on group conflict management.[31] In their study, they compared groups using GSS to groups using only paper and pencils and groups using no support at all. Discovering mixed results, the researchers concluded that GSS does not necessarily directly determine conflict interaction or outcomes. Rather, they argue, it is the *way* groups use the technology that mediates its impact. They found, for instance, that some GSS groups used the structure better than others.

Despite their mixed findings, Poole, Holmes, and DeSanctis remain confident that GSS can provide a number of benefits for conflict management. Because of the anonymity feature, GSS can, they argue, distance people from ideas, thereby depersonalizing and sometimes defusing difficult conflict situations. GSS make conflict management procedures salient to group members, bringing order to group meetings. In addition, procedures such as voting can surface hidden conflicts.

The impact of GSS on conflict management likely depends on the nature of the GSS and how the group applies it. Poole, Holmes, and DeSanctis note that the GSS used in their study had no specialized conflict management capabilities. Moreover, a facilitator was not used in these GSS sessions. In all likelihood, a facilitator might have been able to help more groups adapt GSS in a manner conducive to productive conflict management. Users of any technology are influenced by expectations. How GSS is explained to users and the level of training they are provided will surely influence how they will use the technology in conflict situations.

Another technology available for groups to use in resolving conflicts is *negotiation support systems*—decision support technologies that specifically focus on providing computerized assistance for situations in which group members strongly disagree on factual or value judgments.[32] Negotiation support systems are interactive, computer-based tools that are specifically intended to support negotiating parties in reaching an agreement.[33] These systems focus on enhancing the prospect of consensus with the intent of making compromise possible.

Negotiation support systems may include decision support software with modeling capabilities, such as decision trees, risk analysis, forecasting methods, and multiattribute functions, as well as software supporting structured group methods, such as electronic brainstorming, nominal grouping, and delphi techniques. Some of these systems even include artificial intelligence to help groups define and solve problems. Many commercial software products are available (including GSS) that encompass some or all of these features.

Ironically, computer systems themselves have been a source of conflict in employee-management relations. Savage points out that many labor unions were once vociferous in their crusade against office automation.[34] They felt, with some justification, that technology threatened a loss of jobs for their members. However, many unions have come full circle and now offer training in computer use to enhance their members' development and advancement opportunities. Instead of simply using technology training to retrain members whose skills are being passed by, Savage notes, many unions have embraced technology to further their goals and to keep members abreast of computer skills. For example, the Air Line Pilots Association, whose pilots are already computer-literate, has established services for members to access information about new technologies and to facilitate communication and negotiations with their employers.

Summary

Conflict is a controversial subject. Even among those who herald its virtues, ambivalence persists. In organizations, however, the reality of interdependence, competition for scarce resources, and the necessity of coping with change while working together on all sorts of tasks create conditions where conflict is inevitable. The types and sources of conflict are numerous, perplexing, and often tenacious. Even so, individuals at all organizational levels can learn under the appropriate circumstances to approach conflict cooperatively and collaboratively. On occasion, technology may function as a source of conflict, but it also offers new and ever-changing tools for groups to use in managing conflicts. With conflict comes the opportunity for growth and change, for innovation and empowerment, for problem solving and consensus building. Those who learn to confront their differences openly and honestly, to communicate about their differences with sensitivity and integrity, can contribute to a constructive and satisfying organizational climate.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are some ways in which conflict can be good for an organization and some ways that it can be bad?
2. In what settings can conflict occur?
3. What are approach-approach, approach-avoidance, and avoidance-avoidance conflict?
4. Explain the idea that "every organization is in partial conflict with every other social agent it deals with."

5. How can conflict become institutionalized?
6. Describe three types of role conflict.
7. When does increased communication fail to reduce conflict?
8. How effective is avoidance in resolving conflict? Why?
9. Compare and contrast the five styles of conflict management.
10. Describe some of the key steps in collaborative conflict management.
11. How can technology be used as a tool in managing conflict?

Exercises

1. Relate the systems concept of organizations and the concepts of conflict resolution discussed in this chapter. From a systems perspective, what sorts of conflict should be expected most often, and what methods of conflict reduction should be most effective?
2. Think of an organization to which you now belong or to which you belonged in the past. List one instance of each conflict setting that occurred in that organization and how it was (or should have been) resolved.
3. Tim Hill is a mediator who has been asked to work with the Major League Baseball Player's Association and the Major League Owner's Association to help them resolve their long-standing feud over players' salaries and right not to be traded without the player's consent. What advice would you give Tim before the meetings begin?
4. Think of a time in your life when you experienced some conflict, preferably in a job-related situation. In a brief essay, describe the nature and extent of your conflict, the contexts in which it occurred, and the methods you and others used to manage the conflict. To what extent did you resolve the conflict? What other methods would you have tried if you had it to do over again?
5. Choose an organization and arrange for an interview with someone in a management position. As you interview this individual, address some of these issues:
    a. In what ways has this organization experienced conflict?
    b. What role, if any, has the union played in conflicts that have occurred?
    c. What kinds of groups or departments within the organization experience the most conflict? Why?
    d. What approaches to resolving conflicts have been tried? To what extent have they been successful?
    e. Is conflict beneficial in any way? If so, how? If not, why not?
    f. What are some different techniques of conflict resolution that might yet be tried?

Interpersonal Competence in Groups

Brian H. Spitzberg

16

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

The importance of understanding group decision making and interaction seems to be more important than ever. The number of meetings, the amount of time spent in meetings, and the resources devoted to meetings, are increasing at a considerable pace. Given the importance of group decision making, it is vital that a better understanding of group interaction be achieved. The framework developed in this chapter presents a model to facilitate understanding of group interaction, specifically in reference to what constitutes competence in group communication. While the framework is likely to apply to any number of communicative contexts, in this chapter it is applied to the somewhat unique characteristics of organizational decision-making groups.

A Model of Interpersonal Competence

A Definition of Interpersonal Competence

Interpersonal competence is the ability to interact appropriately and effectively with others. In short, competent communication is communication of high quality. A person is *effective* when desirable objectives or outcomes are achieved through interaction, and *appropriate* when valued rules or expectations of others are not violated (Spitzberg and Cupach, 1984). To further understand this statement, it is important to consider the possibilities suggested by Figure 1.

TYPE I Inappropriate and Ineffective	TYPE II Appropriate and Ineffective
TYPE III Inappropriate and Effective	TYPE IV Appropriate and Effective

Figure 1. Types of competent and incompetent interaction.

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In any given episode of communication, a person may be inappropriate and ineffective (Type I), appropriate and ineffective (Type II), inappropriate and effective (Type III), or appropriate and effective (Type IV). The Type I person is the socially inept interactant who seems unable to accomplish much, and is awkward or rude, in the process of getting nowhere. The Type II person is a social chameleon, who blends smoothly into the interaction process, does what is required by the group, and does nothing wrong. But this person does nothing that is particularly "right" either. That is, the Type II person goes along with the group and has mastered the norms and culture of the group, but is not effective in pursuing his or her own agendas. The Type III person is the domineering member whose strong personality seems to be effective in forcing conformity or agreement, but does so in ways that other members find objectionable or rude. The Type IV person is obviously the ideal group member. This person pursues his or her own agendas (which, as we shall see, should generally correspond to those of the group), but not at the expense of the group's sense of decorum and tact. In short, this person achieves personal and group objectives while preserving the integrity of the group members' ongoing interrelationships.

In actuality, most persons vary considerably in terms of these categories. During some meetings, you may feel like nothing you say or do seems to fit in or make a difference (Type I). Other times, you may feel as if you get the group to agree with you, but do so at the expense of making certain members angry or upset with you (Type III). Sometimes, however, you get along well with everyone during a meeting, but also accomplish a lot in the process (Type IV). You do not always behave similarly or experience similar reactions from others across meetings, or even within meetings. However, to the extent that members consistently enact a certain type of behavior across situations, they can be categorized according to their style of interaction. Type I behavior reflects an interpersonally incompetent style of interaction. Type II individuals can be considered passive or chameleon-like in their orientation. Type III persons typically interact in a domineering or authoritative manner. Finally, Type IV persons are interpersonally competent.

An interesting thing about this taxonomy is its close relationship to traditional investigations of small groups. One of the most reliable and universal findings about groups is that two functions are primary: task and socioemotional. *Task functions* concern the effectiveness dimension, along which the progress of the group toward externally or internally defined objectives or goals is measured. *Socioemotional functions* concern the climate and interpersonal relations along which the maintenance of relational satisfaction is measured.

These functions are both vital and yet not always compatible. For example, in crisis situations when time is of the essence, relational concerns often need to be subjugated to getting the job done. Yet, even in crisis situations, there are better and worse ways of interacting with others. Thus, the key is to balance these objectives with an eye toward optimizing them both. While groups will frequently have persons who individually specialize in only one or the other of these concerns, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the more all members of a group are competent at managing both functions, the more competently the group will develop, mature, and produce.

The criteria of appropriateness and effectiveness, and the socioemotional and task functions of behavior, also indirectly reflect the most fundamental dimensions of interpersonal interaction: affiliation and power. In general, appropriate behavior promotes positive affect and affiliation, and inappropriate behavior promotes negative affect and alienation. Effective behavior tends to be viewed as powerful, and ineffective behavior tends to be viewed as powerless. All social relations, in all contexts and applications, revolve around these fundamental orientations and relationships (Spitzberg, 1989).

The Components of Interpersonal Competence

In its most elemental form, interpersonal competence can be conceived in terms of motivation, knowledge, skills, context, and outcomes. Before examining each of these in detail, I want to illustrate them through an extended metaphor of the stage. An actor who wants to achieve success, acclaim and acceptance (i.e., desired outcomes) is likely to be assisted in this endeavor by being highly motivated. This motivation involves both managing his or her stage fright and anxiety, and the desire to perform well both with the other actors in the troupe and for whatever audiences will be viewing their performance. However, motivation alone is seldom sufficient. A competent actor will need to know the script, the lines and roles of others in the play, something about the audiences who will view the performance and their expectations, and the context in which the performance is taking place. Yet, we have probably all witnessed actors who wanted to perform well and who knew the script, yet simply lacked the essential skills with which to carry off a good performance. Finally, even armed with motivation, knowledge, and skill, there are times when the context conspires against the actor, such as when the props or resources are not where they are supposed to be, or the audience will not be satisfied because of excessively high expectations, or the play is simply too complicated to stage given the preparations and talents of the actors.

In general, an actor is most likely to perform competently and achieve desired outcomes when she or he is highly motivated, knowledgeable, and skilled, and the context and task are suitable to his or her abilities. Each of these components has its parallels in everyday interpersonal interaction in general, and in small group problem-solving in particular.

Motivation. The motivation to communicate competently typically involves feelings of both approach and avoidance. In other words, there are reasons and forces motivating you to participate in the group, and reasons and forces pushing you away from the group. To the extent that the former factors outweigh the latter, relative to alternatives, you are likely to continue participating in the group.

Avoidance factors take at least two typical forms. You probably have experienced a sense of anxiety upon entering a new group. This *primary tension* represents your sense of apprehension and uncertainty regarding your role in the group, the impressions others will have of you, and your own self-concept and confidence (Fisher & Ellis, 1990). As the group progresses over time, however, you tend to gain greater understanding of your role and what is expected of you. With understanding and familiarity comes greater confidence and comfort.

Over time, individuals in most ongoing groups will eventually experience *secondary tensions* (Fisher & Ellis, 1990). Secondary tensions result from a variety of reasons, such as intense or intractable conflict, external pressures, successive group failures, etc. Such factors increase frustration levels and contribute to a generally negative emotional climate in the group. When an emotional climate is "thick enough to cut with a knife," it is likely to promote such avoidance outcomes as absenteeism, turnover, and simple lack of active participation.

Aside from the tensions often found in groups, there are straightforward motives that persons have for participating. To use a simple example, in your group course you may have been asked to choose a group. Consider the reasons why you selected this group. Maybe you knew persons with whom you wanted to work. Such a choice may primarily reflect motives to reduce initial uncertainty and provide some stability of working relationships. In contrast, another person may choose to be in your group because there is someone in the group he or she is attracted to and wants to ask out for a date. Finally, someone may enter the group because he or she believes the particular group with its unique mix of talent is the best equipped to do a good job on a particular task (e.g., a final project).

In the first two hypothetical examples, the prospective members were concerned primarily with *personal motives.* That is, the persons were motivated to participate largely, but perhaps not exclusively, because of private reasons. The first person was concerned primarily with reducing primary tensions rather than accomplishing the task. The second person wanted to attract the attention of another member for strictly selfish reasons. In contrast, the third person was driven more by *public motives,* which typically reflect the "official" reasons for a group's existence.

While many managers might think that the public motives are the most important, it is important to recognize that both types of motives are involved in almost all group decisions. Concerns with salary and promotion, career moves, self-concept, impression management, as well as identification with the official goals of the group, all affect group participation. Furthermore, the person who joins for the reason of seeking a dating partner with one of the other members may work just as devotedly, if not more so, than the person who joins for the task. That is, creating a positive impression may involve demonstrating task expertise and effort. However, personal motives can often work contrary to the interests of the group as well. A person who joins a group exclusively to advance in an organization may view the commitment as short term and thereby limit his or her input and may even exploit other members in the process. Attention to the public and private agendas of the members, and the compatibility of these agendas can frequently make a substantial difference in group outcomes.

Generally speaking, therefore, relatively low levels of tension, and strength and compatibility of private and public motives, tend to promote more competent member and group functioning. Persons motivated to perform well and attend to the concerns of both appropriateness and effectiveness are more likely to be competent group members.

Knowledge. Knowledge can be viewed in a multitude of ways. When you took your driving test for a license, you took both a paper-and-pencil test, as well as an actual road test. The paper test represents your *substantive knowledge,* while the road test assessed your ***procedural knowledge*** underlying your driving skills. Learning about group dynamics, interpersonal communication processes, theories of group functioning, and the like, are all likely to enhance your substantive knowledge of how groups should work and how they often do work. But knowing this does not always guarantee that you know how actually to interact competently in groups. Knowing the rules of tennis is very different from actually knowing how to play the game. Knowing the storyline of a joke is not the same thing as knowing how to tell it. While procedural knowledge (i.e., knowing how actually to perform) typically requires substantive knowledge, it is no guarantee. Competent procedural knowledge is more likely to arise from practice and experience. Several areas of substantive and procedural knowledge that promote competence in group functioning are identified below.

One set of knowledge competencies have been identified by Gouran and Hirokawa (1986). This knowledge concerns an understanding of *dysfunctional communication patterns.* Knowing how to use functional communication to counteract dysfunctional patterns such as faulty information processing, faulty assumptions, faulty evaluation of alternatives, violation of group norms, and undue influences of particular group members assist in competently managing the group process. Essentially, these counteractive influences require an attention to recognizing the ways in which problem-solving processes can go awry and knowing how to redirect discussion so as to correct the errors.

Among the factors that underlie these counteractive influences are such things as listening and perceptual ability, critical thinking and reasoning ability, and experience in similar situations. Basically, you need to be able to perceive and understand the situation, reason through its implications, and evaluate options in coping with the problematic situation. To the extent that you have experience with such dysfunctional patterns, you are likely to be more familiar with functional ways of correcting the problems. The exception to this is the recognition that familiarity sometimes blinds people to new or innovative ways of getting around a problem. This is where such decision-making techniques as reflective thinking play a role.

Reflective thinking, brainstorming, and other techniques (e.g., nominal group, DELPHI, etc.) are *decision-making heuristics* that assist the comprehensive assessment of information. They are no guarantees, but they generally provide useful techniques to assure that important considerations have not been overlooked. What most of these heuristics have in common is a set of steps designed to optimize member input, maximize consideration of alternatives, and/or minimize the influence of personal factors that might otherwise impair relevant analysis of group objectives.

Skills. Skills are repeatable, goal-directed behaviors. Skills are the behaviors people perform to get things done. The number of various communication skills that might be useful to group functioning is virtually endless. Spitzberg and Cupach (1989) identified approximately 130 potentially unique communication skills involved in interpersonally competent interaction. Furthermore, the levels at which these skills are conceived vary widely. For example, it makes sense to say that eye contact and question-asking are skills important to communicating competently. At the same time, it is perfectly reasonable to tout assertiveness and argumentation skills as essential. Yet, these are very different skills in terms of their levels of abstraction. Eye contact is a very microscopic skill, whereas argumentation is a more macroscopic skill, which builds upon and combines more microscopic skills. For example, at the microscopic level, Leathers (1969) found that messages that were deliberate, clear, involved, relevant, adapted, idea-based, and composed tended to produce competent group outcomes. At the more macroscopic level, Barge, Downs, and Johnson (1989) found that group communication episodes that were coordinated, cumulatively positive in reinforcement, and expressive of appropriate rituals tended to be competent. Episodes that were ambiguous or ambivalent, and which repeated unwanted patterns, tended to be incompetent forms of group interaction.

In order to avoid an endless list of skills, I will concentrate on a line of research on the relatively microscopic skills that people tend to view as competent (Spitzberg, 1989; Spitzberg & Hurt, 1987). These skills cluster into four general categories, which then can be considered relatively macroscopic skills. The four clusters are *composure, coordination, altercentrism,* and *expressiveness.*

Composure is the skill of demonstrating confidence, assertiveness, and self-comfort. To be composed is to appear like you know what you are doing, why you are doing it, and that you are confident and self-directed in your performance of this knowledge. Composure is likely to be demonstrated by avoiding behaviors suggesting anxiety and nervousness (e.g., shaking, fidgeting, tense voice, nonfluent speech, rigid posture, etc.). In addition to this, composure is facilitated by a forcefulness of voice, steadiness of hand, and calculation of movement and statement.

Coordination concerns the management of the ebb and flow of interaction. As subconscious as this skill generally is, it is vital to the competent production of interpersonal communication. Coordination skills involve the smooth transition of speaking turns among participants, the uptake and maintenance of conversational topics, the initiation and termination of discussion, and the management of conversational synchrony and "balance." Skills such as providing feedback, initiating topics, distributing talk time equitably, dealing with interruptions, and comfortably providing transition to new topics are all involved in coordinating communication in groups. More subtle abilities, such as recognizing the role of breathing, eye contact, and gestures, also play a role in conversational coordination.

Altercentrism, in which "alter" refers to the "other" person and "centrism" means "to center upon," is the skill of demonstrating concern for, interest in, and attention to others during interaction. Listening skills, feedback skills, eye contact, affiliative body orientation, and adaptation to another person's topics and behaviors all portray an altercentric orientation. In general, altercentrism indicates involvement in, and respect for, the other person's interests.

Expressiveness entails all aspects of verbal and nonverbal expression of meanings. Typically, expressiveness involves facial expression, gesturing, tonal variability, articulation, and verbal and vocalic intensity. It also includes such ineffable qualities as laughter and humor, charisma, and energy level. The intensity and activity levels of a person are primarily due to their expressive tendencies.

The ability to simply perform such skills is itself seldom sufficient. It is important to be able to perform them at the best time, the best place, and in the best manner. Such an ability is commonly referred to as *adaptability.* It implies the ability to adjust your behavior optimally as the specific demands of the context require. Underlying adaptability are the motivation and knowledge components discussed previously. At the behavioral level, adaptability is likely to be reflected by variations in how one behaves across situations and time.

Once more, there are parallels that merit identification. To a large extent, the skills of altercentrism and expressiveness concern issues of appropriateness, socioemotional functioning, and affiliation, whereas composure and coordination involve effectiveness, task functioning, and power. While this is an oversimplification, the extent of correspondence is important. The basic functions of interpersonal interaction appear to produce skills that specialize in managing these functions (Bales and Cohen, 1979).

Context. Ever since Fiedler's (1967) classic work on leader effectiveness, and work such as that of Poole, Seibold, and McPhee (1986), it has been clear that context strongly influences individual competence and group outcomes. The features of the context that seem most relevant to individual functioning are *task structure, climate,* and *power relations.*

Task structure is the extent to which the task is highly defined or ambiguous, complex or simple, and flexible or rigid. In general, highly task-oriented persons are likely to be more competent in highly defined tasks. Simplicity (i.e., how many steps and resources must be involved to solve the task) and rigidity (i.e., how absolute and irrevocable is the task) are likely to promote competent interaction when time is short, intellectual resources of the group members are not high, and when the task itself involves fairly routine or known processes.

Climate is the emotional tone of the group. Positive climate indicates that group members tend to like the group, its task, and its leadership. To the extent that the climate is moderately to highly positive, competent interaction tends to be facilitated. Of course, there are times when different styles of interaction will be more competent than others. Thus, for example, Fiedler (1967) predicts that a strongly authoritative and task-oriented style of leadership will be competent both in extremely positive and extremely negative climates. In the highly positive climate, members are willing to be directed. In the highly negative climate, they desperately need to be directed. Similarly, Janis (1982) has detailed the many ways in which decision making can be subverted by excessively positive group climate that leads to avoidance of critical discussion and excessive concern for status. Nevertheless, competent interaction is likely to be easier in groups with positive climates.

The context may also present a group with clearly defined lines of authority and *power relations,* or leave this as something to be negotiated informally among members. For example, highly creative and artistic group members may function more competently in groups with relatively laissez-faire leadership and power, whereas detail-minded members may prefer the narrow boundaries of a more authoritarian power structure (Halal, 1974).

A final feature of group contexts that requires consideration is the phase and *time period* in which the group is functioning. For example, research has consistently identified a "conflict" phase that problem-solving groups tend to go through, in the process of reaching a decision on a novel task with numerous options. Argumentativeness and assertion are likely to be viewed as more competent in such a phase than after the group has reached a decision and is seeking the reinforcement of group solidarity. Obviously, any given skill is likely to be more competent during some times than at others.

Outcomes. Thus far, I have attempted to relate all group dynamics to the fundamental dimensions of appropriateness (a la affiliation and socioemotional functioning) and effectiveness (a la power and task functioning). In keeping with this effort, the products of competent group interaction can be seen in terms of the socioemotional outcomes of cohesiveness and satisfaction and the task outcomes of productivity and quality of output. It is no accident that the major concerns of organizational and group studies are such things as employee affect (typically assessed in terms of cohesiveness, satisfaction, turnover, commitment, absenteeism, etc.) and employee output (typically conceptualized as productivity, decision quality, product quality, etc.). It is also no accident that both organizational and small group research consistently demonstrate that member perceptions of the quality of communication among group members is the primary determinant of these outcomes.

Conclusions

For a long period in the history of group research and theory, it was believed that the individuals in a group made most of the difference in group outcomes. Thus, it was presumed that what made a group effective was the collection of the personality traits of the individual members, and the traits of the leader in particular. Then, for several decades scholars revised their thinking under the assumption that it was the interplay of traits with context, and the process of interaction, that determined the outcomes of groups.

Only recently has research begun to indicate that the original models had more merit than later we supposed (Peters, Hartke, & Pohlmann, 1984; Strube & Garcia, 1981; Kenny & Zaccaro, 1983; Lord, DeVader & Alliger, 1986). That is, the individual abilities that members bring with them to the group, and the influence of any given individual, can play very important roles in the evolution of group processes. This chapter, although concerned with the process of communication that occurs between and among group members, is predicated on the assumption that individual abilities make a difference in this process.

The basic assumption pursued is that individual members will be more interpersonally competent within the group context to the extent that they are motivated, knowledgeable, and skilled in implementing their motivation and knowledge. It follows that the more interpersonally competent the members are across the entire group, the more socioemotionally and task effective the group is likely to be. While contextual factors can certainly interfere with a group's competence, they can also facilitate competent interaction as well.

Finally, there are times when the performance of group members appears to exceed their actual levels of competence. While this might normally be classified under the mysterious label of "nonsummativity" (i.e., the whole exceeds the sum of the individual parts or members), in the competence model it is less mysterious. There are times when motivation, drive and perseverence compensate for knowledge and ability. There are also times when knowledge, familiarity, and experience compensate for a lack of motivation and skill. Finally, there are times when sheer ability is sufficient even without much motivation or knowledge of the specific task. This suggests that nonsummativity occurs as a product of the particular "fit" of competence components to the particular demands presented by a given task and context. In this sense, summing individual resources is less relevant than assessing the degree to which individual resources mesh with the specific tasks to be accomplished. Thus, while in any given context a person may get by with only motivation, knowledge, *or* skills, success is made more probable by the possession of all three.

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The SEVEN HABITS of HIGHLY EFFECTIVE PEOPLE

Restoring the Character Ethic

Stephen R. Covey

A FIRESIDE BOOK
Published by Simon & Schuster
New York London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore

INSIDE-OUT

> *There is no real excellence in all this world*
> *which can be separated from right living.*
> DAVID STARR JORDAN

IN MORE THAN 25 YEARS of working with people in business, university, and marriage and family settings, I have come in contact with many individuals who have achieved an incredible degree of outward success, but have found themselves struggling with an inner hunger, a deep need for personal congruency and effectiveness and for healthy, growing relationships with other people.

I suspect some of the problems they have shared with me may be familiar to you.

I've set and met my career goals and I'm having tremendous professional success. But it's cost me my personal and family life. I don't know my wife and children any more. I'm not even sure I know myself and what's really important to me. I've had to ask myself—is it worth it?

I've started a new diet—for the fifth time this year. I know I'm overweight, and I really want to change. I read all the new information, I set goals, I get myself all psyched up with a positive mental attitude and tell myself I can do it. But I don't. After a few weeks, I fizzle. I just can't seem to keep a promise I make to myself.

I've taken course after course on effective management training. I expect a lot out of my employees and I work hard to be friendly toward them and to treat them right. But I don't feel any loyalty from them. I think if I were home sick for a day, they'd spend most of their time gabbing at the water fountain. Why can't I train them to be independent and responsible—or find employees who can be?

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

My teenage son is rebellious and on drugs. No matter what I try, he won't listen to me. What can I do?

There's so much to do. And there's never enough time. I feel pressured and hassled all day, every day, seven days a week. I've attended time management seminars and I've tried half a dozen different planning systems. They've helped some, but I still don't feel I'm living the happy, productive, peaceful life I want to live.

I want to teach my children the value of work. But to get them to do anything, I have to supervise every move . . . and put up with complaining every step of the way. It's so much easier to do it myself. Why can't children do their work cheerfully and without being reminded?

I'm busy—really busy. But sometimes I wonder if what I'm doing will make any difference in the long run. I'd really like to think there was meaning in my life, that somehow things were different because I was here.

I see my friends or relatives achieve some degree of success or receive some recognition, and I smile and congratulate them enthusiastically. But inside, I'm eating my heart out. Why do I feel this way?

I have a forceful personality. I know, in almost any interaction, I can control the outcome. Most of the time, I can even do it by influencing others to come up with the solution I want. I think through each situation and I really feel the ideas I come up with are usually the best for everyone. But I feel uneasy. I always wonder what other people really think of me and my ideas.

My marriage has gone flat. We don't fight or anything; we just don't love each other anymore. We've gone to counseling; we've tried a number of things, but we just can't seem to rekindle the feeling we used to have.

These are deep problems, painful problems—problems that quick fix approaches can't solve.

A few years ago, my wife Sandra and I were struggling with this kind of concern. One of our sons was having a very difficult time in school. He was doing poorly academically; he didn't even know how to follow the instructions on the tests, let alone do well on them. Socially he was immature, often embarrassing those closest to him. Athletically, he was small, skinny, and uncoordinated—swinging his baseball bat, for example, almost before the ball was even pitched. Others would laugh at him.

Sandra and I were consumed with a desire to help him. We felt that if "success" were important in any area of life, it was supremely important in our role as parents. So we worked on our attitudes and behavior toward him and we tried to work on his. We attempted to psych him up using positive mental attitude techniques. "Come on, son! You can do it! We know you can. Put your hands a little higher on the bat and keep your eye on the ball. Don't swing till it gets close to you." And if he did a little better, we would go to great lengths to reinforce him. "That's good, son, keep it up."

When others laughed, we reprimanded them. "Leave him alone. Get off his back. He's just learning." And our son would cry and insist that he'd never be any good and that he didn't like baseball anyway.

Nothing we did seemed to help, and we were really worried. We could see the effect this was having on his self-esteem. We tried to be encouraging and helpful and positive, but after repeated failure, we finally drew back and tried to look at the situation on a different level.

At this time in my professional role I was involved in leadership development work with various clients throughout the country. In that capacity I was preparing bimonthly programs on the subject of communication and perception for IBM's Executive Development Program participants.

As I researched and prepared these presentations, I became particularly interested in how perceptions are formed, how they govern the way we see, and how the way we see governs how we behave. This led me to a study of expectancy theory and self-fulfilling prophecies or the "Pygmalion effect," and to a realization of how deeply imbedded our perceptions are. It taught me that we must look *at* the lens through which we see the world, as well as at the world we see, and that the lens itself shapes how we interpret the world.

As Sandra and I talked about the concepts I was teaching at IBM and about our own situation, we began to realize that what we were doing to help our son was not in harmony with the way we really *saw* him. When we honestly examined our deepest feelings, we realized that our perception was that he was basically inadequate, somehow "behind." No matter how much we worked on our attitude and behavior, our efforts were ineffective because, despite our actions and our words, what we really communicated to him was, "You aren't capable. You have to be protected."

We began to realize that if we wanted to change the situation, we first had to change ourselves. And to change ourselves effectively, we first had to change our perceptions.

THE PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER ETHICS

At the same time, in addition to my research on perception, I was also deeply immersed in an in-depth study of the success literature published in the United States since 1776. I was reading or scanning literally hundreds of books, articles, and essays in fields such as self-improvement, popular psychology, and self-help. At my fingertips was the sum and substance of what a free and democratic people considered to be the keys to successful living.

As my study took me back through 200 years of writing about success, I noticed a startling pattern emerging in the content of the literature. Because of our own pain, and because of similar pain I had seen in the lives and relationships of many people I had worked with through the years, I began to feel more and more that much of the success literature of the past 50 years was superficial. It was filled with social image consciousness, techniques and quick fixes—with social band-aids and aspirin that addressed acute problems and sometimes even appeared to solve them temporarily, but left the underlying chronic problems untouched to fester and resurface time and again.

In stark contrast, almost all the literature in the first 150 years or so focused on what could be called the *Character Ethic* as the foundation of success—things like integrity, humility, fidelity, temperance, courage, justice, patience, industry, simplicity, modesty, and the Golden Rule. Benjamin Franklin's autobiography is representative of that literature. It is, basically, the story of one man's effort to integrate certain principles and habits deep within his nature.

The Character Ethic taught that there are basic principles of effective living, and that people can only experience true success and enduring happiness as they learn and integrate these principles into their basic character.

But shortly after World War I the basic view of success shifted from the Character Ethic to what we might call the *Personality Ethic*. Success became more a function of personality, of public image, of attitudes and behaviors, skills and techniques, that lubricate the processes of human interaction. This Personality Ethic essentially took two paths: one was human and public relations techniques, and the other was positive mental attitude (PMA). Some of this philosophy was expressed in inspiring and sometimes valid maxims such as "Your attitude determines your altitude," "Smiling wins more friends than frowning," and "Whatever the mind of man can conceive and believe it can achieve."

Other parts of the personality approach were clearly manipulative, even deceptive, encouraging people to use techniques to get other people to like them, or to fake interest in the hobbies of others to get out of them what they wanted, or to use the "power look," or to intimidate their way through life.

Some of this literature acknowledged character as an ingredient of success, but tended to compartmentalize it rather than recognize it as foundational and catalytic. Reference to the Character Ethic became mostly lip service; the basic thrust was quick-fix influence techniques, power strategies, communication skills, and positive attitudes.

This Personality Ethic, I began to realize, was the subconscious source of the solutions Sandra and I were attempting to use with our son. As I thought more deeply about the difference between the Personality and Character Ethics, I realized that Sandra and I had been getting social mileage out of our children's good behavior, and, in our eyes, this son simply didn't measure up. Our *image* of ourselves, and our role as good, caring parents was even deeper than our *image* of our son and perhaps influenced it. There was a lot more wrapped up in *the way we were seeing* and handling the problem than our concern for our son's welfare.

As Sandra and I talked, we became painfully aware of the powerful influence of our own character and motives and of our perception of him. We knew that social comparison motives were out of harmony with our deeper values and could lead to conditional love and eventually to our son's lessened sense of self-worth. So we determined to focus our efforts on *us*—not on our techniques, but on our deepest motives and our perception of him. Instead of trying to change him, we tried to stand apart—to separate *us* from *him*—and to sense his identity, individuality, separateness, and worth.

Through deep thought and the exercise of faith and prayer, we began to *see* our son in terms of his own uniqueness. We *saw* within him layers and layers of potential that would be realized at his own pace and speed. We decided to relax and get out of his way and let his own personality emerge. We *saw* our natural role as being to affirm, enjoy, and value him. We also conscientiously worked on our motives and cultivated internal sources of security so that our own feelings of worth were not dependent on our children's "acceptable" behavior.

As we loosened up our old perception of our son and developed value-based motives, new feelings began to emerge. We found ourselves enjoying him instead of comparing or judging him. We stopped trying to clone him in our own image or measure him against social expectations. We stopped trying to kindly, positively manipulate him into an acceptable social mold. Because we saw him as fundamentally adequate and able to cope with life, we stopped protecting him against the ridicule of others.

He had been nurtured on this protection, so he went through some withdrawal pains, which he expressed and which we accepted, but did not necessarily respond to. "We don't need to protect you," was the unspoken message. "You're fundamentally okay."

As the weeks and months passed, he began to feel a quiet confidence and affirmed himself. He began to blossom, at his own pace and speed. He became outstanding as measured by standard social criteria—academically, socially and athletically—at a rapid clip, far beyond the so-called natural developmental process. As the years passed, he was elected to several student body leadership positions, developed into an all-state athlete and started bringing home straight A report cards. He developed an engaging and guileless personality that has enabled him to relate in nonthreatening ways to all kinds of people.

Sandra and I believe that our son's "socially impressive" accomplishments were more a serendipitous expression of the feelings he had about himself than merely a response to social reward. This was an amazing experience for Sandra and me, and a very instructional one in dealing with our other children and in other roles as well. It brought to our awareness on a very personal level the vital difference between the Personality Ethic and the Character Ethic of success. The Psalmist expressed our conviction well: "Search your own heart with all diligence for out of it flow the issues of life."

Primary and Secondary Greatness

My experience with my son, my study of perception and my reading of the success literature coalesced to create one of those "Aha!" experiences in life when suddenly things click into place. I was suddenly able to see the powerful impact of the Personality Ethic and to clearly understand those subtle, often consciously unidentified discrepancies between what I knew to be true—some things I had been taught many years ago as a child and things that were deep in my own inner sense of value—and the quick fix philosophies that surrounded me every day. I understood at a deeper level why, as I had worked through the years with people from all walks of life, I had found that the things I was teaching and knew to be effective were often at variance with these popular voices.

I am not suggesting that elements of the Personality Ethic—personality growth, communication skill training, and education in the field of influence strategies and positive thinking—are not beneficial, in fact sometimes essential for success. I believe they are. But these are secondary, not primary traits. Perhaps, in utilizing our human capacity to build on the foundation of generations before us, we have inadvertently become so focused on our own building that we have forgotten the foundation that holds it up; or in reaping for so long where we have not sown, perhaps we have forgotten the need to sow.

If I try to use human influence strategies and tactics of how to get other people to do what I want, to work better, to be more motivated, to like me and each other—while my character is fundamentally flawed, marked by duplicity and insincerity—then, in the long run, I cannot be successful. My duplicity will breed distrust, and everything I do—even using so-called good human relations techniques—will be perceived as manipulative. It simply makes no difference how good the rhetoric is or even how good the intentions are; if there is little or no trust, there is no foundation for permanent success. Only basic goodness gives life to technique.

To focus on technique is like cramming your way through school. You sometimes get by, perhaps even get good grades, but if you don't pay the price day in and day out, you never achieve true mastery of the subjects you study or develop an educated mind.

Did you ever consider how ridiculous it would be to try to cram on a farm—to forget to plant in the spring, play all summer and then cram in the fall to bring in the harvest? The farm is a natural system. The price must be paid and the process followed. You always reap what you sow; there is no shortcut.

This principle is also true, ultimately, in human behavior, in human relationships. They, too, are natural systems based on the law of the harvest. In the short run, in an artificial social system such as school, you may be able to get by if you learn how to manipulate the man-made rules, to "play the game." In most one-shot or short-lived human interactions, you can use the Personality Ethic to get by and to make favorable impressions through charm and skill and pretending to be interested in other people's hobbies. You can pick up quick, easy techniques that may work in short-term situations. But secondary traits alone have no permanent worth in long-term relationships. Eventually, if there isn't deep integrity and fundamental character strength, the challenges of life will cause true motives to surface and human relationship failure will replace short-term success.

Many people with secondary greatness—that is, social recognition for their talents—lack primary greatness or goodness in their character. Sooner or later, you'll see this in every long-term relationship they have, whether it is with a business associate, a spouse, a friend, or a teenage child going through an identity crisis. It is character that communicates most eloquently. As Emerson once put it, "What you are shouts so loudly in my ears I cannot hear what you say."

There are, of course, situations where people have character strength but they lack communication skills, and that undoubtedly affects the quality of relationships as well. But the effects are still secondary.

In the last analysis, what we *are* communicates far more eloquently than anything we *say* or *do*. We all know it. There are people we trust absolutely because we know their character. Whether they're eloquent or not, whether they have the human relations techniques or not, we trust them, and we work successfully with them.

In the words of William George Jordan, "Into the hands of every individual is given a marvelous power for good or evil—the silent, unconscious, unseen influence of his life. This is simply the constant radiation of what man really is, not what he pretends to be."

The Power of a Paradigm

The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People embody many of the fundamental principles of human effectiveness. These habits are basic; they are primary. They represent the internalization of correct principles upon which enduring happiness and success are based.

But before we can really understand these Seven Habits, we need to understand our own "paradigms" and how to make a "paradigm shift."

Both the Character Ethic and the Personality Ethic are examples of social paradigms. The word *paradigm* comes from the Greek. It was originally a scientific term, and is more commonly used today to mean a model, theory, perception, assumption, or frame of reference. In the more general sense, it's the way we "see" the world—not in terms of our visual sense of sight, but in terms of perceiving, understanding, interpreting.

For our purposes, a simple way to understand paradigms is to see them as maps. We all know that "the map is not the territory." A map is simply an explanation of certain aspects of the territory. That's exactly what a paradigm is. It is a theory, an explanation, or model of something else.

Suppose you wanted to arrive at a specific location in central Chicago. A street map of the city would be a great help to you in reaching your destination. But suppose you were given the wrong map. Through a printing error, the map labeled "Chicago" was actually a map of Detroit. Can you imagine the frustration, the ineffectiveness of trying to reach your destination?

You might work on your *behavior*—you could try harder, be more diligent, double your speed. But your efforts would only succeed in getting you to the wrong place faster.

You might work on your *attitude*—you could think more positively. You still wouldn't get to the right place, but perhaps you wouldn't care. Your attitude would be so positive, you'd be happy wherever you were.

The point is, you'd still be lost. The fundamental problem has nothing to do with your behavior or your attitude. It has everything to do with having a wrong map.

If you have the right map of Chicago, *then* diligence becomes important, and when you encounter frustrating obstacles along the way, *then* attitude can make a real difference. But the first and most important requirement is the accuracy of the map.

Each of us has many, many maps in our head, which can be divided into two main categories: maps of *the way things are*, or *realities*, and maps of *the way things should be*, or *values*. We interpret everything we experience through these mental maps. We seldom question their accuracy; we're usually even unaware that we have them. We simply *assume* that the way we see things is the way they really are or the way they should be.

And our attitudes and behaviors grow out of those assumptions. The way we see things is the source of the way we think and the way we act.

Before going any further, I invite you to have an intellectual and emotional experience. Take a few seconds and just look at the picture on the following page.

Now look at the picture on page 26 and carefully describe what you see.

Do you see a woman? How old would you say she is? What does she look like? What is she wearing? In what kind of roles do you see her?

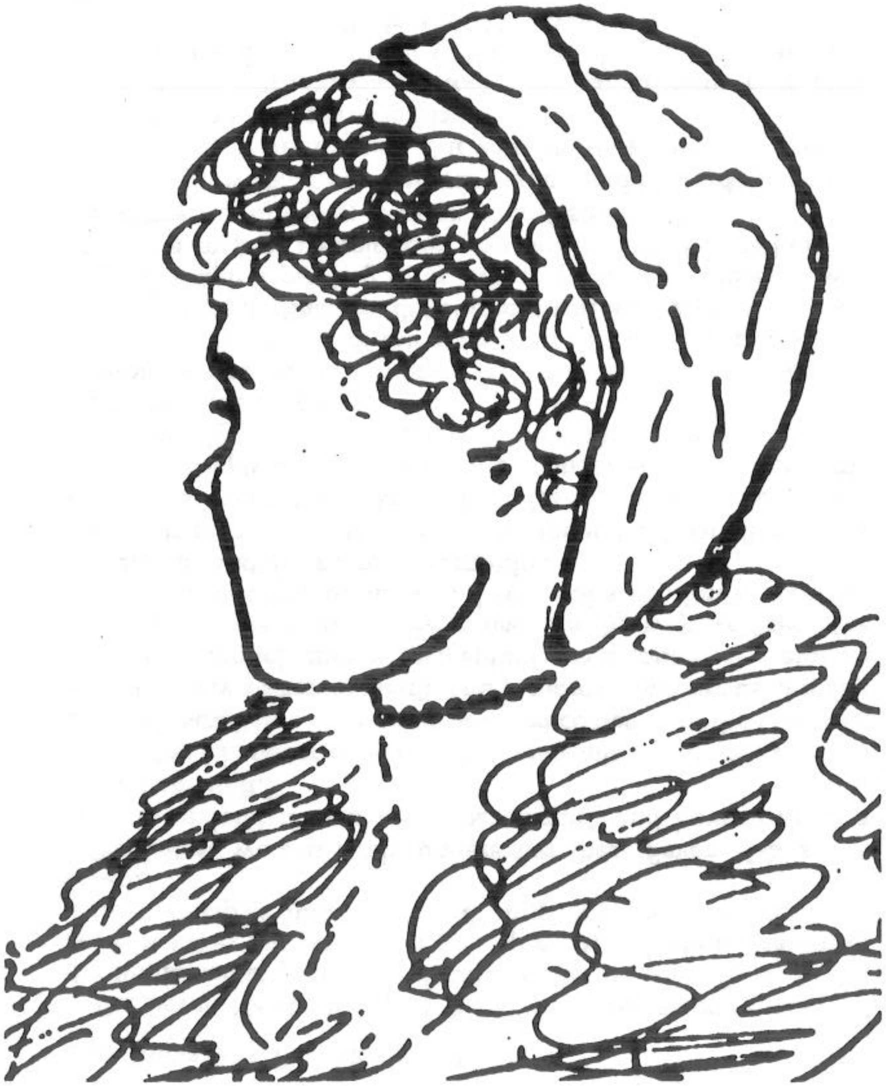
You probably would describe the woman in the second picture to be about 25 years old—very lovely, rather fashionable with a petite nose and a demure presence. If you were a single man you might like to take her out. If you were in retailing, you might hire her as a fashion model.

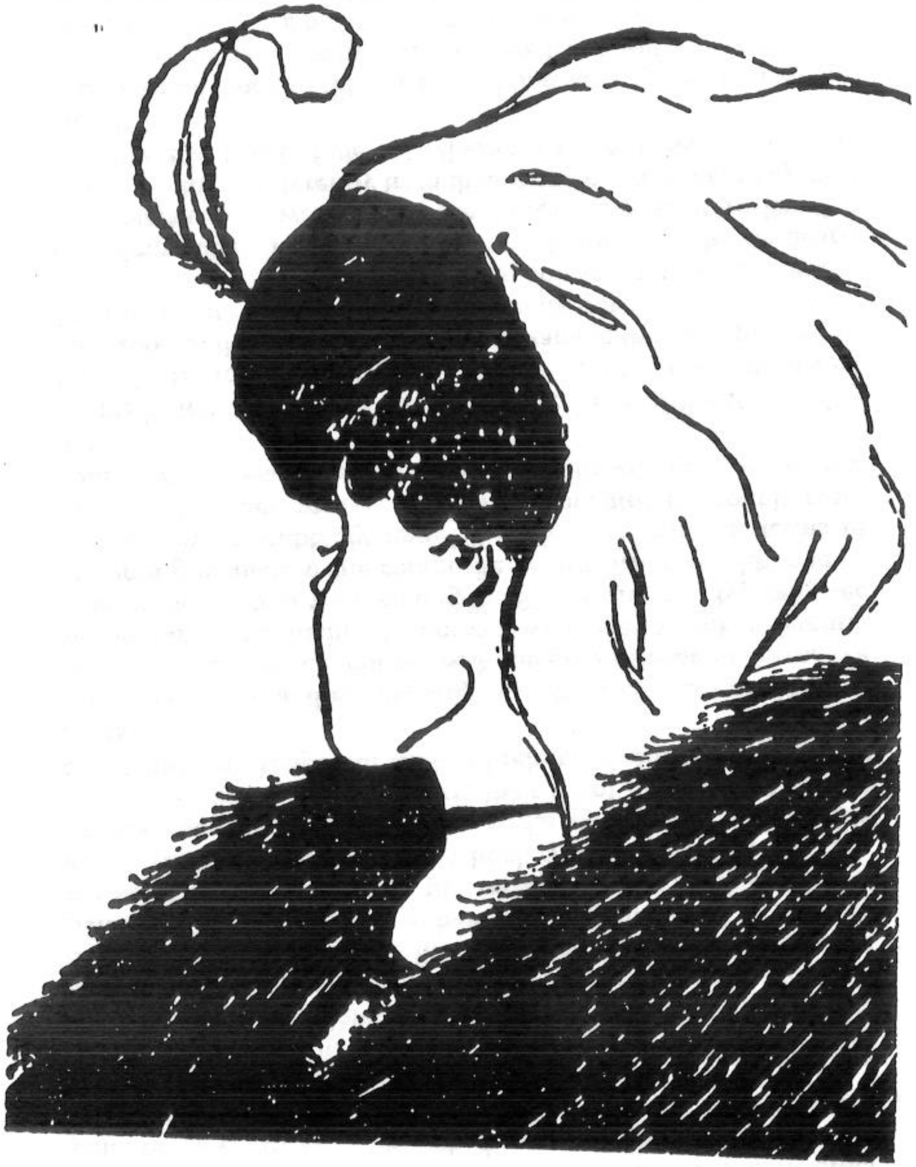
But what if I were to tell you that you're wrong? What if I said this picture is of a woman in her 60's or 70's who looks sad, has a huge nose, and is certainly no model. She's someone you probably would help across the street.

Who's right? Look at the picture again. Can you see the old woman? If you can't, keep trying. Can you see her big hook nose? Her shawl?

If you and I were talking face to face, we could discuss the picture. You could describe what you see to me, and I could talk to you about what I see. We could continue to communicate until you clearly showed me what you see in the picture and I clearly showed you what I see.

Because we can't do that, turn to page 45 and study the picture





there and then look at this picture again. Can you see the old woman now? It's important that you see her before you continue reading.

I first encountered this exercise many years ago at the Harvard Business School. The instructor was using it to demonstrate clearly and eloquently that two people can see the same thing, disagree, and yet both be right. It's not logical; its psychological.

He brought into the room a stack of large cards, half of which had the image of the young woman you saw on page 25, and the other half of which had the image of the old woman on page 45.

He passed them out to the class, the picture of the young woman to one side of the room and the picture of the old woman to the other. He asked us to look at the cards, concentrate on them for about ten seconds and then pass them back in. He then projected upon the screen the picture you saw on page 26 combining both images and asked the class to describe what they saw. Almost every person in that class who had first seen the young woman's image on a card saw the young woman in the picture. And almost every person who had first seen the old woman's image on a card saw an old woman in the picture.

The professor then asked one student to explain what he saw to a student on the opposite side of the room. As they talked back and forth, communication problems flared up.

"What do you mean, 'old lady'? She couldn't be more than 20 or 22 years old!"

"Oh, come on. You have to be joking. She's 70—could be pushing 80!"

"What's the matter with you? Are you blind? This lady is young, good looking. I'd like to take her out. She's lovely."

"Lovely? She's an old hag."

The arguments went back and forth, each person sure of, and adamant in, his or her position. All of this occurred in spite of one exceedingly important advantage the students had—most of them knew early in the demonstration that another point of view did, in fact, exist—something many of us would never admit. Nevertheless, at first, only a few students really tried to see this picture from another frame of reference.

After a period of futile communication, one student went up to the screen and pointed to a line on the drawing. "There is the young woman's necklace." The other one said, "No, that is the old woman's mouth." Gradually, they began to calmly discuss specific points of difference, and finally one student, and then another, experienced sudden recognition when the images of both came into focus. Through continued calm, respectful, and specific communication, each of us in the room was finally able to see the other point of view. But when we looked away and then back, most of us would immediately see the image we had been conditioned to see in the ten-second period of time.

I frequently use this perception demonstration in working with people and organizations because it yields so many deep insights into both personal and interpersonal effectiveness. It shows, first of all, how powerfully conditioning affects our perceptions, our paradigms. If ten seconds can have that kind of impact on the way we see things, what about the conditioning of a lifetime? The influences in our lives—family, school, church, work environment, friends, associates, and current social paradigms such as the Personality Ethic—all have made their silent unconscious impact on us and help shape our frame of reference, our paradigms, our maps.

It also shows that these paradigms are the source of our attitudes and behaviors. We cannot act with integrity outside of them. We simply cannot maintain wholeness if we talk and walk differently than we see. If you were among the 90 percent who typically see the young woman in the composite picture when conditioned to do so, you undoubtedly found it difficult to think in terms of having to help her cross the street. Both your *attitude* about her and your *behavior* toward her had to be congruent with the way you *saw* her.

This brings into focus one of the basic flaws of the Personality Ethic. To try to change outward attitudes and behaviors does very little good in the long run if we fail to examine the basic paradigms from which those attitudes and behaviors flow.

This perception demonstration also shows how powerfully our paradigms affect the way we interact with other people. As clearly and objectively as we think we see things, we begin to realize that others see them differently from their own apparently equally clear and objective point of view. "Where we stand depends on where we sit."

Each of us tends to think we see things as they are, that we are *objective*. But this is not the case. We see the world, not as *it is*, but as *we are*—or, as we are conditioned to see it. When we open our mouths to describe what we see, we in effect describe ourselves, our perceptions, our paradigms. When other people disagree with

us, we immediately think something is wrong with them. But, as the demonstration shows, sincere, clearheaded people see things differently, each looking through the unique lens of experience.

This does not mean that there are no facts. In the demonstration, two individuals who initially have been influenced by different conditioning pictures look at the third picture together. They are now both looking at the same identical facts—black lines and white spaces—and they would both acknowledge these as facts. But each person's interpretation of these facts represents prior experiences, and the facts have no meaning whatsoever apart from the interpretation.

The more aware we are of our basic paradigms, maps, or assumptions, and the extent to which we have been influenced by our experience, the more we can take responsibility for those paradigms, examine them, test them against reality, listen to others and be open to their perceptions, thereby getting a larger picture and a far more objective view.

THE POWER OF A PARADIGM SHIFT

Perhaps the most important insight to be gained from the perception demonstration is in the area of paradigm shifting, what we might call the "Aha!" experience when someone finally "sees" the composite picture in another way. The more bound a person is by the initial perception, the more powerful the "Aha!" experience is. It's as though a light were suddenly turned on inside.

The term *paradigm shift* was introduced by Thomas Kuhn in his highly influential landmark book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Kuhn shows how almost every significant breakthrough in the field of scientific endeavor is first a break with tradition, with old ways of thinking, with old paradigms.

For Ptolemy, the great Egyptian astronomer, the earth was the center of the universe. But Copernicus created a paradigm shift, and a great deal of resistance and persecution as well, by placing the sun at the center. Suddenly, everything took on a different interpretation.

The Newtonian model of physics was a clockwork paradigm and is still the basis of modern engineering. But it was partial, incomplete. The scientific world was revolutionized by the Einsteinian paradigm, the relativity paradigm, which had much higher predictive and explanatory value.

Until the germ theory was developed, a high percentage of women and children died during childbirth, and no one could understand why. In military skirmishes, more men were dying from small wounds and diseases than from the major traumas on the front lines. But as soon as the germ theory was developed, a whole new paradigm, a better, improved way of understanding what was happening made dramatic, significant medical improvement possible.

The United States today is the fruit of a paradigm shift. The traditional concept of government for centuries had been a monarchy, the divine right of kings. Then a different paradigm was developed—government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And a constitutional democracy was born, unleashing tremendous human energy and ingenuity, and creating a standard of living, of freedom and liberty, of influence and hope unequaled in the history of the world.

Not all paradigm shifts are in positive directions. As we have observed, the shift from the Character Ethic to the Personality Ethic has drawn us away from the very roots that nourish true success and happiness.

But whether they shift us in positive or negative directions, whether they are instantaneous or developmental, paradigm shifts move us from one way of seeing the world to another. And those shifts create powerful change. Our paradigms, correct or incorrect, are the sources of our attitudes and behaviors, and ultimately our relationships with others.

I remember a mini-paradigm shift I experienced one Sunday morning on a subway in New York. People were sitting quietly—some reading newspapers, some lost in thought, some resting with their eyes closed. It was a calm, peaceful scene.

Then suddenly, a man and his children entered the subway car. The children were so loud and rambunctious that instantly the whole climate changed.

The man sat down next to me and closed his eyes, apparently oblivious to the situation. The children were yelling back and forth, throwing things, even grabbing people's papers. It was very disturbing. And yet, the man sitting next to me did nothing.

It was difficult not to feel irritated. I could not believe that he could be so insensitive as to let his children run wild like that and do nothing about it, taking no responsibility at all. It was easy to see that everyone else on the subway felt irritated, too. So finally, with what I felt was unusual patience and restraint, I turned to him and said, "Sir, your children are really disturbing a lot of people. I wonder if you couldn't control them a little more?"

The man lifted his gaze as if to come to a consciousness of the situation for the first time and said softly, "Oh, you're right. I guess I should do something about it. We just came from the hospital where their mother died about an hour ago. I don't know what to think, and I guess they don't know how to handle it either."

Can you imagine what I felt at that moment? My paradigm shifted. Suddenly I *saw* things differently, and because I *saw* differently, I *thought* differently, I *felt* differently, I *behaved* differently. My irritation vanished. I didn't have to worry about controlling my attitude or my behavior; my heart was filled with the man's pain. Feelings of sympathy and compassion flowed freely. "Your wife just died? Oh, I'm so sorry! Can you tell me about it? What can I do to help?" Everything changed in an instant.

Many people experience a similar fundamental shift in thinking when they face a life-threatening crisis and suddenly see their priorities in a different light, or when they suddenly step into a new role, such as that of husband or wife, parent or grandparent, manager or leader.

We could spend weeks, months, even years laboring with the Personality Ethic trying to change our attitudes and behaviors and not even begin to approach the phenomenon of change that occurs spontaneously when we see things differently.

It becomes obvious that if we want to make relatively minor changes in our lives, we can perhaps appropriately focus on our attitudes and behaviors. But if we want to make significant, quantum change, we need to work on our basic paradigms.

In the words of Thoreau, "For every thousand hacking at the leaves of evil, there is one striking at the root." We can only achieve quantum improvements in our lives as we quit hacking at the leaves of attitude and behavior and get to work on the root, the paradigms from which our attitudes and behaviors flow.

SEEING AND BEING

Of course, not all paradigm shifts are instantaneous. Unlike my instant insight on the subway, the paradigm-shifting experience

Sandra and I had with our son was a slow, difficult, and deliberate process. The approach we had first taken with him was the outgrowth of years of conditioning and experience in the Personality Ethic. It was the result of deeper paradigms we held about our own success as parents as well as the measure of success of our children. And it was not until we changed those basic paradigms, until we saw things differently, that we were able to create quantum change in ourselves and in the situation.

In order to *see* our son differently, Sandra and I had to *be* differently. Our new paradigm was created as we invested in the growth and development of our own character.

Paradigms are inseparable from character. *Being* is *seeing* in the human dimension. And what we *see* is highly interrelated to what we *are*. We can't go very far to change our seeing without simultaneously changing our being, and vice versa.

Even in my apparently instantaneous paradigm-shifting experience that morning on the subway, my change of vision was a result of—and limited by—my basic character.

I'm sure there are people who, even suddenly understanding the true situation, would have felt no more than a twinge of regret or vague guilt as they continued to sit in embarrassed silence beside the grieving, confused man. On the other hand, I am equally certain there are people who would have been far more sensitive in the first place, who may have recognized that a deeper problem existed and reached out to understand and help before I did.

Paradigms are powerful because they create the lens through which we see the world. The power of a paradigm shift is the essential power of quantum change, whether that shift is an instantaneous or a slow and deliberate process.

THE PRINCIPLE-CENTERED PARADIGM

The Character Ethic is based on the fundamental idea that there are *principles* that govern human effectiveness—natural laws in the human dimension that are just as real, just as unchanging and unarguably "there" as laws such as gravity are in the physical dimension.

An idea of the reality—and the impact—of these principles can be captured in another paradigm-shifting experience as told by Frank Koch in *Proceedings*, the magazine of the Naval Institute.

> Two battleships assigned to the training squadron had been at sea on maneuvers in heavy weather for several days. I was serving on the lead battleship and was on watch on the bridge as night fell. The visibility was poor with patchy fog, so the captain remained on the bridge keeping an eye on all activities.
>
> Shortly after dark, the lookout on the wing of the bridge reported, "Light, bearing on the starboard bow."
>
> "Is it steady or moving astern?" the captain called out.
>
> Lookout replied, "Steady, captain," which meant we were on a dangerous collision course with that ship.
>
> The captain then called to the signalman, "Signal that ship: We are on a collision course, advise you change course 20 degrees."
>
> Back came a signal, "Advisable for you to change course 20 degrees."
>
> The captain said, "Send, I'm a captain, change course 20 degrees."
>
> "I'm a seaman second class," came the reply. "You had better change course 20 degrees."
>
> By that time, the captain was furious. He spat out, "Send, I'm a battleship. Change course 20 degrees."
>
> Back came the flashing light, "I'm a lighthouse."
>
> We changed course.

The paradigm shift experienced by the captain—and by us as we read this account—puts the situation in a totally different light. We can see a reality that is superceded by his limited perception—a reality that is as critical for us to understand in our daily lives as it was for the captain in the fog.

Principles are like lighthouses. They are natural laws that cannot be broken. As Cecil B. deMille observed of the principles contained in his monumental movie, *The Ten Commandments*, "It is impossible for us to break the law. We can only break ourselves against the law."

While individuals may look at their own lives and interactions in terms of paradigms or maps emerging out of their experience and conditioning, these maps are not the territory. They are a "subjective reality," only an attempt to describe the territory.

The "objective reality," or the territory itself, is composed of "lighthouse" principles that govern human growth and happiness—natural laws that are woven into the fabric of every civilized society throughout history and comprise the roots of every family and institution that has endured and prospered. The degree to which our mental maps accurately describe the territory does not alter its existence.

The reality of such principles or natural laws becomes obvious to anyone who thinks deeply and examines the cycles of social history. These principles surface time and time again, and the degree to which people in a society recognize and live in harmony with them moves them toward either survival and stability or disintegration and destruction.

The principles I am referring to are not esoteric, mysterious, or "religious" ideas. There is not one principle taught in this book that is unique to any specific faith or religion, including my own. These principles are a part of most every major enduring religion, as well as enduring social philosophies and ethical systems. They are self-evident and can easily be validated by any individual. It's almost as if these principles or natural laws are part of the human condition, part of the human consciousness, part of the human conscience. They seem to exist in all human beings, regardless of social conditioning and loyalty to them, even though they might be submerged or numbed by such conditions or disloyalty.

I am referring, for example, to the principle of *fairness*, out of which our whole concept of equity and justice is developed. Little children seem to have an innate sense of the idea of fairness even apart from opposite conditioning experiences. There are vast differences in how fairness is defined and achieved, but there is almost universal awareness of the idea.

Other examples would include *integrity* and *honesty*. They create the foundation of trust which is essential to cooperation and long-term personal and interpersonal growth.

Another principle is *human dignity*. The basic concept in the United States Declaration of Independence bespeaks this value or principle. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Another principle is *service*, or the idea of making a contribution. Another is *quality* or *excellence*.

There is the principle of *potential*, the idea that we are embryonic and can grow and develop and release more and more potential, develop more and more talents. Highly related to *potential* is the principle of *growth*—the process of releasing potential and developing talents, with the accompanying need for principles such as *patience, nurturance,* and *encouragement*.

Principles are not *practices*. A practice is a specific activity or action. A practice that works in one circumstance will not necessarily work in another, as parents who have tried to raise a second child exactly like they did the first can readily attest.

While practices are situationally specific, principles are deep, fundamental truths that have universal application. They apply to individuals, to marriages, to families, to private and public organizations of every kind. When these truths are internalized into habits, they empower people to create a wide variety of practices to deal with different situations.

Principles are not *values*. A gang of thieves can share values, but they are in violation of the fundamental principles we're talking about. Principles are the territory. Values are maps. When we value correct principles, we have truth—a knowledge of things as they are.

Principles are guidelines for human conduct that are proven to have enduring, permanent value. They're fundamental. They're essentially unarguable because they are self-evident. One way to quickly grasp the self-evident nature of principles is to simply consider the absurdity of attempting to live an effective life based on their opposites. I doubt that anyone would seriously consider unfairness, deceit, baseness, uselessness, mediocrity, or degeneration to be a solid foundation for lasting happiness and success. Although people may argue about how these principles are defined or manifested or achieved, there seems to be an innate consciousness and awareness that they exist.

The more closely our maps or paradigms are aligned with these principles or natural laws, the more accurate and functional they will be. Correct maps will infinitely impact our personal and interpersonal effectiveness far more than any amount of effort expended on changing our attitudes and behaviors.

PRINCIPLES OF GROWTH AND CHANGE

The glitter of the Personality Ethic, the massive appeal, is that there is some quick and easy way to achieve quality of life—personal effectiveness and rich, deep relationships with other people—without going through the natural process of work and growth that makes it possible.

It's symbol without substance. It's the "get rich quick" scheme promising "wealth without work." And it might even appear to succeed—but the schemer remains.

The Personality Ethic is illusory and deceptive. And trying to get high quality results with its techniques and quick fixes is just about as effective as trying to get to some place in Chicago using a map of Detroit.

In the words of Erich Fromm, an astute observer of the roots and fruits of the Personality Ethic:

> Today we come across an individual who behaves like an automaton, who does not know or understand himself, and the only person that he knows is the person that he is supposed to be, whose meaningless chatter has replaced communicative speech, whose synthetic smile has replaced genuine laughter, and whose sense of dull despair has taken the place of genuine pain. Two statements may be said concerning this individual. One is that he suffers from defects of spontaneity and individuality which may seem to be incurable. At the same time it may be said of him he does not differ essentially from the millions of the rest of us who walk upon this earth.

In all of life, there are sequential stages of growth and development. A child learns to turn over, to sit up, to crawl, and then to walk and run. Each step is important and each one takes time. No step can be skipped.

This is true in all phases of life, in all areas of development, whether it be learning to play the piano or communicate effectively with a working associate. It is true with individuals, with marriages, with families, and with organizations.

We know and accept this fact or principle of *process* in the area of physical things, but to understand it in emotional areas, in human relations, and even in the area of personal character is less common and more difficult. And even if we understand it, to accept it and to live in harmony with it are even less common and more difficult. Consequently, we sometimes look for a shortcut, expecting to be able to skip some of these vital steps in order to save time and effort and still reap the desired result.

But what happens when we attempt to shortcut a natural process in our growth and development? If you are only an average tennis player but decide to play at a higher level in order to make a better impression, what will result? Would positive thinking alone enable you to compete effectively against a professional?

What if you were to lead your friends to believe you could play the piano at concert hall level while your actual present skill was that of a beginner?

The answers are obvious. It is simply impossible to violate, ignore, or shortcut this development process. It is contrary to nature, and attempting to seek such a shortcut only results in disappointment and frustration.

On a ten-point scale, if I am at level two in any field, and desire to move to level five, I must first take the step toward level three. "A thousand-mile journey begins with the first step" and can only be taken one step at a time.

If you don't let a teacher know at what level you are—by asking a question, or revealing your ignorance—you will not learn or grow. You cannot pretend for long, for you will eventually be found out. Admission of ignorance is often the first step in our education. Thoreau taught, "How can we remember our ignorance, which our growth requires, when we are using our knowledge all the time?"

I recall one occasion when two young women, daughters of a friend of mine, came to me tearfully, complaining about their father's harshness and lack of understanding. They were afraid to open up with their parents for fear of the consequences. And yet they desperately needed their parents' love, understanding, and guidance.

I talked with the father and found that he was intellectually aware of what was happening. But while he admitted he had a temper problem, he refused to take responsibility for it and to honestly accept the fact that his emotional development level was low. It was more than his pride could swallow to take the first step toward change.

To relate effectively with a wife, a husband, children, friends, or working associates, we must learn to listen. And this requires emotional strength. Listening involves patience, openness, and the desire to understand—highly developed qualities of character. It's so much easier to operate from a low emotional level and to give high-level advice.

Our level of development is fairly obvious with tennis or piano playing, where it is impossible to pretend. But it is not so obvious in the areas of character and emotional development. We can "pose" and "put on" for a stranger or an associate. We can pretend. And for a while we can get by with it—at least in public. We might even deceive ourselves. Yet I believe that most of us know the truth of what we really are inside; and I think many of those we live with and work with do as well.

I have seen the consequences of attempting to shortcut this natural process of growth often in the business world, where executives attempt to "buy" a new culture of improved productivity, quality, morale, and customer service with strong speeches, smile training, and external interventions, or through mergers, acquisitions, and friendly or unfriendly takeovers. But they ignore the low-trust climate produced by such manipulations. When these methods don't work, they look for other Personality Ethic techniques that will—all the time ignoring and violating the natural principles and processes on which a high-trust culture is based.

I remember violating this principle myself as a father many years ago. One day I returned home to my little girl's third-year birthday party to find her in the corner of the front room, defiantly clutching all of her presents, unwilling to let the other children play with them. The first thing I noticed was several parents in the room witnessing this selfish display. I was embarrassed, and doubly so because at the time I was teaching university classes in human relations. And I knew, or at least felt, the expectation of these parents.

The atmosphere in the room was really charged—the children were crowding around my little daughter with their hands out, asking to play with the presents they had just given, and my daughter was adamantly refusing. I said to myself, "Certainly I should teach my daughter to share. The value of sharing is one of the most basic things we believe in."

So I first tried a simple request. "Honey, would you please share with your friends the toys they've given you?"

"No," she replied flatly.

My second method was to use a little reasoning. "Honey, if you learn to share your toys with them when they are at your home, then when you go to their homes they will share their toys with you."

Again, the immediate reply was "No!"

I was becoming a little more embarrassed, for it was evident I was having no influence. The third method was bribery. Very softly I said, "Honey, if you share, I've got a special surprise for you. I'll give you a piece of gum."

"I don't want gum!" she exploded.

Now I was becoming exasperated. For my fourth attempt, I resorted to fear and threat. "Unless you share, you will be in real trouble!"

"I don't care!" she cried. "These are my things. I don't have to share!"

Finally, I resorted to force. I merely took some of the toys and gave them to the other kids. "Here, kids, play with these."

Perhaps my daughter needed the experience of possessing the things before she could give them. (In fact, unless I possess something, can I ever really give it?) She needed me as her father to have a higher level of emotional maturity to give her that experience.

But at that moment, I valued the opinion those parents had of me more than the growth and development of my child and our relationship together. I simply made an initial judgment that I was right; she should share, and she was wrong in not doing so.

Perhaps I superimposed a higher-level expectation on her simply because on my own scale I was at a lower level. I was unable or unwilling to give *patience* or *understanding*, so I expected her to give *things*. In an attempt to compensate for my deficiency, I *borrowed strength* from my position and authority and forced her to do what I wanted her to do.

But borrowing strength builds weakness. It builds weakness in the borrower because it reinforces dependence on external factors to get things done. It builds weakness in the person forced to acquiesce, stunting the development of independent reasoning, growth, and internal discipline. And finally, it builds weakness in the relationship. Fear replaces cooperation, and both people involved become more arbitrary and defensive.

And what happens when the source of borrowed strength—be it superior size or physical strength, position, authority, credentials, status symbols, appearance, or past achievements—changes or is no longer there?

Had I been more mature, I could have relied on my own intrinsic strength—my understanding of sharing and of growth and my capacity to love and nurture—and allowed my daughter to make a free choice as to whether she wanted to share or not to share. Perhaps after attempting to reason with her, I could have turned the attention of the children to an interesting game, taking all that emotional pressure off my child. I've learned that once children gain a sense of real possession, they share very naturally, freely, and spontaneously.

My experience has been that there are times to teach and times not to teach. When relationships are strained and the air charged with emotion, an attempt to teach is often perceived as a form of judgment and rejection. But to take the child alone, quietly, when the relationship is good and to discuss the teaching or the value seems to have much greater impact. It may have been that the emotional maturity to do that was beyond my level of patience and internal control at the time.

Perhaps a sense of possessing needs to come before a sense of genuine sharing. Many people who give mechanically or refuse to give and share in their marriages and families may never have experienced what it means to possess themselves, their own sense of identity and self-worth. Really helping our children grow may involve being patient enough to allow them the sense of possession as well as being wise enough to teach them the value of giving and providing the example ourselves.

THE WAY WE *SEE* THE PROBLEM *IS* THE PROBLEM

People are intrigued when they see good things happening in the lives of individuals, families, and organizations that are based on solid principles. They admire such personal strength and maturity, such family unity and teamwork, such adaptive synergistic organizational culture.

And their immediate request is very revealing of their basic paradigm. "How do you do it? Teach me the techniques." What they're really saying is, "Give me some quick fix advice or solution that will relieve the pain in my own situation."

They will find people who will meet their wants and teach these things; and for a short time, skills and techniques may appear to work. They may eliminate some of the cosmetic or acute problems through social aspirin and band-aids.

But the underlying chronic condition remains, and eventually new acute symptoms will appear. The more people are into quick fix and focus on the acute problems and pain, the more that very approach contributes to the underlying chronic condition.

The way we see the problem *is* the problem.

Look again at some of the concerns that introduced this chapter, and at the impact of Personality Ethic thinking.

I've taken course after course on effective management training. I expect a lot out of my employees and I work hard to be friendly toward them and to treat them right. But I don't feel any loyalty from them. I think if I were home sick for a day, they'd spend most of their time gabbing at the water fountain. Why can't I train them to be independent and responsible—or find employees who can be?

The Personality Ethic tells me I could take some kind of dramatic action—shake things up, make heads roll—that would make my employees shape up and appreciate what they have. Or that I could find some motivational training program that would get them committed. Or even that I could hire new people that would do a better job.

But is it possible that under that apparently disloyal behavior, these employees question whether I really act in their best interest? Do they feel like I'm treating them as mechanical objects? Is there some truth to that?

Deep inside, is that really the way I see them? Is there a chance the way I look at the people who work for me is part of the problem?

There's so much to do. And there's never enough time. I feel pressured and hassled all day, every day, seven days a week. I've attended time management seminars and I've tried half a dozen different planning systems. They've helped some, but I still don't feel I'm living the happy, productive, peaceful life I want to live.

The Personality Ethic tells me there must be something out there—some new planner or seminar that will help me handle all these pressures in a more efficient way.

But is there a chance that *efficiency* is not the answer? Is getting more things done in less time going to make a difference—or will it just increase the pace at which I react to the people and circumstances that seem to control my life?

Could there be something I need to see in a deeper, more fundamental way—some paradigm within myself that affects the way I see my time, my life, and my own nature?

My marriage has gone flat. We don't fight or anything; we just don't love each other anymore. We've gone to counseling; we've tried a number of things, but we just can't seem to rekindle the feeling we used to have.

The Personality Ethic tells me there must be some new book or some seminar where people get all their feelings out that would help my wife understand me better. Or maybe that it's useless, and only a new relationship will provide the love I need.

But is it possible that my spouse isn't the real problem? Could I be empowering my spouse's weaknesses and making my life a function of the way I'm treated?

Do I have some basic paradigm about my spouse, about marriage, about what love really is, that is feeding the problem?

Can you see how fundamentally the paradigms of the Personality Ethic affect the very way we see our problems as well as the way we attempt to solve them?

Whether people see it or not, many are becoming disillusioned with the empty promises of the Personality Ethic. As I travel around the country and work with organizations, I find that long-term thinking executives are simply turned off by psych up psychology and "motivational" speakers who have nothing more to share than entertaining stories mingled with platitudes.

They want substance; they want process. They want more than aspirin and band-aids. They want to solve the chronic underlying problems and focus on the principles that bring long-term results.

A New Level of Thinking

Albert Einstein observed, "The significant problems we face cannot be solved at the same level of thinking we were at when we created them."

As we look around us and within us and recognize the problems created as we live and interact within the Personality Ethic, we begin to realize that these are deep, fundamental problems that cannot be solved on the superficial level on which they were created.

We need a new level, a deeper level of thinking—a paradigm based on the principles that accurately describe the territory of effective human being and interacting—to solve these deep concerns.

This new level of thinking is what *Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* is about. It's a principle-centered, character-based, "inside-out" approach to personal and interpersonal effectiveness.

"Inside-out" means to start first with self; even more fundamentally, to start with the most *inside* part of self—with your paradigms, your character, and your motives.

It says if you want to *have* a happy marriage, *be* the kind of person who generates positive energy and sidesteps negative energy rather than empowering it. If you want to *have* a more pleasant, cooperative teenager, *be* a more understanding, empathic, consistent, loving parent. If you want to *have* more freedom, more latitude in your job, *be* a more responsible, a more helpful, a more contributing employee. If you want to be trusted, *be* trustworthy. If you want the secondary greatness of recognized talent, focus first on primary greatness of character.

The inside-out approach says that private victories precede public victories, that making and keeping promises to ourselves precedes making and keeping promises to others. It says it is futile to put personality ahead of character, to try to improve relationships with others before improving ourselves.

Inside-out is a process—a continuing process of renewal based on the natural laws that govern human growth and progress. It's an upward spiral of growth that leads to progressively higher forms of responsible independence and effective interdependence.

I have had the opportunity to work with many people—wonderful people, talented people, people who deeply want to achieve happiness and success, people who are searching, people who are hurting. I've worked with business executives, college students, church and civic groups, families and marriage partners. And in all of my experience, I have never seen lasting solutions to problems, lasting happiness and success, that came from the outside in.

What I have seen result from the outside-in paradigm is unhappy people who feel victimized and immobilized, who focus on the weaknesses of other people and the circumstances they feel are responsible for their own stagnant situation. I've seen unhappy marriages where each spouse wants the other to change, where each is confessing the other's "sins," where each is trying to shape up the other. I've seen labor management disputes where people spend tremendous amounts of time and energy trying to create legislation that would force people to act as though the foundation of trust were really there.

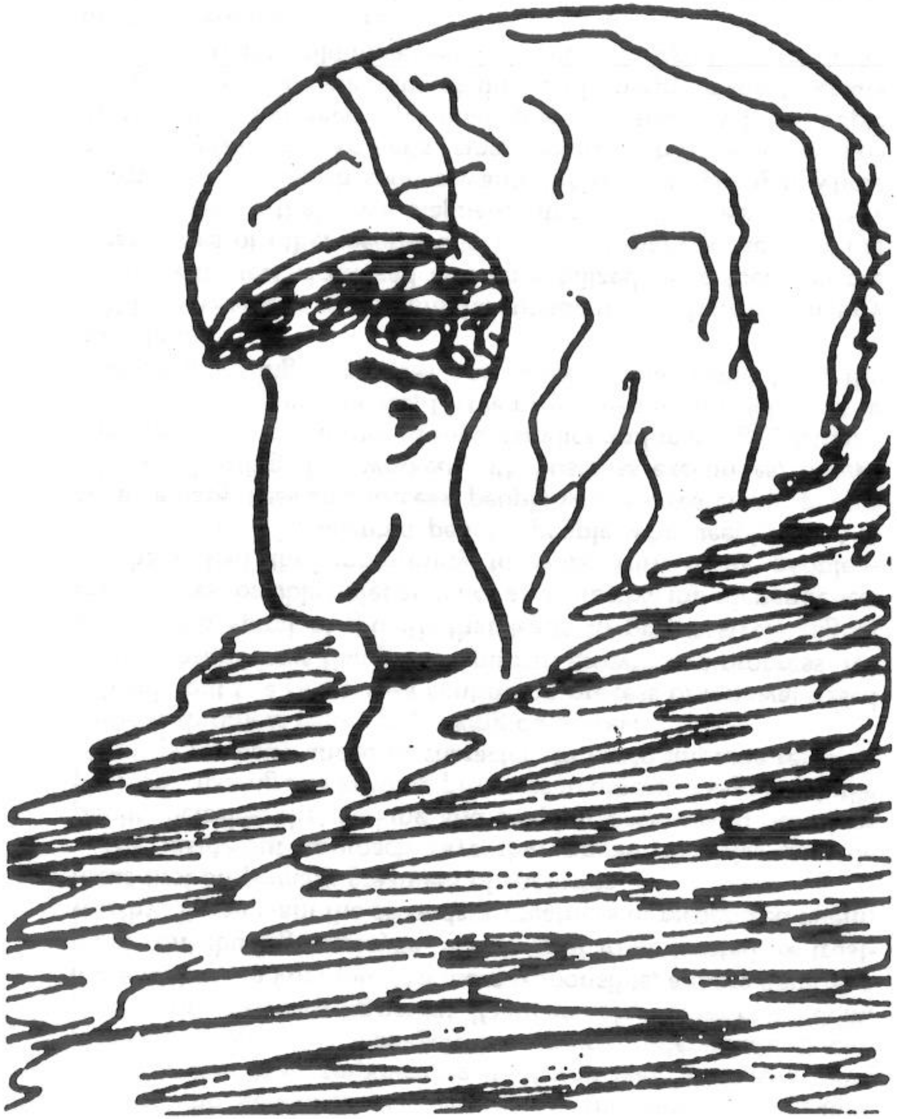
Members of our family have lived in three of the "hottest" spots on earth—South Africa, Israel, and Ireland—and I believe the source of the continuing problems in each of these places has been the dominant social paradigm of outside-in. Each involved group is convinced the problem is "out there" and if "they" (meaning others) would "shape up" or suddenly "ship out" of existence, the problem would be solved.

Inside-out is a dramatic paradigm shift for most people, largely because of the powerful impact of conditioning and the current social paradigm of the Personality Ethic.

But from my own experience—both personal and in working with thousands of other people—and from careful examination of successful individuals and societies throughout history, I am persuaded that many of the principles embodied in the Seven Habits are already deep within us, in our conscience and our common sense. To recognize and develop them and to use them in meeting our deepest concerns, we need to think differently, to shift our paradigms to a new, deeper, "inside-out" level.

As we sincerely seek to understand and integrate these principles into our lives, I am convinced we will discover and rediscover the truth of T. S. Eliot's observation:

> *We must not cease from exploration and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we began and to know the place for the first time.*



THE SEVEN HABITS—
AN OVERVIEW

We are what we repeatedly do.
Excellence, then, is not an act, but a habit.

ARISTOTLE

OUR CHARACTER, BASICALLY, is a composite of our habits. "Sow a thought, reap an action; sow an action, reap a habit; sow a habit, reap a character; sow a character, reap a destiny," the maxim goes.

Habits are powerful factors in our lives. Because they are consistent, often unconscious patterns, they constantly, daily, express our character and produce our effectiveness . . . or ineffectiveness.

As Horace Mann, the great educator, once said, "Habits are like a cable. We weave a strand of it everyday and soon it cannot be broken." I personally do not agree with the last part of his expression. I know they can be broken. Habits can be learned and unlearned. But I also know it isn't a quick fix. It involves a process and a tremendous commitment.

Those of us who watched the lunar voyage of Apollo 11 were transfixed as we saw the first men walk on the moon and return to earth. Superlatives such as "fantastic" and "incredible" were inadequate to describe those eventful days. But to get there, those astronauts literally had to break out of the tremendous gravity pull of the earth. More energy was spent in the first few minutes of lift-off, in the first few miles of travel, than was used over the next several days to travel half a million miles.

Habits, too, have tremendous gravity pull—more than most people realize or would admit. Breaking deeply imbedded habitual tendencies such as procrastination, impatience, criticalness, or

selfishness that violate basic principles of human effectiveness involves more than a little willpower and a few minor changes in our lives. "Lift off" takes a tremendous effort, but once we break out of the gravity pull, our freedom takes on a whole new dimension.

Like any natural force, gravity pull can work with us or against us. The gravity pull of some of our habits may currently be keeping us from going where we want to go. But it is also gravity pull that keeps our world together, that keeps the planets in their orbits and our universe in order. It is a powerful force, and if we use it effectively, we can use the gravity pull of habit to create the cohesiveness and order necessary to establish effectiveness in our lives.

"HABITS" DEFINED

For our purposes, we will define a habit as the intersection of *knowledge*, *skill*, and *desire*.

Knowledge is the theoretical paradigm, the *what to do* and the *why*. Skill is the *how to do*. And desire is the motivation, the *want to do*. In order to make something a habit in our lives, we have to have all three.

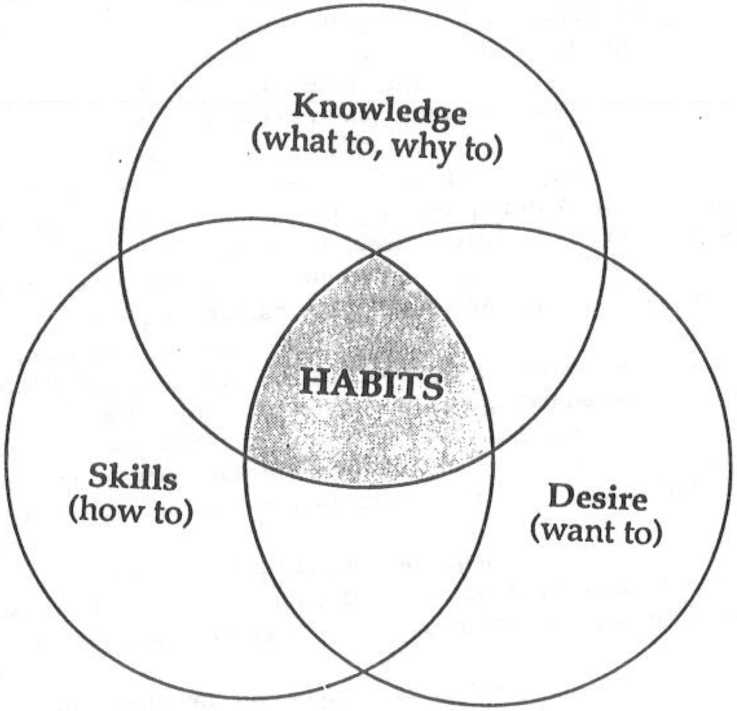
I may be ineffective in my interactions with my work associates, my spouse, or my children because I constantly tell them what I think, but I never really listen to them. Unless I search out correct principles of human interaction, I may not even *know* I need to listen.

Even if I do know that in order to interact effectively with others I really need to listen to them, I may not have the skill. I may not know *how* to really listen deeply to another human being.

But knowing I need to listen and knowing how to listen is not enough. Unless I *want* to listen, unless I have the desire, it won't be a habit in my life. Creating a habit requires work in all three dimensions.

The being/seeing change is an upward process—being changing seeing, which in turn changes being, and so forth, as we move in an upward spiral of growth. By working on knowledge, skill, and desire, we can break through to new levels of personal and interpersonal effectiveness as we break with old paradigms that may have been a source of pseudo-security for years.

It's sometimes a painful process. It's a change that has to be



EFFECTIVE HABITS
Internalized principles and patterns of behavior

motivated by a higher purpose, by the willingness to subordinate what you think you want now for what you want later. But this process produces happiness, "the object and design of our existence." Happiness can be defined, in part at least, as the fruit of the desire and ability to sacrifice what we want *now* for what we want *eventually*.

The Maturity Continuum

The Seven Habits are not a set of separate or piecemeal psych-up formulas. In harmony with the natural laws of growth, they provide an incremental, sequential, highly integrated approach to

the development of personal and interpersonal effectiveness. They move us progressively on a Maturity Continuum from *dependence* to *independence* to *interdependence*.

We each begin life as an infant, totally *dependent* on others. We are directed, nurtured, and sustained by others. Without this nurturing, we would only live for a few hours or a few days at the most.

Then gradually, over the ensuing months and years, we become more and more *independent*—physically, mentally, emotionally, and financially—until eventually we can essentially take care of ourselves, becoming inner-directed and self-reliant.

As we continue to grow and mature, we become increasingly aware that all of nature is *interdependent*, that there is an ecological system that governs nature, including society. We further discover that the higher reaches of our nature have to do with our relationships with others—that human life also is interdependent.

Our growth from infancy to adulthood is in accordance with natural law. And there are many dimensions to growth. Reaching our full physical maturity, for example, does not necessarily assure us of simultaneous emotional or mental maturity. On the other hand, a person's physical dependence does not mean that he or she is mentally or emotionally immature.

On the maturity continuum, *dependence* is the paradigm of *you*—*you* take care of me; *you* come through for me; *you* didn't come through; I blame *you* for the results.

Independence is the paradigm of *I*—*I* can do it; *I* am responsible; *I* am self-reliant; *I* can choose.

Interdependence is the paradigm of *we*—*we* can do it; *we* can cooperate; *we* can combine our talents and abilities and create something greater together.

Dependent people need others to get what they want. Independent people can get what they want through their own effort. Interdependent people combine their own efforts with the efforts of others to achieve their greatest success.

If I were physically dependent—paralyzed or disabled or limited in some physical way—I would need you to help me. If I were emotionally dependent, my sense of worth and security would come from your opinion of me. If you didn't like me, it could be devastating. If I were intellectually dependent, I would count on you to do my thinking for me, to think through the issues and problems of my life.

If I were independent, physically, I could pretty well make it on my own. Mentally, I could think my own thoughts, I could move from one level of abstraction to another. I could think creatively and analytically and organize and express my thoughts in understandable ways. Emotionally, I would be validated from within. I would be inner directed. My sense of worth would not be a function of being liked or treated well.

It's easy to see that independence is much more mature than dependence. Independence is a major achievement in and of itself. But independence is not supreme.

Nevertheless, the current social paradigm enthrones independence. It is the avowed goal of many individuals and social movements. Most of the self-improvement material puts independence on a pedestal, as though communication, teamwork, and cooperation were lesser values.

But much of our current emphasis on independence is a reaction to dependence—to having others control us, define us, use us, and manipulate us.

The little understood concept of interdependence appears to many to smack of dependence, and therefore, we find people, often for selfish reasons, leaving their marriages, abandoning their children, and forsaking all kinds of social responsibility—all in the name of independence.

The kind of reaction that results in people "throwing off their shackles," becoming "liberated," "asserting themselves," and "doing their own thing" often reveals more fundamental dependencies that cannot be run away from because they are internal rather than external—dependencies such as letting the weaknesses of other people ruin our emotional lives or feeling victimized by people and events out of our control.

Of course, we may need to change our circumstances. But the dependence problem is a personal maturity issue that has little to do with circumstances. Even with better circumstances, immaturity and dependence often persist.

True independence of character empowers us to act rather than be acted upon. It frees us from our dependence on circumstances and other people and is a worthy, liberating goal. But it is not the ultimate goal in effective living.

Independent thinking alone is not suited to interdependent reality. Independent people who do not have the maturity to think and act interdependently may be good individual producers, but they won't be good leaders or team players. They're not coming from the paradigm of interdependence necessary to succeed in marriage, family, or organizational reality.

Life is, by nature, highly interdependent. To try to achieve maximum effectiveness through independence is like trying to play tennis with a golf club—the tool is not suited to the reality.

Interdependence is a far more mature, more advanced concept. If I am physically interdependent, I am self-reliant and capable, but I also realize that you and I working together can accomplish far more than, even at my best, I could accomplish alone. If I am emotionally interdependent, I derive a great sense of worth within myself, but I also recognize the need for love, for giving, and for receiving love from others. If I am intellectually interdependent, I realize that I need the best thinking of other people to join with my own.

As an interdependent person, I have the opportunity to share myself deeply, meaningfully, with others, and I have access to the vast resources and potential of other human beings.

Interdependence is a choice only independent people can make. Dependent people cannot choose to become interdependent. They don't have the character to do it; they don't own enough of themselves.

That's why Habits 1, 2, and 3 in the following chapters deal with self-mastery. They move a person from dependence to independence. They are the "Private Victories," the essence of character growth. *Private victories precede public victories.* You can't invert that process anymore than you can harvest a crop before you plant it. It's inside-out.

As you become truly independent, you have the foundation for effective interdependence. You have the character base from which you can effectively work on the more personality-oriented "Public Victories" of teamwork, cooperation, and communication in Habits 4, 5, and 6.

That does not mean you have to be perfect in Habits 1, 2, and 3 before working on Habits 4, 5, and 6. Understanding the sequence will help you manage your growth more effectively, but I'm not suggesting that you put yourself in isolation for several years until you fully develop Habits 1, 2, and 3.

As part of an interdependent world, you have to relate to that world every day. But the acute problems of that world can easily obscure the chronic character causes. Understanding how what you are impacts every interdependent interaction will help you to focus your efforts sequentially, in harmony with the natural laws of growth.

Habit 7 is the habit of renewal—a regular, balanced renewal of the four basic dimensions of life. It circles and embodies all the other habits. It is the habit of continuous improvement that creates the upward spiral of growth that lifts you to new levels of understanding and living each of the habits as you come around to them on a progressively higher plane.*

The diagram on the next page is a visual representation of the sequence and the interdependence of the Seven Habits, and will be used throughout this book as we explore both the sequential relationship between the habits and also their synergy—how, in relating to each other, they create bold new forms of each other that add even more to their value. Each concept or habit will be highlighted as it is introduced.

EFFECTIVENESS DEFINED

The Seven Habits are habits of *effectiveness*. Because they are based on principles, they bring the maximum long-term beneficial results possible. They become the basis of a person's character, creating an empowering center of correct maps from which an individual can effectively solve problems, maximize opportunities, and continually learn and integrate other principles in an upward spiral of growth.

They are also habits of effectiveness because they are based on a paradigm of effectiveness that is in harmony with a natural law, a principle I call the "P/PC Balance," which many people break themselves against. This principle can be easily understood by remembering Aesop's fable of the goose and the golden egg.

This fable is the story of a poor farmer who one day discovers in the nest of his pet goose a glittering golden egg. At first, he thinks it must be some kind of trick. But as he starts to throw the egg aside, he has second thoughts and takes it in to be appraised instead.

The egg is pure gold! The farmer can't believe his good fortune. He becomes even more incredulous the following day when the experience is repeated. Day after day, he awakens to rush to the

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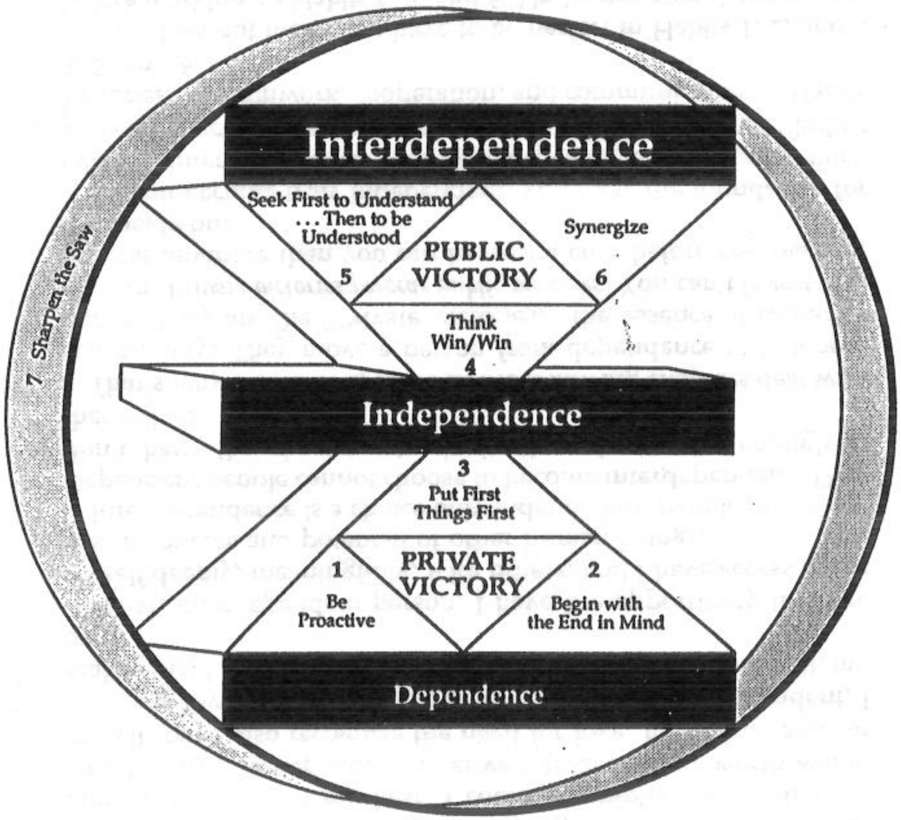
* If you would like to receive a complimentary self-scoring Seven Habits Personal Feedback Profile to help you evaluate your current level of effectiveness, please call: 1-800-255-0777.



THE SEVEN HABITS PARADIGM

nest and find another golden egg. He becomes fabulously wealthy; it all seems too good to be true.

But with his increasing wealth comes greed and impatience. Unable to wait day after day for the golden eggs, the farmer decides he will kill the goose and get them all at once. But when he opens the goose, he finds it empty. There are no golden eggs—and now there is no way to get any more. The farmer has destroyed the goose that produced them.

I suggest that within this fable is a natural law, a principle—the basic definition of effectiveness. Most people see effectiveness from the golden egg paradigm: the more you produce, the more you do, the more effective you are.

But as the story shows, true effectiveness is a function of two things: what is produced (the golden eggs) and the producing asset or capacity to produce (the goose).

If you adopt a pattern of life that focuses on golden eggs and neglects the goose, you will soon be without the asset that produces golden eggs. On the other hand, if you only take care of the goose with no aim toward the golden eggs, you soon won't have the wherewithal to feed yourself or the goose.

Effectiveness lies in the balance—what I call the P/PC Balance. *P* stands for *production* of desired results, the golden eggs. *PC* stands for *production capability,* the ability or asset that produces the golden eggs.

THREE KINDS OF ASSETS

Basically, there are three kinds of assets: physical, financial, and human. Let's look at each one in turn.

A few years ago, I purchased a *physical asset*—a power lawnmower. I used it over and over again without doing anything to maintain it. The mower worked well for two seasons, but then it began to break down. When I tried to revive it with service and sharpening, I discovered the engine had lost over half its original power capacity. It was essentially worthless.

Had I invested in PC—in preserving and maintaining the asset—I would still be enjoying its P—the mowed lawn. As it was, I had to spend far more time and money replacing the mower than I ever would have spent, had I maintained it. It simply wasn't effective.

In our quest for short-term returns, or results, we often ruin a prized physical asset—a car, a computer, a washer or dryer, even our body or our environment. Keeping P and PC in balance makes a tremendous difference in the effective use of physical assets.

It also powerfully impacts the effective use of *financial* assets. How often do people confuse principal with interest? Have you ever invaded principal to increase your standard of living, to get more golden eggs? The decreasing principal has decreasing power to produce interest or income. And the dwindling capital becomes smaller and smaller until it no longer supplies even basic needs.

Our most important financial asset is our own capacity to earn. If we don't continually invest in improving our own PC, we severely limit our options. We're locked into our present situation, running scared of our corporation or our boss's opinion of us, economically dependent and defensive. Again, it simply isn't effective.

In the *human* area, the P/PC Balance is equally fundamental, but even more important, because people control physical and financial assets.

When two people in a marriage are more concerned about getting the golden eggs, the benefits, than they are in preserving the relationship that makes them possible, they often become insensitive and inconsiderate, neglecting the little kindnesses and courtesies so important to a deep relationship. They begin to use control levers to manipulate each other, to focus on their own needs, to justify their own position and look for evidence to show the wrongness of the other person. The love, the richness, the softness and spontaneity begin to deteriorate. The goose gets sicker day by day.

And what about a parent's relationship with a child? When children are little, they are very dependent, very vulnerable. It becomes so easy to neglect the PC work—the training, the communicating, the relating, the listening. It's easy to take advantage, to manipulate, to get what you want the way you want it—right now! You're bigger, you're smarter, and you're *right!* So why not just tell them what to do? If necessary, yell at them, intimidate them, insist on your way.

Or you can indulge them. You can go for the golden egg of popularity, of pleasing them, giving them their way all the time. Then they grow up without any internal sense of standards or expectations, without a personal commitment to being disciplined or responsible.

Either way—authoritarian or permissive—you have the golden egg mentality. You want to have your way or you want to be liked. But what happens, meantime, to the goose? What sense of responsibility, of self-discipline, of confidence in the ability to make good choices or achieve important goals is a child going to have a few years down the road? And what about your relationship? When he reaches those critical teenage years, the identity crises, will he know from his experience with you that you will listen without judging, that you really, deeply care about him as a person, that you can be trusted, no matter what? Will the relationship be strong enough for you to reach him, to communicate with him, to influence him?

Suppose you want your daughter to have a clean room—that's P, production, the golden egg. And suppose you want her to clean it—that's PC, production capability. Your daughter is the goose, the asset, that produces the golden egg.

If you have P and PC in balance, she cleans the room cheerfully, without being reminded, because she is committed and has the discipline to stay with the commitment. She is a valuable asset, a goose that can produce golden eggs.

But if your paradigm is focused on production, on getting the room clean, you might find yourself nagging her to do it. You might even escalate your efforts to threatening or yelling, and in your desire to get the golden egg, you undermine the health and welfare of the goose.

Let me share with you an interesting PC experience I had with one of my daughters. We were planning a private date, which is something I enjoy regularly with each of my children. We find that the anticipation of the date is as satisfying as the realization.

So I approached my daughter and said, "Honey, tonight's your night. What do you want to do?"

"Oh, Dad, that's okay," she replied.

"No, really," I said. "What would you like to do?"

"Well," she finally said, "what I want to do, you don't really want to do."

"Really, honey," I said earnestly, "I want to do it. No matter what, it's your choice."

"I want to go see *Star Wars*," she replied. "But I know you don't like *Star Wars*. You slept through it before. You don't like these fantasy movies. That's okay, Dad."

"No, honey, if that's what you'd like to do, I'd like to do it."

"Dad, don't worry about it. We don't always have to have this date." She paused and then added, "But you know why you don't like *Star Wars*? It's because you don't understand the philosophy and training of a Jedi Knight."

"What?"

"You know the things you teach, Dad? Those are the same things that go into the training of a Jedi Knight."

"Really? Let's go to *Star Wars!*"

And we did. She sat next to me and gave me the paradigm. I became her student, her learner. It was totally fascinating. I could begin to see out of a new paradigm the whole way a Jedi Knight's basic philosophy in training is manifested in different circumstances.

That experience was not a planned P experience; it was the serendipitous fruit of a PC investment. It was bonding and very satisfying. But we enjoyed golden eggs, too, as the goose—the quality of the relationship—was significantly fed.

ORGANIZATIONAL PC

One of the immensely valuable aspects of any correct principle is that it is valid and applicable in a wide variety of circumstances. Throughout this book, I would like to share with you some of the ways in which these principles apply to organizations, including families, as well as to individuals.

When people fail to respect the P/PC Balance in their use of physical assets in organizations, they decrease organizational effectiveness and often leave others with dying geese.

For example, a person in charge of a physical asset, such as a machine, may be eager to make a good impression on his superiors. Perhaps the company is in a rapid growth stage and promotions are coming fast. So he produces at optimum levels—no downtime, no maintenance. He runs the machine day and night. The production is phenomenal, costs are down, and profits skyrocket. Within a short time, he's promoted. Golden eggs!

But suppose you are his successor on the job. You inherit a very sick goose, a machine that, by this time, is rusted and starts to break down. You have to invest heavily in downtime and maintenance. Costs skyrocket; profits nose-dive. And who gets blamed for the loss of golden eggs? You do. Your predecessor liquidated the asset, but the accounting system only reported unit production, costs, and profit.

The P/PC Balance is particularly important as it applies to the human assets of an organization—the customers and the employees.

I know of a restaurant that served a fantastic clam chowder and was packed with customers every day at lunchtime. Then the business was sold, and the new owner focused on golden eggs—he decided to water down the chowder. For about a month, with costs down and revenues constant, profits zoomed. But little by little, the customers began to disappear. Trust was gone, and business dwindled to almost nothing. The new owner tried desperately to reclaim it, but he had neglected the customers, violated their trust, and lost the asset of customer loyalty. There was no more goose to produce the golden egg.

There are organizations that talk a lot about the customer and then completely neglect the people that deal with the customer—the employees. The PC principle is to *always treat your employees exactly as you want them to treat your best customers.*

You can buy a person's hand, but you can't buy his heart. His heart is where his enthusiasm, his loyalty is. You can buy his back, but you can't buy his brain. That's where his creativity is, his ingenuity, his resourcefulness.

PC work is treating employees as volunteers just as you treat customers as volunteers, because that's what they are. They volunteer the best part—their hearts and minds.

I was in a group once where someone asked, "How do you shape up lazy and incompetent employees?" One man responded, "Drop hand grenades!" Several others cheered that kind of macho management talk, that "shape up or ship out" supervision approach.

But another person in the group asked, "Who picks up the pieces?"

"No pieces."

"Well, why don't you do that to your customers?" the other man replied. "Just say, 'Listen, if you're not interested in buying, you can just ship out of this place.' "

He said, "You can't do that to customers."

"Well, how come you can do it to employees?"

"Because they're in your employ."

"I see. Are your employees devoted to you? Do they work hard? How's the turnover?"

"Are you kidding? You can't find good people these days. There's too much turnover, absenteeism, moonlighting. People just don't care anymore."

That focus on golden eggs—that attitude, that paradigm—is totally inadequate to tap into the powerful energies of the mind and heart of another person. A short-term bottom line is important, but it isn't all-important.

Effectiveness lies in the balance. Excessive focus on P results in ruined health, worn-out machines, depleted bank accounts, and broken relationships. Too much focus on PC is like a person who runs three or four hours a day, bragging about the extra ten years of life it creates, unaware he's spending them running. Or a person endlessly going to school, never producing, living on other people's golden eggs—the eternal student syndrome.

To maintain the P/PC Balance, the balance between the golden egg (production) and the health and welfare of the goose (production capability) is often a difficult judgment call. But I suggest it is the very essence of effectiveness. It balances short term with long term. It balances going for the grade and paying the price to get an education. It balances the desire to have a room clean and the building of a relationship in which the child is internally committed to do it—cheerfully, willingly, without external supervision.

It's a principle you can see validated in your own life when you burn the candle at both ends to get more golden eggs and wind up sick or exhausted, unable to produce any at all; or when you get a good night's sleep and wake up ready to produce throughout the day.

You can see it when you press to get your own way with someone and somehow feel an emptiness in the relationship; or when you really take time to invest in a relationship and you find the desire and ability to work together, to communicate, takes a quantum leap.

The P/PC Balance is the very essence of effectiveness. It's validated in every arena of life. We can work with it or against it, but it's there. It's a lighthouse. It's the definition and paradigm of effectiveness upon which the Seven Habits in this book are based.

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

Before we begin work on the Seven Habits of Highly Effective People, I would like to suggest two paradigm shifts that will greatly increase the value you will receive from this material.

First, I would recommend that you not "see" this material as a book, in the sense that it is something to read once and put on a shelf. You may choose to read it completely through once for a sense of the whole. But the material is designed to be a companion in the continual process of change and growth. It is organized incrementally and with suggestions for application at the end of each habit so that you can study and focus on any particular habit as you are ready.

As you progress to deeper levels of understanding and implementation, you can go back time and again to the principles contained in each habit and work to expand your knowledge, skill, and desire.

Second, I would suggest that you shift your paradigm of your own involvement in this material from the role of learner to that of teacher. Take an inside-out approach, and read with the purpose in mind of sharing or discussing what you learn with someone else within 48 hours after you learn it.

If you had known, for example, that you would be teaching the material on the P/PC Balance principle to someone else within 48 hours, would it have made a difference in your reading experience? Try it now as you read the final section in this chapter. Read as though you are going to teach it to your spouse, your child, a business associate, or a friend today or tomorrow, while it is still fresh, and notice the difference in your mental and emotional process.

I guarantee that if you approach the material in each of the following chapters in this way, you will not only better remember what you read, but your perspective will be expanded, your understanding deepened, and your motivation to apply the material increased.

In addition, as you openly, honestly share what you're learning with others, you may be surprised to find that negative labels or perceptions others may have of you tend to disappear. Those you teach will see you as a changing, growing person, and will be more inclined to be helpful and supportive as you work, perhaps together, to integrate the Seven Habits into your lives.

What You Can Expect

In the last analysis, as Marilyn Ferguson observed, "No one can persuade another to change. Each of us guards a gate of change that can only be opened from the inside. We cannot open the gate of another, either by argument or by emotional appeal."

If you decide to open your "gate of change" to really understand and live the principles embodied in the Seven Habits, I feel comfortable in assuring you several positive things will happen.

First, your growth will be *evolutionary*, but the net effect will be *revolutionary*. Would you not agree that the P/PC Balance principle alone, if fully lived, would transform most individuals and organizations?

The net effect of opening the "gate of change" to the first three habits—the habits of Private Victory—will be significantly increased self-confidence. You will come to know yourself in a deeper, more meaningful way—your nature, your deepest values and your unique contribution capacity. As you live your values, your sense of identity, integrity, control, and inner-directedness will infuse you with both exhilaration and peace. You will define yourself from within, rather than by people's opinions or by comparisons to others. "Wrong" and "right" will have little to do with being found out.

Ironically, you'll find that as you care less about what others think of you, you will care more about what others think of themselves and their worlds, including their relationship with you. You'll no longer build your emotional life on other people's weaknesses. In addition, you'll find it easier and more desirable to change because there is something—some core deep within—that is essentially changeless.

As you open yourself to the next three habits—the habits of Public Victory—you will discover and unleash both the desire and the resources to heal and rebuild important relationships that have deteriorated, or even broken. Good relationships will improve—become deeper, more solid, more creative, and more adventuresome.

The seventh habit, if deeply internalized, will renew the first six and will make you truly independent and capable of effective interdependence. Through it, you can charge your own batteries.

Whatever your present situation, I assure you that you are not your habits. You can replace old patterns of self-defeating behavior with new patterns, new habits of effectiveness, happiness, and trust-based relationships.

With genuine caring, I encourage you to open the gate of change and growth as you study these habits. Be patient with yourself.

Self-growth is tender; it's holy ground. There's no greater investment.

"It's obviously not a quick fix. But I assure you, you will feel benefits and see immediate payoffs that will be encouraging. In the words of Thomas Paine, "That which we obtain too easily, we esteem too lightly. It is dearness only which gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price on its goods."

GETTING PAST NO

Negotiating Your Way from Confrontation to Cooperation

Revised Edition

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New York Toronto London Sydney Auckland

Overview

BREAKING THROUGH BARRIERS TO COOPERATION

> Diplomacy is the art of letting someone else have *your* way.
>
> —*Daniele Vare, Italian diplomat*

We all negotiate every day. Much of our time is spent trying to reach agreement with others. We may try to negotiate in a cooperative spirit but frequently we find ourselves frustrated. *We* want to get to yes, but often the answer we get back is NO.

Think of a typical day: Over breakfast you may get into an argument with your spouse about buying a new car. You think it's time, but your spouse says, "Don't be ridiculous! You know we can't afford it right now." You arrive at work for a morning meeting with your boss. You present a carefully prepared proposal for a new project, but your boss interrupts you after a minute and says: "We already tried that and it didn't work. Next item."

During your lunch hour you try to return a defective

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

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toaster-oven, but the salesperson refuses to refund your money because you don't have the sales slip: "It's store policy."

In the afternoon you bring an already-agreed-upon contract to a client for his signature. You have trumpeted the deal to your associates and made the necessary arrangements with manufacturing. But your client tells you: "I'm sorry. My boss refuses to okay the purchase unless you give us a fifteen percent discount."

In the evening you need to return some phone calls, but the line is tied up by your thirteen-year-old. Exasperated, you say, "Get off the phone." The teenager shouts down the hall, "Why don't you get me my own phone line? All my friends have them!"

Each of us faces tough negotiations with an irritable spouse, a domineering boss, a rigid salesperson, a tricky customer, or an impossible teenager. Under stress, even nice, reasonable people can turn into angry, intractable opponents. Negotiations can bog down or break down, consuming our time, keeping us awake at night, and giving us ulcers.

Broadly defined, negotiation is the process of back-and-forth communication aimed at reaching agreement with others when some of your interests are shared and some are opposed. Negotiation is not limited to the activity of formally sitting across a table discussing a contentious issue; it is the informal activity you engage in whenever you try to get something you want from another person.

Think for a moment about how you make important decisions in your life—the decisions that have the greatest impact on your performance at work and your satisfaction at home. How many of those decisions can you make unilaterally and how many do you have to reach with others—through negotiation? Most people I ask this question

answer: "I have to negotiate almost all of them." Negotiation is the pre-eminent form of decision-making in personal and professional life.

It is also increasingly the most important means of making decisions in the public arena. Even if we aren't personally sitting at the table, our lives are affected by the outcome of negotiations. When talks between the school board and teachers' union break down and the teachers go on strike, our children end up staying home from school. When negotiations between our business and a potential purchaser fall through and the business goes bankrupt, we may lose our jobs. When discussions between our government and its adversaries come to naught, the result may be war. In sum, negotiations shape our lives.

Joint Problem-Solving

We may all be negotiators, yet many of us don't like to negotiate. We see negotiation as stressful confrontation. We see ourselves faced with an unpleasant choice. If we are "soft" in order to preserve the relationship, we end up giving up our position. If we are "hard" in order to win our position, we strain the relationship or perhaps lose it altogether.

There is an alternative: joint problem-solving. It is neither exclusively soft nor hard, but a combination of each. It is *soft on the people, hard on the problem.* Instead of attacking each other, you jointly attack the problem. Instead of glowering across the table, you sit next to each other facing your common problem. In short, you turn face-to-face confrontation into side-by-side problem-solving. This is the kind of negotiation Roger Fisher and I described more than a decade ago in our book *Getting to Yes.*

Joint problem-solving revolves around *interests* instead of positions. You begin by identifying each side's interests—the concerns, needs, fears, and desires that underlie and motivate your opposing positions. You then explore different options for meeting those interests. Your goal is to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement in an efficient and amicable fashion.

If you are looking for a promotion and raise, for example, and your boss says there's no money in the budget, the negotiation doesn't stop there. It becomes an exercise in joint problem-solving. Your boss inquires about your interests, which may be to pay your children's tuition and to grow in your job. You brainstorm together about how to satisfy these interests while staying within the budget. You may end up agreeing on a new set of responsibilities, a tuition loan from the company, and the promise of a raise next year to pay back the loan. Your basic interests are satisfied; so are your employer's.

Joint problem-solving can generate better results for both sides. It saves time and energy by cutting out the posturing. And it usually leads to better working relationships and to mutual benefit in the future.

Five Barriers to Cooperation

Skeptics are quick to point out that all this is easy to say, but hard to do. The principles of joint problem-solving, they say, are like marriage vows of mutual support and

The Goal: JOINT PROBLEM-SOLVING	BARRIERS TO COOPERATION	Strategy: BREAKTHROUGH NEGOTIATION
• People Sitting Side by Side	• Your Reaction • Their Emotion	• Go to the Balcony • Step to Their Side
• Facing the Problem	• Their Position	• Reframe
• Reaching a Mutually Satisfactory Agreement	• Their Dissatisfaction • Their Power	• Build Them a Golden Bridge • Use Power to Educate

fidelity: They no doubt produce more satisfying relationships, but they are hard to apply in the real world of stresses and strains, temptations and tempests.

At the start, you may try to get your opponent to tackle the problem jointly, but instead you may find yourselves in a face-to-face confrontation. It is all too easy to get drawn into a ferocious emotional battle, to fall back into the familiar routine of adopting rigid positions, or to let the other side take advantage of you.

There are real-world barriers that get in the way of cooperation. The five most common ones are:

Your reaction. The first barrier lies within you. Human beings are reaction machines. When you're under stress, or when you encounter a NO, or feel you are being attacked, you naturally feel like striking back. Usually this just perpetuates the action-reaction cycle that leaves both sides losers. Or, alternatively, you may react by impulsively giving in just to end the negotiation and preserve the relationship. You lose and, having demonstrated your weakness, you expose yourself to exploitation by others. The problem you thus face in negotiation is not only the other side's difficult behavior but your own reaction, which can easily perpetuate that behavior.

Their emotion. The next barrier is the other side's negative emotions. Behind their attacks may lie anger and hostility. Behind their rigid positions may lie fear and distrust. Convinced they are right and you are wrong, they may refuse to listen. Seeing the world as eat-or-be-eaten, they may feel justified in using nasty tactics.

Their position. In joint problem-solving, you face the problem and attack it together. The barrier in the way is the other side's positional behavior: their habit of digging into a position and trying to get you to give in. Often they know no other way to negotiate. They are merely using the conventional negotiating tactics they first learned in the sandbox. In their eyes, the only alternative is for *them* to give in—and they certainly don't want to do that.

Their dissatisfaction. Your goal may be to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement, but you may find the other side not at all interested in such an outcome. They may not see *how* it will benefit them. Even if you can satisfy their interests, they may fear losing face if they have to back down. And if it is *your* idea, they may reject it for that reason alone.

Their power. Finally, if the other side sees the negotiation as a win-lose proposition, they will be determined to beat you. They may be guided by the precept "What's mine is mine. What's yours is negotiable." If they can get what they want by power plays, why should they cooperate with you?

Getting past no requires breaking through each of these five barriers to cooperation: your reaction, their emotion, their position, their dissatisfaction, and their power. It is easy to believe that stonewalling, attacks, and tricks are just part of the other side's basic nature, and that there is little you can do to change such difficult behavior. But you *can* affect this behavior if you can deal successfully with its underlying motivations.

The Breakthrough Strategy

This book lays out a five-step strategy for breaking through each of these five barriers—the strategy of *breakthrough negotiation.*

An analogy from sailing will help explain this strategy.

In sailing, you rarely if ever get to your destination by heading straight for it. In between you and your goal are strong winds and tides, reefs and shoals, not to speak of storms and squalls. To get where you want to go, you need to tack—to zigzag your way toward your destination.

The same is true in the world of negotiation. Your desired destination is a mutually satisfactory agreement. The direct route—focusing first on interests and then developing options that satisfy those interests—seems straightforward and easy. But in the real world of strong reactions and emotions, rigid positions, powerful dissatisfactions and aggressions, you often cannot get to a mutually satisfactory agreement by the direct route. Instead, you need to navigate past no by tacking—taking an indirect route.

The essence of the breakthrough strategy is *indirect action.* It requires you to do the opposite of what you naturally feel like doing in difficult situations. When the other side stonewalls or attacks, you may feel like responding in kind. Confronted with hostility, you may argue. Confronted with unreasonable positions, you may reject. Confronted with intransigence, you may push. Confronted with aggression, you may escalate. But this just leaves you frustrated, playing the other side's game by *their* rules.

Your single greatest opportunity as a negotiator is to *change the game.* Instead of playing their way, let them have *your* way—the way of joint problem-solving. The great home-run hitter Sadahara Oh, the Japanese equivalent of Babe Ruth, once explained his batting secret. Oh said that he looked on the opposing pitcher as his *partner,* who with every pitch was serving up an *opportunity* for him to hit a home run. Breakthrough negotiators do the same: They treat their opponents as negotiating partners who are presenting an opportunity to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement.

As in the Japanese martial arts of judo, jujitsu, and aikido, you need to avoid pitting your strength directly against your opponent's. Since efforts to break down the other side's resistance usually only increase it, you try to go around their resistance. That is the way to break through.

Breakthrough negotiation is the opposite of imposing your position on the other side. Rather than pounding in a new idea from the outside, you encourage them to reach for it from within. Rather than telling them what to do, you let them figure it out. Rather than pressuring them to change their mind, you create an environment in which they can learn. Only *they* can break through their own resistance; *your* job is to *help* them.

Their resistance to joint problem-solving stems from the five barriers described above. Your job as a breakthrough negotiator is to clear away the barriers that lie between their NO and the YES of a mutually satisfactory agreement. For each of the five barriers, there is a corresponding step in the strategy:

Step One. Since the first barrier is your natural reaction, the first step involves suspending that reaction. To engage in joint problem-solving, you need to regain your mental balance and stay focused on achieving what you want. A useful image for getting perspective on the situation is to imagine yourself standing on a balcony looking down on your negotiation. The first step in the breakthrough strategy is to *Go to the Balcony.*

Step Two. The next barrier for you to overcome is the other side's negative emotions—their defensiveness, fear, suspicion, and hostility. It is all too easy to get drawn into an argument, but you need to resist this temptation. Just as you've regained your mental balance, you need to help the other side regain *theirs*. To create the right climate for joint problem-solving, you need to defuse their negative emotions. To do this, you need to do the opposite of what they expect. They expect you to behave like an adversary. Instead, you should take their side by listening to them, acknowledging their points and their feelings, agreeing with them, and showing them respect. If you want to sit side by side facing the problem, you will need to *Step to Their Side.*

Step Three. Now you want to tackle the problem together. This is hard to do, however, when the other side digs into their position and tries to get you to give in. It's natural to feel like rejecting their position, but this will only lead them to dig in further. So do the opposite. Accept whatever they say and reframe it as an attempt to deal with the problem. For example, take their position and probe behind it: "Tell me more. Help me understand *why* you want that." Act as if they were your partners genuinely interested in solving the problem. The third step in the breakthrough strategy is to *Reframe.*

Step Four. While you may now have engaged the other side in joint problem-solving, you may still be far from reaching a mutually satisfactory agreement. The other side may be dissatisfied, unconvinced of the benefits of agreement. You may feel like pushing them, but this will only make them more resistant. So do the opposite. In the words of the Chinese sage, "build a golden bridge" from their position to a mutually satisfactory solution. You need to bridge the gap between their interests and yours. You need to help them save face and make the outcome look like a victory for them. The fourth step is to *Build Them a Golden Bridge.*

Step Five. Despite your best efforts, the other side may still refuse to cooperate, believing they can beat you at the power game. You may be tempted at this point to escalate. Threats and coercion often backfire, however, and lead to costly and futile battles. The alternative is to use power not to escalate, but to educate. Enhance your negotiating power and use it to bring them back to the table. Show them that they cannot win by themselves but only together with you. The fifth step is to *Use Power to Educate.*

The sequence of the steps is important. You cannot defuse the other side's negative emotions unless you have controlled your own. It is hard to build them a golden bridge unless you have changed the game to joint problem-solving. This does not mean that once you have taken one step, you have completed it. On the contrary, you need to keep going to the balcony throughout the negotiation. As the other side's anger and frustration resurface, you need to keep stepping to their side. The process is like a symphony in which the different instruments join in sequentially and then play their parts throughout.

Breakthrough negotiation can be used with anyone—an irascible boss, a temperamental teenager, a hostile co-worker, or an impossible customer. It can be used by diplomats trying to stave off a war, lawyers trying to avoid a costly court battle, or spouses trying to keep a marriage together.

Because every person and every situation is different, you will need to marry the five breakthrough principles with your own knowledge of the particulars in order to create a strategy that works for you. There is no magic recipe that will guarantee your success in every negotiation. But with patience, persistence, *and* the breakthrough strategy, you can maximize your chances of getting what you want in even the most difficult negotiations.

The chapters that follow explain the five breakthrough steps and present specific techniques for carrying them out, illustrating their application with concrete examples. First, however, you will find a prologue about the key to effective negotiation: preparation.

Prologue

PREPARE, PREPARE, PREPARE

I once asked Lord Caradon, a British diplomat, what was the most valuable lesson he had learned during his long and distinguished service in government. "The most valuable lesson," he replied, "I learned at the very start of my career when I was posted to the Middle East as an assistant to a local administrator. My superior would visit a different village each day dealing with disputes and other pressing matters. Once he arrived, pandemonium broke out as people besieged him with requests and offered him coffee. It wouldn't cease until he left at sunset. He might easily have forgotten his objectives but for one simple habit.

"Just before he entered the village in the morning, he would pull the jeep off to the side of the road and ask, 'What is it that we want to leave this village tonight having achieved?' He and I would answer the question, then we would go into the village. When we left that evening, he would again pull the jeep off the road and ask, 'Now, did we get it? Did we achieve what we set out to do?' "

That simple habit of mind was the most valuable lesson Caradon had ever learned. Before every meeting, prepare. After every meeting, assess your progress, adapt your strategy, and prepare again. The secret of effective negotiation is that simple: prepare, prepare, prepare.

Most negotiations are won or lost even before the talking begins, depending on the quality of the preparation. People who think they can "wing it" without preparing often find themselves sadly mistaken. Even if they reach agreement, they may miss opportunities for joint gain they might well have come across in preparing. There is no substitute for effective preparation. The more difficult the negotiation, the more intensive your preparation needs to be.

When it comes to preparation, many people throw up their hands and say, "But I can't afford the *time* to prepare." Preparation time tends to be the last thing on the "to do" list. There always seems to be an urgent phone call to return, an important meeting to attend, or a household crisis to manage.

The truth is that you can't afford *not* to prepare. Take the time even if it means taking time out of the actual negotiation itself. Negotiations would be a lot more effective if people spent more of their limited time preparing and less in actual meetings.

It is true that most of us operate under fairly severe time constraints. The preparation guidelines outlined below take that into account. They can be accomplished in as little as fifteen minutes.* If you want a rule of thumb, think about preparing a minute for every minute of interaction with the other side.

How should you prepare? When you're embarking on a negotiation, just as on a voyage, the first thing you need is a good map.

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*For a quick preparation, a one-page preparation worksheet is provided for you on p. 173 at the end of the book.

Mapping Out the Way to Agreement

There are five important points along the way to a mutually satisfactory agreement: *interests, options* for satisfying those interests, *standards* for resolving differences fairly, *alternatives* to negotiation, and *proposals* for agreement.

1. Interests

Negotiation typically begins when one side's position comes into conflict with the other side's. In conventional bargaining, your position may be all you need to know in advance. But joint problem-solving revolves around the interests that lie behind each side's positions. The distinction is critical: Your position is the concrete things you say you want—the dollars and cents, the terms and conditions. Your interests are the intangible motivations that lead you to take that position—your needs, desires, concerns, fears, and aspirations. In order to end up with an agreement that satisfies both sides, you need to begin by figuring out each side's interests.

Figure out your interests. Unless you know where you want to go, you're unlikely to get there. In a negotiation with a difficult client who insists on sticking to the original fee for your services despite the unforeseen additional work required, your position may be, "I want a thirty percent increase in fees to reflect the additional work." Your interests in wanting the fee increase may be to preserve your profit margin while keeping the client happy. You uncover your interests by asking the simple question *Why?* "Why do I want that? What problem am I trying to solve?"

It's important to rank your interests so that you don't make the all-too-common mistake of trading off an important interest for a less important one. If the relationship with the client promises to be a very profitable one, you may want to make that the number-one priority. Your interest in realizing a profit on the immediate project may be the second interest, and the third may be avoiding setting a precedent of doing extra work without compensation.

Figure out their interests. Negotiation is a two-way street. You usually can't satisfy *your* interests unless you also satisfy the other side's. It is therefore just as important to understand their interests as your own. Your difficult client may be concerned about sticking within an established budget and looking good to their boss.

I remember my uncle Mel once coming to visit me at my Harvard Law School office when he returned to campus for his twenty-fifth alumni reunion. At one point he took me aside and said: "You know, Bill, it has taken me twenty-five years to unlearn what I learned at Harvard Law School. Because what I learned at Harvard Law School is that all that counts in life are the *facts*—who's right and who's wrong. It's taken me twenty-five years to learn that just as important as the facts, if not more important, are people's *perceptions* of those facts. Unless you understand their perspective, you're never going to be effective at making deals or settling disputes."

The single most important skill in negotiation is the ability to put yourself in the other side's shoes. If you are trying to change their thinking, you need to begin by understanding what their thinking is.

How can you learn about the other side's interests? Try the simple exercise of imagining from *their* point of view what they seem to care most about. Then ask yourself: Do they often behave in a difficult fashion or is this just a temporary aberration? What has been happening in their personal or professional lives that may be coloring their attitude toward you? Do they have a reputation for honesty and fair dealing? If you have time, you might talk to people who know them—their friends and peers, their customers and employees. The more you can find out about the other side, the better your chances of influencing them successfully.

2. Options

The purpose of identifying each side's interests is to see if you can devise creative options to satisfy them. An option is a possible agreement or part of an agreement. Inventing options for mutual gain is a negotiator's single greatest opportunity. Effective negotiators do not just divvy up a fixed pie. They first explore how to expand the pie.

While it may not be possible to obtain your position, it is often possible to satisfy your interests. You may not succeed in obtaining the thirty percent fee increase, but you may invent an option that allows you to realize a profit on the project while keeping your client satisfied. Could you transfer some of the additional work required to your client's staff? Could you stretch out the project into the next fiscal year so the additional fees come out of next year's budget? Could you take a cut in compensation this year for a specific commitment to significant future work? Could you show your client that this additional work will result in substantial savings, part of which could be used to pay for the additional work?

A common mistake in negotiation is to dwell on a single solution, your original position. By opening yourself up to consideration of a multitude of options, you may generate new possibilities, one of which might meet your interests while also satisfying the other side's.

The biggest obstacle in the way of generating creative options is a little voice in the back of our heads that is always saying, "That won't work!" Criticism and evaluation, while important functions, interfere with your imagination. It is better to separate the two functions. Invent first, evaluate later. Suspend judgment for a few minutes and try to come up with as many ideas as possible. Include ideas that at first seem like wild ideas, remembering that many of the best ideas in the world started out as wild ideas everyone disparaged. After brainstorming a multitude of options, you can review them and evaluate how well they satisfy your interests—and the other side's too.

3. Standards

Once you have expanded the pie, you need to think about how to divide it up. How will you jointly select an option with the other side when your interests are opposed? Your client wants to pay less for your work; you would like them to pay more. How do you resolve the issue?

Perhaps the most common method is to use a contest of wills. Each side insists on its position, trying to get the other to give in. The problem is that nobody likes to give in. A contest of wills thus quickly becomes a conflict of egos. The person who eventually gives in remembers it and tries to even the score the next time—*if* there is a next time.

Successful negotiators head off a contest of wills by turning the selection process into a joint search for a fair and mutually satisfactory solution. They rely heavily on fair standards independent of either side's will. An independent standard is a measuring stick that allows you to decide what is a fair solution. Common standards are market value, equal treatment, the law, or simply the way the issue has been resolved before.

The great virtue of standards is that, instead of one side giving in to the other on a particular point, both can defer to what seems fair. It is easier for your client to accept a standard like market rate than it is to pay a certain fee just because *you* say that's what you charge.

So think in advance about what standards you could appeal to in your negotiation. Do your homework on market rates, scientific criteria, costs, technical measures, and precedents. Come armed to persuade.

4. Alternatives

All too often people go into a negotiation looking for agreement and examine their alternatives only if things go badly. This is a classic mistake. Knowing what your alternatives are can determine your success in satisfying your interests.

The purpose of negotiation is *not* always to reach agreement. For agreement is only a means to an end, and that end is to satisfy your interests. The purpose of negotiation is to explore whether you can satisfy your interests better through an agreement than you could by pursuing your Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement (BATNA).

Your BATNA is your walkaway alternative. It's your best course of action for satisfying your interests *without* the other's agreement. If you're negotiating with your boss over a raise, your BATNA might be to find a job with another firm. If you're negotiating with a salesperson, your BATNA might be to talk to the store manager or, if that fails, you might go to another store. If one nation is negotiating with another over unfair trade practices, its BATNA may be to appeal to the appropriate international tribunal. Usually resorting to your alternative entails costs to you and to the relationship, which is why you are negotiating to develop a better solution.

BATNA is the key to negotiating power. Your power depends less on whether you are bigger, stronger, more senior, or richer than the other person than on how good your BATNA is. If you have a viable alternative, then you have leverage in the negotiation. The better your BATNA, the more power you have.

Identify your BATNA. Your BATNA should be your measuring stick for evaluating any potential agreement. To identify your BATNA, you should consider three kinds of alternatives. First, what can you do all by yourself to pursue your interests? Your "walkaway" alternative may be to find another supplier if you're a buyer or another customer if you're a seller.

Second, what can you do directly to the other side to make them respect your interests? Your "interactive" alternative may be to go on strike or to go to war. Third, how can you bring a third party into the situation to further your interests? Your "third-party" alternative may be to resort to mediation, arbitration, or court. After generating a set of possible alternatives, select the one that is most likely to satisfy your interests.

Keep your BATNA in your pocket. When you're under

heavy attack and feel panicky, you can pat your pocket and say to yourself, "I'm okay if it doesn't go okay."

Boost your BATNA. A good BATNA usually does not already exist; it needs to be developed. If your BATNA is not very strong, you should take steps to improve it. For instance, don't just identify your BATNA as seeking another job in the same industry. Go to the trouble of getting an actual job offer. If you are selling your house, don't stop showing it just because one person has indicated serious interest; keep looking for another potential buyer. Or, if your company is at risk of being taken over by a corporate raider, look for friendly buyers or consider borrowing money to take your company private.

Decide if you should negotiate. Once you've formulated your BATNA, you should ask yourself, "Should I negotiate at all?" Have you ever wondered why some people keep trying to negotiate with an abusive boss long after they should have left the job? Or why frustrated parents will continue to make deals with their rebellious teenagers, each pact broken as quickly as the last? Habit, guilt, self-blame, and fear may all play a role, but often the central reason is that the employee or parents have lost sight of their best alternative. If they thought about it, they might well discover that there was a better way to satisfy their interests that didn't depend on having to negotiate with their nemesis.

Perhaps your BATNA *is* better than any agreement you could reach with the other person. Remember, too, that the negotiation process itself is not free of costs. It can take a lot of time and effort, in the course of which your other alternatives may vanish. Your decision to negotiate should therefore be a carefully considered one.

Keep in mind that it is easy to overestimate how good your BATNA is. Many business executives, listening to the advice of overconfident lawyers, have eschewed negotiations and taken a dispute to court, only to find themselves on the path to financial ruin. In any lawsuit, strike, or war, one contender—and often two—discover that their BATNA wasn't as good as they imagined. Knowing in advance that your alternative is unattractive ought to make you work hard to reach an agreement.

Identify* their *BATNA. Knowing the other side's BATNA can be just as important as knowing your own. It gives you an idea of the challenge you face: developing an agreement that is superior to their best alternative. It helps you avoid the dual mistakes of underestimating how good it is and overestimating how good it is. Your BATNA may be weak, but the other side's BATNA may be weak too. Many salespeople and consultants are convinced their clients can just switch to the competition in a flash. They often fail to appreciate the true costs of changing vendors. An objective look at their clients' BATNA can give them more confidence in a difficult negotiation.

If the other side's BATNA is to use coercion, you can prepare in advance to counter it. If your company is in danger from a corporate raider, for example, you can pass corporate bylaws that would render a hostile takeover more difficult. Think about how to neutralize the effect on you of the other side's coercive actions.

5. Proposals

Your work on interests and options opens up the problem for a creative solution. Your work on fair standards and alternatives helps you select an appropriate option to shape into a proposal for possible agreement.

To formulate a solid proposal, you want to select an option that satisfies your interests well, certainly better than your BATNA could. The option should also meet the other side's interests better than you think their BATNA could, and should be based, if possible, on fair standards. What distinguishes a proposal from a simple option is commitment: A proposal is a possible agreement to which you are ready to say yes.

Of course, there may be more than one possible agreement that meets all these criteria. Indeed, it is useful to have three proposals in mind:

What do you aspire to? Many of us tend to adopt rather modest goals, wishing to avoid "failing." Unfortunately, low aspirations tend to be self-fulfilling. What you don't ask for, the other side is unlikely to give you. Not surprisingly, those who begin with realistically high aspirations often end up with better agreements. How high is realistic? "Realistic" means within the bounds set by fairness and by the other side's best alternative. Aim high.

So begin by asking yourself: "What agreement do I aspire to? What would genuinely satisfy my interests and at the same time meet enough of the other side's basic concerns that there is at least a chance that they would agree?"

What would you be content with? Often you may not get everything you would like. It is therefore useful to ask yourself a second question: "What agreement, perhaps far from perfect, would still satisfy my basic interests sufficiently that I would be reasonably content?"

What could you live with? The third proposal should be based directly on your assessment of your BATNA: "What agreement would satisfy my interests only marginally better than my BATNA could? What agreement could I live with, but just barely?" If you can't in the end obtain an agreement at least as good as that, you should consider walking away from the table and resorting to your alternative. This proposal will function like a trip wire, reminding you that you are in danger of accepting an agreement worse for you than your BATNA.

Think of these three proposals not as rigid positions but as concrete illustrations of the kinds of outcomes that would satisfy your interests. You cannot know for certain that the other side will agree to your proposals. And you may learn something in the course of the negotiation that will enable you to come up with a solution that meets your interests—and theirs—even better.

Rehearse

Preparation is easier to do when you're talking it over with someone else. Others bring new perspectives, compel you to address points of difficulty that you might otherwise avoid, and offer you moral encouragement. So think about scheduling a preparation session with a colleague or friend. It has the added advantage of ensuring that you do prepare.

In your session, consider rehearsing what you will say to the other side and how you will respond to what they say. After all, lawyers rehearse tough cases, politicians rehearse tough media interviews, executives rehearse tough presentations to stockholders—why shouldn't you rehearse a tough negotiation? The best place to make mistakes is in rehearsing with a friend or colleague, not in negotiating for real.

So ask your colleague to play the role of the other side for a few minutes and try out your powers of persuasion, focusing on interests, options, and standards. After you have finished, ask your colleague to tell you what worked and what didn't. What did it feel like to be on the receiving end of your words? What should you do differently? And then try it out again until you get it right. If you don't have a colleague or friend to rehearse with, try writing out what you plan to say and rehearse by yourself.

Anticipate what tactics the other side may try and think in advance of how best to respond. Having prepared in advance, you are less likely to be caught by surprise. Instead you can say to yourself, "Ah! I knew that was coming" and deliver your prepared response. That is the value of preparation.

Preparing to Navigate

Ideally you would now conduct a negotiation in the same way that you have prepared. You would begin by exploring interests, trying to understand what each side is genuinely concerned about. Then you would discuss various options without commitment, seeing if you could genuinely satisfy both sides' interests. You would consider different standards of fairness for reconciling your differences. Finally you would exchange proposals back and forth in an effort to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement that in any case is better for each side than resorting to your respective BATNAs.

In the real world, however, your efforts to engage in joint problem-solving run up against powerful reactions, hostile emotions, rigid positions, strong dissatisfactions, and aggressive power plays. Your challenge is to change the game from face-to-face confrontation into side-by-side problem-solving, turning your opponent into a negotiating partner. Now that you have a good map of where you want to go, you need to use the breakthrough strategy to navigate past the obstacles that stand in your way. The next five chapters are intended to prepare you to navigate.

Journal of American Forensic Association, 12(1975)...

WHERE IS ARGUMENT?

1975?

Wayne Brockriede

Before looking for the clues that may lead to the discovery of where "argument" is, perhaps I should state some of my biases so you may be less surprised if I don't go instantly to where you presume I could find the culprit without difficulty. My principal bias is a humanistic point of view that denies an interest in logical systems, in messages, in reasoning, in evidence, or in propositions—*unless these things involve human activity rather directly*. One of the most famous cliches during the past fifteen years in the study of communication, originated by I know not whom but popularized by David K. Berlo, is that meanings are not in words but in people.[1] Arguments are not in statements but in people. Hence, a first clue on the whereabouts of argument: people will find arguments in the vicinity of people.

Second, argument is not a "thing" to be looked for but a concept people use, a perspective they take. Human activity does not usefully constitute an argument until some person perceives what is happening as an argument. Although defining the term on this basis is not as neat as speaking of necessary and sufficient conditions, seeing argument as a human activity encourages persons to take into account the conceptual choices of the relevant people. Hence, a second clue: only people can find and label and use an argument.

Third, because arguments are in people and are what people see them to be, the idea of argument is an open concept. Seeing it as an open concept is consistent with the ideas that arguers are people, that people change, and that the filtering concepts people use when they make perceptions also change. Hence, a third clue: the location of argument may change, and so may the road map.

Fourth, because argument is a human process, a way of seeing, an open concept, it is potentially everywhere. During the past four years some undergraduate students at the University of Colorado have found argument lurking in some strange places. We asked them specifically to look for it beyond the traditional habitats of the law courts (where textbook writers tend to find their doctrine) or the legislative assemblies (where teachers typically want students to imagine presenting their arguments). We asked them to look in such relatively exotic places as the aesthetic experience, the interpersonal transaction, and the construction of scientific theory or the reporting of research studies. I've read some interesting papers by students who have applied an argumentative perspective to a novel by Camus, to a symphony by Bernstein, to marriage and divorce, to Zen Buddhism, and to Thomas S. Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.[2] Throughout the reading of the arguments of such papers, I have been able to maintain my bias that "argument" has not been stretched out of shape, that it constitutes a frame of reference that can be related potentially to any kind of human endeavor (although, obviously, the idea of argument is not the only perspective that can be applied to a novel or a symphony). And until someone disabuses me of this eccentricity, I'm stuck with this fourth clue: the perspective of argument may pop up unexpectedly and usefully in a person's head at any time.

Fifth, but even though I appear to have constructed the idea of argument out of elasticity, I do not wish to argue that all communication is usefully called an argument. At this moment I see six characteristics that may help a person decide whether argument is a useful perspective to take in studying a communicative act. These characteristics, taken as six ways of looking at the same gestalt, define argument as *a process whereby people reason their way from one set of problematic ideas to the choice of another*.

The six characteristics of my construct of argument imply three primary dimensions. First, argument falls squarely into the realm of the problematic. What people argue about are nontrivial enough to pose a problem, but they are not likely easily to resolve the problem and so the issue remains somewhat problematic for a significant period of time. Second, each of the six characteristics of argument is a function of the variable logic of more or less and not a function of the categorical logic of yes or no. That is, each characteristic, and the construct as a whole, lies within the midrange of the more-or-less continuum. If an argument is not problematic enough or if any characteristic is too minimal—no argument. Too much of a problematic character or too much of any of the characteristics—

biases imply, argument is based on the perceptions and choices of people.[3]

Characteristic One. —an inferential leap from existing beliefs to the adoption of a new belief or to the reinforcement of an old one. One way to explain what I mean by an inferential leap is to contrast an argument of the sort I am talking about with a syllogism, the most famous member of the analytic family. Because its conclusion is entailed by the premises, no inferential leap is needed: nothing is stated in the conclusion of a syllogism that is not stated in the premises. As long as people stay within the closed system of a syllogism, nothing is problematic. To question a definition or a premise, people must leave that closed system by leaping inferentially into problematic uncertainty, and by doing so they may then make the kind of argument I am delineating in this paper. To function as an argument an inferential leap occupies the midrange of the more-or-less continuum. A person has little to argue about if the conclusion does not extend beyond the materials of an argument or extends only slightly; but one may be unable to make a convincing argument if the leap is too large, perhaps perceived as suicidal.

Characteristic Two. —a perceived rationale to support that leap. An arguer must perceive some rationale that establishes that the claim leaped to is worthy at least of being entertained. The weakest acceptable rationale may justify saying that the claim leaped to deserves entertainment "for the sake of argument." A stronger rationale may justify a person's taking a claim seriously—with the

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[3] An earlier exposition of five of these characteristics of argument, as applied to rhetorical criticism, appeared in my "Rhetorical Criticism as Argument," *QJS*, L (April 1974), 165-174. A more detailed discussion of the construct will appear as Chapter VII, "Argument," in Donald K. Darnell and Wayne Brockriede, *Persons*

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hope that after further thought it may be accepted. A still stronger rationale may convince someone to accept a claim tentatively until a better alternative comes along. If a rationale is too slender to justify a leap, the result is a quibble rather than an argument; but a rationale so strong a conclusion is entailed removes the activity from the realm of the problematic and hence from the world of argument. If the perceived rationale occupies either polar region, it fails to justify the label of argument because the claim either appears ridiculous (not worth arguing about) or too risky to entertain.

Characteristic Three. —a choice among two or more competing claims. When people quibble or play the analytic game, they do not make arguments because they cannot see a situation as yielding more than one legitimate claim. The right to choose is a human characteristic, but people are not free to chose without constraints. They are limited by what they know, what they believe, what they value. They are limited by how they relate to other people and to situations. They are limited by cause and by chance. But within such constraints people who argue have some choice but not too much. If they have too little choice, if a belief is entailed by formal logic or required by their status as true believers, they need not argue; but if they have too much choice, if they have to deal with choice overload, then argument may not be very productive.

Characteristic Four. —a regulation of uncertainty. Because arguers make inferential leaps that take claims beyond a rationale on which they are based, because they choose from among disputed options, they cannot reach certainty. If certainty existed, people need not engage in what I am defining as argument. When uncertainty is high, a need for argument is also high, especially if people to them. Usually arguers want to reduce uncertainty, but sometimes they may need to employ a stratgey of confrontation to increase uncertainty enough to get the attention of others. Only then may such people be receptive to arguments designed to reduce uncertainty. If people have too little uncertainty to regulate, then they have no problems to solve and argument is not needed. But if the regulation of uncertainty is too difficult, if people have too much trouble reducing or escalating the degree of uncertainty, then they may be unable or unwilling to argue.

Characteristic Five. —a willingness to risk confrontation of a claim with peers. In his evolutionary theory of knowing, Donald K. Darnell argues that scientists and other kinds of people gain knowledge by taking an imaginative leap from an accumulated and consolidated body of information on a subject and then by undergoing the risk of confronting self and others with the claim that results, a risk that may lead to the disconfirmation or modification of the claim.[4] Arguers cannot regulate uncertainty very much until their claim meets these tests of confrontation. A person confronting self has no public risk (unless someone overhears one self arguing aloud with another self), but the private risk is that an important claim or an important part of a self may have to be discarded. When two persons engage in mutual confrontation so they can share a rational choice, they share the risks of what that confrontation may do to change their ideas, their selves, and their relationship with one another. If the leap is too little, the rationale too minimal, the choice too slender, the problem of uncertainty-reduction too miniscule, then the potential risk of disconfirmation after confrontation probably is not enough to justify calling the behavior argument. But if these characteristics are too overwhelming, the risk may be too great and a person may be unwilling to subject an idea through argument to confrontation and almost certain disconfirmation.

Characteristic Six. —a frame of reference shared optimally. The emergence of this characteristic is consistent with the idea that argument is an open concept. Until the spring of 1974 I knew of only five characteristics of argument, those I have just discussed. Then while working on a doctoral dissertation, one of my advisees, Karen Rasmussen, wrote a chapter on argument that added this sixth characteristic. She argued that arguers must share to an optimal degree elements of one another's world views or frames of reference.[5] This idea squares with a position Peter A. Schouls took in contending that professional philosophers (and, one may presume, others as well) cannot argue with one another very effectively if their presuppositions share too little or are virtually irreconcilable; but argument is pointless if two persons share too much.[6] It also squares with Kenneth Burke's doctrine of identification, which implies that polar extremes are empty categories—that the uniqueness of individuals makes for at least some divisiveness (which occasionally makes argument necessary), but on the other hand individuals are consubstantial in sharing at least a few properties (which occasionally makes argument possible).[7]

So this is my argument about where argument may be discovered: among people, by people, in changing forms, potentially everywhere, but especially where six characteristics are joined. I have contended that argument deals with the problematic and ignores the trivial or the certain, that it depends on the perceptions and choices of people who will decide whether viewing an activity as an argument is appropriate, and that it lies in the midrange of the more-or-less continuum of a variable logic and not a categorical logic.

I argue that what I have done in writing this essay is an illustration of my construct of argument. I have made some inferential leaps. I have presented what I perceive to be a rationale for supporting those leaps. I have made some choices. I may have succeeded in regulating some uncertainties. I have presumed throughout that our frames of reference overlap at some points but not at too many. I now invite your confrontation.

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[4] Chapter III, "An Evolutionary Theory of Knowing," in Darnell and Brockriede.

[5] "Implications of Argumentation for Aesthetic Experience: A Transactional Perspective" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1974), Chapter III.

[6] "Communication, Argumentation, and Presupposition in Philosophy," *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, II (Fall 1969), 183-199.

[7] *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950; rpt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 20-23.

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*Active Listening**

By Carl B. Rogers and Richard E. Farson

THE MEANING OF ACTIVE LISTENING

ONE basic responsibility of the supervisor or executive is the development, adjustment, and integration of individual employees. He tries to develop employee potential, delegate responsibility, and achieve cooperation. To do so, he must have, among other abilities, the ability to listen intelligently and carefully to those with whom he works.

There are, however, many kinds of listening skills. The lawyer, for example, when questioning a witness, listens for contradictions, irrelevancies, errors, and weaknesses. But this is not the kind of listening skill we are concerned with. The lawyer usually is not listening in order to help the witness adjust or cooperate or produce. On the other hand, we will be concerned with listening skills which *will help* employees gain a clearer understanding of their situations, take responsibility, and cooperate with each other.

Two Examples

The kind of listening we have in mind is called "active listening." It is called "active" because the listener has a very definite responsibility. He does not passively absorb the words which are spoken to him. He actively tries to grasp the facts and the feelings in what he hears, and he tries, by his listening, to help the speaker work out his own problems.

To get a fuller picture of what is meant by active listening, let us consider two different approaches to the same work problem.

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Example No. 1

Foreman: Hey, Al, I don't get this production order. We can't handle this run today. What do they think we are?

Supervisor: But that's the order. So get it out as soon as you can. We're under terrific pressure this week.

Foreman: Don't they know we're behind schedule already because of that press breakdown?

Supervisor: Look, Kelly, I don't decide what goes on upstairs. I just have to see that the work gets out, and that's what I'm gonna do.

Foreman: The guys aren't gonna like this.

Supervisor: That's something you'll have to work out with them, not me.

Example No. 2

Foreman: Hey, Ross, I don't get this production order. We can't handle this run today. What do they think we are?

Supervisor: Sounds like you're pretty sore about it, Kelly.

Foreman: I sure am. We were just about getting back to schedule after that press breakdown. Now this comes along.

Supervisor: As if you didn't have enough work to do, huh?

Foreman: Yeah. I don't know how I'm gonna tell the guys about this.

Supervisor: Hate to face 'em with it now, is that it?

Foreman: I really do. They're under a real strain today. Seems like everything we do around here is rush, rush.

Supervisor: I guess you feel like it's unfair to load anything more on them.

Foreman: Well, yeah. I know there must be plenty of pressure on everybody up the line, but—well, if that's the way it is—guess I'd better get the word to 'em.

There are obviously many differences between these two examples. The main one, however, is that Ross, the supervisor in the second example, is using the active-listening approach. He is listening and responding in a way that makes it clear that he appreciates both the meaning and the feeling behind what Kelly is saying.

Active listening does not necessarily mean long sessions spent listening to grievances, personal or otherwise. It is simply a way of approaching those problems which arise out of the usual day-to-day events of any job.

To be effective, active listening must be firmly grounded in the basic attitudes of the user. We cannot employ it as a technique if our fundamental attitudes are in conflict with its basic concepts. If we try, our behavior will be empty and sterile, and our associates will be quick to recognize this. Until we can demonstrate a spirit which genuinely respects the potential worth of the individual, which considers his sights and trusts his capacity for self-direction, we cannot begin to be effective listeners.

What We Achieve by Listening

Active listening is an important way to bring about changes in people. Despite the popular notion that listening is a passive approach, clinical and research evidence clearly shows that sensitive listening is a most effective agent for individual personality change and group development. Listening brings about changes in people's attitudes toward themselves and others; it also brings about changes in their basic values and personal philosophy. People who have been listened to in this new and special way become more emotionally mature, more open to their experiences, less defensive, more democratic, and less authoritarian.

When people are listened to sensitively, they tend to listen to themselves with more care and to make clear exactly what they are feeling and thinking. Group members tend to listen more to each other, to become less argumentative, more ready to incorporate other points of view. Because listening reduces the threat of having one's ideas criticized, the person is better able to see them for what they are and is more likely to feel that his contributions are worthwhile.

Not the least important result of listening is the change that takes place within the listener himself. Besides providing more information than any other activity, listening builds deep, positive relationships and tends to alter constructively the attitudes of the listener. Listening is a growth experience.

These, then, are some of the worthwhile results we can expect from active listening. But how do we go about this kind of listening? How do we become active listeners?

HOW TO LISTEN

Active listening aims to bring about changes in people. To achieve this end, it relies upon definite techniques—things to do and things to avoid doing. Before discussing these techniques, however, we should first understand why they are effective. To do so, we must understand how the individual personality develops.

The Growth of the Individual

Through all of our lives, from early childhood on, we have learned to think of ourselves in certain very definite ways. We have built up pictures of ourselves. Sometimes these self-pictures are pretty realistic, but at other times they are not. For example, an overage, overweight lady may fancy herself a youthful, ravishing siren, or an awkward teen-ager regard himself as a star athlete.

All of us have experiences which fit the way we need to think about ourselves. These we accept. But it is much harder to accept experiences which don't fit. And sometimes, if it is very important for us to hang on to this self-picture, we don't accept or admit these experiences at all.

These self-pictures are not necessarily attractive. A man, for example, may regard himself as incompetent and worthless. He may feel that he is doing his job poorly in spite of favorable appraisals by the company. As long as he has these feelings about himself, he must deny any experiences which would seem not to fit this self-picture—in this case any that might indicate to him that he is competent. It is so necessary for him to maintain this self-picture that he is threatened by anything which would tend to change it. Thus, when the company raises his salary, it may seem to him only additional proof that he is a fraud. He must hold onto this self-picture, because, bad or good, it's the only thing he has by which he can identify himself.

This is why direct attempts to change this individual or change his self-picture are particularly threatening. He is forced to defend himself or to completely deny the experience. This denial of experience and defense of the self-picture tend to bring on rigidity of behavior and create difficulties in personal adjustment.

The active-listening approach, on the other hand, does not present a threat to the individual's self-picture. He does not have to defend it. He is able to explore it, see it for what it is, and make his own decision about how realistic it is. And he is then in a position to change.

If I want to help a man reduce his defensiveness and become more adaptive, I must try to remove the threat of myself as his potential changer. As long as the atmosphere is threatening, there can be no effective communication. So I must create a climate which is neither critical, evaluative, nor moralizing. It must be an atmosphere of equality and freedom, permissiveness and understanding, acceptance and warmth. It is in this climate and this climate only that the individual feels safe enough to incorporate new experiences and new values into his concept of himself. Let's see how active listening helps to create this climate.

What to Avoid

When we encounter a person with a problem our usual response is to try to change his way of looking at things—to get him to see his situation the way we see it or would like him to see it. We plead, reason, scold, encourage, insult, prod—anything to bring about a change in the desired direction, that is, in the direction we want him to travel. What we seldom realize, however, is that, under these circumstances, we are usually responding to *our own* needs to see the world in certain ways. It is always difficult for us to tolerate and understand actions which are different from the ways in which *we* believe *we* should act. If, however, we can free ourselves from the need to influence and direct others in our own paths, we enable ourselves to listen with understanding and thereby employ the most potent available agent of change.

One problem the listener faces is that of responding to demands for decisions, judgments, and evaluations. He is constantly called upon to agree or disagree with someone or something. Yet, as he well knows, the question or challenge frequently is a masked expression of feelings or needs which the speaker is far more anxious to communicate than he is to have the surface questions answered. Because he cannot speak these feelings openly, the speaker must disguise them to himself and to others in an acceptable form. To illustrate, let us examine some typical questions and the types of answers that might best elicit the feelings beneath them.

Employee's Question	*Listener's Answer*
Just whose responsibility is the toolroom?	Do you feel that someone is challenging your authority in there?
Don't you think younger able people should be promoted before senior but less able ones?	It seems to you they should, I take it.
What does the super expect us to do about those broken-down machines?	You're pretty disgusted with those machines, aren't you?
Don't you think I've improved over the last review period?	Sounds as if you feel like you've really picked up over these last few months.

These responses recognize the questions but leave the way open for the employee to say what is really bothering him. They allow the listener to participate in the problem or situation without shouldering all responsibility for decision making or actions. This is a process of thinking *with* people instead of *for* or *about* them.

Passing judgment, whether critical or favorable, makes free expression difficult. Similarly, advice and information are almost always seen as efforts to change a person and thus serve as barriers to his self-expression and the development of a creative relationship. Moreover, advice is seldom taken, and information hardly ever utilized. The eager young trainee probably will not become patient just because he is advised that "the road to success in business is a long, difficult one, and you must be patient." And it is no more helpful for him to learn that "only one out of a hundred trainees reaches a top management position."

Interestingly, it is a difficult lesson to learn that positive *evaluations* are sometimes as blocking as negative ones. It is almost as destructive to the freedom of a relationship to tell a person that he is good or capable or right, as to tell him otherwise. To evaluate him positively may make it more difficult for him to tell of the faults that distress him or the ways in which he believes he is not competent.

Encouragement also may be seen as an attempt to motivate the speaker in certain directions or hold him off, rather than as support. "I'm sure everything will work out O.K." is not a helpful response to the person who is deeply discouraged about a problem.

In other words, most of the techniques and devices common to human relationships are found to be of little use in establishing the type of relationship we are seeking here.

What to Do

Just what does active listening entail, then? Basically, it requires that we get inside the speaker, that we grasp, *from his point of view*, just what it is he is communicating to us. More than that, we must convey to the speaker that we are seeing things from his point of view. To listen actively, then, means that there are several things we must do.

Listen for Total Meaning Any message a person tries to get across usually has two components: the *content* of the message and the *feeling* or attitude underlying this content. Both are important; both give the message *meaning*. It is this total meaning of the message that we try to understand. For example, a machinist comes to his foreman and says, "I've finished that lathe setup." This message has obvious content and perhaps calls upon the foreman for another work assignment. Suppose, on the other hand, that he says, "Well, I'm finally finished with that damned lathe setup." The content is the same, but the total meaning of the message has changed—and changed in an important way for both the foreman and the worker. Here sensitive listening can facilitate the relationship. Suppose the foreman were to respond by simply giving another work assignment. Would the employee feel that he had gotten his total message across? Would he feel free to talk to his foreman? Will he feel better about his job, more anxious to do good work on the next assignment?

Now, on the other hand, suppose the foreman were to respond with, "Glad to have it over with, huh?" or "Had a pretty rough time of it?" or "Guess you don't feel like doing anything like that again," or anything else that tells the worker that he heard and understands. It doesn't necessarily mean that the next work assignment need be changed or that he must spend an hour listening to the worker complain about the setup problems he encountered. He may do a number of things differently in the light of the new information he has from the worker—but not necessarily. It's just that extra sensitivity on the part of the foreman which can transform an average working climate into a good one.

Respond to Feelings In some instances, the content is far less important than the feeling which underlies it. To catch the full flavor or meaning of the message, one must respond particularly to the feeling component. If, for instance, our machinist had said, "I'd like to melt this lathe down and make paper clips out of it," responding to content would be obviously absurd. But to respond to his disgust or anger in trying to work with his lathe recognizes the meaning of this message. There are various shadings of these components in the meaning of any message. Each time, the listener must try to remain sensitive to the total meaning the message has to the speaker. What is he trying to tell me? What does this mean to him? How does he see this situation?

Note All Cues Not all communication is verbal. The speaker's words alone don't tell us everything he is communicating. And hence, truly sensitive listening requires that we become aware of several kinds of communication besides verbal. The way in which a speaker hesitates in his speech can tell us much about his feelings. So, too, can the inflection of his voice. He may stress certain points loudly and clearly and may mumble others. We should also note such things as the person's facial expressions, body posture, hand movements, eye movements, and breathing. All of these help to convey his total message.

What We Communicate by Listening

The first reaction of most people when they consider listening as a possible method for dealing with human beings is that listening cannot be sufficient in itself. Because it is passive, they feel, listening does not communicate anything to the speaker. Actually, nothing could be farther from the truth.

By consistently listening to a speaker, you are conveying the idea that: "I'm interested in you as a person, and I think that what you feel is important. I respect your thoughts, and even if I don't agree with them, I know that they are valid for you. I feel sure that you have a contribution to make. I'm not trying to change you or evaluate you. I just want to understand you. I think you're worth listening to, and I want you to know that I'm the kind of a person you can talk to."

The subtle but most important aspect of this is that it is the *demonstration* of the message that works. While it is most difficult to convince someone that you respect him by *telling* him so, you are much more likely to get this message across by really *behaving* that way—by actually *having* and *demonstrating* respect for this person. Listening does this most effectively.

Like other behavior, listening behavior is contagious. This has implications for all communication problems, whether between two people or within a large organization. To ensure good communication between associates up and down the line, one must first take the responsibility for setting a pattern of listening. Just as one learns that anger is usually met with anger, argument with argument, and deception with deception, one can learn that listening can be met with listening. Every person who feels responsibility in a situation can set the tone of the interaction, and the important lesson in this is that any behavior exhibited by one person will eventually be responded to with similar behavior in the other person.

It is far more difficult to stimulate constructive behavior in another person but far more profitable. Listening is one of these constructive behaviors, but if one's attitude is to "wait out" the speaker rather than really listen to him, it will fail. The one who consistently listens with understanding, however, is the one who eventually is most likely to be listened to. If you really want to be heard and understood by another, you can develop him as a potential listener, ready for new ideas, provided you can first develop yourself in these ways and sincerely listen with understanding and respect.

Testing for Understanding

Because understanding another person is actually far more difficult than it at first seems, it is important to test constantly your ability to see the world in the way the speaker sees it. You can do this by reflecting in your own words what the speaker seems to mean by his words and actions. His response to this will tell you whether or not he feels understood. A good rule of thumb is to assume that you never really understand until you can communicate this understanding to the other's satisfaction.

Here is an experiment to test your skill in listening. The next time you become involved in a lively or controversial discussion with another person, stop for a moment and suggest that you adopt this ground rule for continued discussion: Before either participant in the discussion can make a point or express an opinion of his own, he must first restate aloud the previous point or position of the other person. This restatement must be in his own words (merely parroting the words of another does not prove that one has understood but only that he has heard the words). The restatement must be accurate enough to satisfy the speaker before the listener can be allowed to speak for himself.

This is something you could try in your own discussion group. Have someone express himself on some topic of emotional concern to the group. Then, before another member expresses his own feelings and thought, he must rephrase the *meaning* expressed by the previous speaker to that individual's satisfaction. Note the changes in the emotional climate and in the quality of the discussion when you try this.

PROBLEMS IN ACTIVE LISTENING

Active listening is not an easy skill to acquire. It demands practice. Perhaps more important, it may require changes in our own basic attitudes. These changes come slowly and sometimes with considerable difficulty. Let us look at some of the major problems in active listening and what can be done to overcome them.

The Personal Risk

To be effective at all in active listening, one must have a sincere interest in the speaker. We all live in glass houses as far as our attitudes are concerned. They always show through. And if we are only making a pretense of interest in the speaker, he will quickly pick this up, either consciously or unconsciously. And once he does, he will no longer express himself freely.

Active listening carries a strong element of personal risk. If we manage to accomplish what we are describing here—to sense deeply the feeling of another person, to understand the meaning his experiences have for him, to see the world as he sees it—we risk being changed ourselves. For example, if we permit ourselves to listen our way into the psychological life of a labor leader or agitator—to get the meaning which life has for him—we risk coming to see the world as he sees it. It is threatening to give up, even momentarily, what we believe and start thinking in someone else's terms. It takes a great deal of inner security and courage to be able to risk one's self in understanding another.

For the supervisor, the courage to take another's point of view generally means that he must see *himself* through another's eyes—he must be able to see himself as others see him. To do this may sometimes be unpleasant, but it is far more *difficult* than unpleasant. We are so accustomed to viewing ourselves in certain ways—to seeing and hearing only what we want to see and hear—that it is extremely difficult for a person to free himself from his needs to see things these ways.

Developing an attitude of sincere interest in the speaker is thus no easy task. It can be developed only by being willing to risk seeing the world from the speaker's point of view. If we have a number of such experiences, however, they will shape an attitude which will allow us to be truly genuine in our interest in the speaker.

Hostile Expressions

The listener will often hear negative, hostile expressions directed at himself. Such expressions are always hard to listen to. No one likes to hear hostile words. And it is not easy to get to the point where one is strong enough to permit these attacks without finding it necessary to defend oneself or retaliate.

Because we all fear that people will crumble under the attack of genuine negative feelings, we tend to perpetuate an attitude of pseudo peace. It is as if we cannot tolerate conflict at all for fear of the damage it could do to us, to the situation, to the others involved. But of course the real damage is done to all these by the denial and suppression of negative feelings.

Out-of-place Expressions

There is also the problem of out-of-place expressions—expressions dealing with behavior which is not usually acceptable in our society. In the extreme forms that present themselves before psychotherapists, expressions of sexual perversity or homicidal fantasies are often found blocking to the listener because of their obvious threatening quality. At less extreme levels, we all find unnatural or inappropriate behavior difficult to handle. That is, anything from an off-color story told in mixed company to a man weeping is likely to produce a problem situation.

In any face-to-face situation, we will find instances of this type which will momentarily, if not permanently, block any communication. In business and industry, any expressions of weakness or incompetency will generally be regarded as unacceptable and therefore will block good two-way communication. For example, it is difficult to listen to a supervisor tell of his feelings of failure in being able to "take charge" of a situation in his department, because *all* administrators are supposed to be able to "take charge."

Accepting Positive Feelings

It is both interesting and perplexing to note that negative or hostile feelings or expressions are much easier to deal with in any face-to-face relationship than are truly and deeply positive feelings. This is especially true for the businessman, because the culture expects him to be independent, bold, clever, and aggressive and manifest no feelings of warmth, gentleness, and intimacy. He therefore comes to regard these feelings as soft and inappropriate. But no matter how they are regarded, they remain a human need. The denial of these feelings in himself and his associates does not get the executive out of the problem of dealing with them. They simply become veiled and confused. If recognized, they would work for the total effort; unrecognized, they work against it.

Emotional Danger Signals

The listener's own emotions are sometimes a barrier to active listening. When emotions are at their height, which is when listening is most necessary, it is most difficult to set aside one's own concerns and be understanding. Our emotions are often our own worst enemies when we try to become listeners. The more involved and invested we are in a particular situation or problem, the less we are likely to be willing or able to listen to the feelings and attitudes of others. That is, the more we find it necessary to respond to our own needs, the less we are able to respond to the needs of another. Let us look at some of the main danger signals that warn us that our emotions may be interfering with our listening.

Defensiveness The points about which one is most vocal and dogmatic, the points which one is most anxious to impose on others—these are always the points one is trying to talk oneself into believing. So one danger signal becomes apparent when you find yourself stressing a point or trying to convince another. It is at these times that you are likely to be less secure and consequently less able to listen.

Resentment of Opposition It is always easier to listen to an idea which is similar to one of your own than to an opposing view. Sometimes, in order to clear the air, it is helpful to pause for a moment when you feel your ideas and position being challenged, reflect on the situation, and express your concern to the speaker.

Clash of Personalities Here again, our experience has consistently shown us that the genuine expression of feelings on the part of the listener will be more helpful in developing a sound relationship than the suppression of them. This is so whether the feelings be resentment, hostility, threat, or admiration. A basically honest relationship, whatever the nature of it, is the most productive of all. The other party becomes secure when he learns that the listener can express his feelings honestly and openly to him. We should keep this in mind when we begin to fear a clash of personalities in the listening relationship. Otherwise, fear of our own emotions will choke off full expression of feelings.

Listening to Ourselves

To listen to oneself is a prerequisite for listening to others. And it is often an effective means of dealing with the problems we have outlined above. When we are most aroused, excited, and demanding, we are least able to understand our own feelings and attitudes. Yet, in dealing with the problems of others, it becomes most important to be sure of one's own position, values, and needs.

The ability to recognize and understand the meaning which a particular episode has for you, with all the feelings which it stimulates in you, and the ability to express this meaning when you find it getting in the way of active listening will clear the air and enable you once again to be free to listen. That is, if some person or situation touches off feelings within you which tend to block your attempts to listen with understanding, begin listening to yourself. It is much more helpful in developing effective relationships to avoid suppressing these feelings. Speak them out as clearly as you can, and try to enlist the other person as a listener to your feelings. A person's listening ability is limited by his ability to listen to himself.

ACTIVE LISTENING AND COMPANY GOALS

> **How can listening improve production?**
>
> **We're in business, and it's a rugged, fast, competitive affair. How are we going to find time to counsel our employees?**
>
> **We have to concern ourselves with organizational problems first.**
>
> **We can't afford to spend all day listening when there's a job to be done.**
>
> **What's morale got to do with production?**
>
> **Sometimes we have to sacrifice an individual for the good of the rest of the people in the company.**

Those of us who are trying to advance the listening approach in industry hear these comments frequently. And because they are so honest and legitimate, they pose a real problem. Unfortunately, the answers are not so clear-cut as the questions.

Individual Importance

One answer is based on an assumption that is central to the listening approach. That assumption is: The kind of behavior which helps the individual will eventually be the best thing that could be done for the group. Or saying it another way: The things that are best for the individual are best for the company. This is a conviction of ours, based on our experience in psychology and education. The research evidence from industry is only beginning to come in. We find that putting the group first, at the expense of the individual, besides being an uncomfortable individual experience, does *not* unify the group. In fact, it tends to make the group less a group. The members become anxious and suspicious.

We are not at all sure in just what ways the group does benefit from a concern demonstrated for an individual, but we have several strong leads. One is that the group feels more secure when an individual is being listened to and provided for with concern and sensitivity. And we assume that a secure group will ultimately be a better group. When each individual feels that he need not fear exposing himself to the group, he is likely to contribute more freely and spontaneously. When the leader of a group responds to the individual, puts the individual first, the other members of the group will follow suit, and the group will come to act as a unit in recognizing and responding to the needs of a particular member. This positive, constructive action seems to be a much more satisfying experience for a group than the experience of dispensing with a member.

Listening and Production

Whether listening or any other activity designed to better human relations in an industry actually raises production—whether morale has a definite relationship to production—is not known for sure. There are some who frankly hold that there is no relationship to be expected between morale and production—that production often depends upon the social misfit, the eccentric, or the isolate. And there are some who simply choose to work in a climate of cooperation and harmony, in a high-morale group, quite aside from the question of increased production.

A report from the Survey Research Center[1] at the University of Michigan on research conducted at the Prudential Life Insurance Company lists seven findings relating to production and morale. First-line supervisors in high-production work groups were found to differ from those in low-production work groups in that they:

1. Are under less close supervision from their own supervisors.
2. Place less direct emphasis upon production as the goal.
3. Encourage employee participation in the making of decisions.
4. Are more employee-centered.
5. Spend more of their time in supervision and less in straight production work.
6. Have a greater feeling of confidence in their supervisory roles.
7. Feel that they know where they stand with the company.

After mentioning that other dimensions of morale, such as identification with the company, intrinsic job satisfaction, and satisfaction with job status, were not found significantly related to productivity, the report goes on to suggest the following psychological interpretation:

> People are more effectively motivated when they are given some degree of freedom in the way in which they do their work than when every action is prescribed in advance. They do better when some degree of decision mak-

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[1] "Productivity, Supervision, and Employee Morale," *Human Relations*, Series I, Report 1, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

> ing about their jobs is possible than when all decisions are made for them. They respond more adequately when they are treated as personalities than as cogs in a machine. In short, if the ego motivations of self-determination, of self-expression, of a sense of personal worth can be tapped, the individual can be more effectively energized. The use of external sanctions or pressuring for production may work to some degree, but not to the extent that the more internalized motives do. When the individual comes to identify himself with his job and with the work of his group, human resources are much more fully utilized in the production process.

The Survey Research Center has also conducted studies among workers in other industries. In discussing the results of these studies, Robert L. Kahn writes:

> In the studies of clerical workers, railroad workers, and workers in heavy industry, the supervisors with the better production records gave a larger proportion of their time to supervisory functions, especially to the interpersonal aspects of their jobs. The supervisors of the lower-producing sections were more likely to spend their time in tasks which the men themselves were performing, or in the paperwork aspects of their jobs.[2]

Maximum Creativeness

There may never be enough research evidence to satisfy everyone on this question. But speaking from a business point of view, in terms of the problem of developing resources for production, the maximum creativeness and productive effort of the human beings in the organization are the richest untapped source of power still existing. The difference between the maximum productive capacity of people and that output which industry is now realizing is immense. We simply suggest that this maximum capacity might be closer to realization if we sought to release the motivation that already exists within people rather than try to stimulate them externally.

This releasing of the individual is made possible, first of all, by sensitive listening, with respect and understanding. Listening is a beginning toward making the individual feel himself worthy of making contributions, and this could result in a very dynamic and productive organization. Competitive business is never too rugged or too busy to take time to procure the most efficient technological advances or to develop rich raw-material resources. But these in comparison to the resources that are already within the people in the plant are paltry. This is industry's major procurement problem.

G. L. Clements, president of Jewel Tea Co., Inc., in talking about the collaborative approach to management, says:

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[2] Robert L. Kahn, "The Human Factors Underlying Industrial Productivity," *Michigan Business Review*, November, 1952.

> We feel that this type of approach recognizes that there is a secret ballot going on at all times among the people in any business. They vote for or against their supervisors. A favorable vote for the supervisor shows up in the cooperation, teamwork, understanding, and production of the group. To win this secret ballot, each supervisor must share the problems of his group and work for them.[3]

The decision to spend time listening to his employees is a decision each supervisor or executive has to make for himself. Executives seldom have much to do with products or processes. They have to deal with people who must in turn deal with people who will deal with products or processes. The higher one goes up the line, the more one will be concerned with human relations problems, simply because people are all one has to work with. The minute we take a man from his bench and make him a foreman, he is removed from the basic production of goods and now must begin relating to individuals instead of nuts and bolts. People are different from things, and our foreman is called upon for a different line of skills completely. His new tasks call upon him to be a special kind of person. The development of himself as a listener is a first step in becoming this special person.

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[3] G. L. Clements, "Time for 'Democracy in Action' at the Executive Level," address given before the AMA Personnel Conference, Feb. 28, 1951.

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WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

CHAPTER

12

Preparing for and Supporting the Public Speech

Speaking in public is an increasingly common organizational communication activity. While administrators, board directors, and other executives have always made speeches, today professional men and women of varied occupations are called upon to speak with increasing regularity.[1] Consider these examples: (1) A lawyer talks to an organization of concerned parents about the legality of textbook censorship; (2) An obstetrician informs a group of expectant mothers about alternative methods of childbirth; (3) An accountant speaks to a local Rotary Club, giving them some tips on how to file their income tax returns; (4) An educator addresses a group of fellow teachers in an effort to get them to unionize; and (5) A social worker speaks to a group of junior high school students about the use of illegal drugs. Clearly, regardless of your occupation—whether you are an educator, a social worker, a realtor, or a salesperson—you are likely to be asked to make some speeches throughout your professional life.

Many believe that the most critical skills any prospective organizational employee can possess may be the ability to speak effectively and write clearly. Economist Peter Drucker exemplifies this view when he notes that colleges teach the one thing that is most valuable for the future employee to know: the ability to organize and express ideas in writing and speaking.[2] Unfortunately, many bright young men and women graduate from college every year without having mastered these vital skills. In fact, it is often only when they are confronted with the realities of their first jobs that they recognize how frequently they must write reports and letters and inform and persuade varied audiences in public speaking situations.

Among the decisions each public speaker must make are how to choose a good speech subject, how to analyze the audience's interests and values, how to find and assess information, how to organize information coherently, and how to deliver the speech effectively. The first task, however, is choosing an appropriate topic.

Selecting the Speech Topic

Whenever you are asked to make a speech, you are faced with one of two basic situations: (1) the topic is suggested, or (2) you are told to speak about anything of your choice (occasionally, within some rather broad perimeters). Often a topic is suggested that is related to your job. Automotive executives are asked to speak about the impact of the nation's economic woes on their industry; journalists are invited to discuss media coverage of controversial trials; and teachers are asked to talk about pedagogical innovations.

The other kind of public speaking invitation you may receive is to "talk about anything you like." You may be asked to speak because someone in the audience knows you are a good speaker, or perhaps the audience wants a prominent citizen (you) to speak to them so that they can receive positive publicity and attract a sizable crowd. On still other occasions, you will be given a general subject area within which you are free to select a specific topic. You may be told to talk about the economy, law, religion, or politics. Because such broad subjects can be pursued in countless ways, the major job of choosing a topic remains your responsibility in these situations. For many speakers, having to choose the subject presents a problem, since though the possible topics seem endless, no *one* is quite appropriate. In fact, many speakers spend an inordinate amount of time on topic selection and are left with inadequate time for researching, organizing, and practicing. Yet topic selection can be approached rather systematically if potential topics are examined in relationship to four major perspectives: (1) *personal,* (2) *audience,* (3) *situational,* and (4) *organizational.*

Personal Perspective

Certainly the richest source of speech ideas resides within you as an individual. Begin, then, with some assessment of your *personal knowledge, experiences, attitudes,* and *beliefs.* Speeches vary in purpose; yet each is essentially a *personal statement* from you as a speaker to others who choose or are asked to listen. You may want to select a topic about which you already know a good deal but would like to learn more. Sometimes with this approach, it is necessary to engage in thorough library research. On other occasions, you need only organize your thinking into some effective, appealing strategy. More often, some of both procedures is required. Your personal interest in a subject may evolve from intellectual enthusiasm and curiosity as well as from firsthand experiences. Not every speaker has traveled extensively, worked for twenty years in a hospital, or written speeches for a prominent political candidate. What is important, however, is that you have certain kinds of *secondary experiences.* You have read books, seen movies, and listened to lectures and speeches. You have access to great quantities of information concerning current events from such sources as newspapers and news magazines. Moreover, because of your interests, values, and beliefs, you have acquired information and ideas on some subjects of persistent controversy—such as suicide, religion, the role of government, marriage, and drug use and abuse. With controversial topics such as these, you have the challenging task of focusing them specifically to avoid an overly general, superficial analysis. Since most audience members are probably familiar with the basic aspects of these issues, it is particularly crucial that you approach these subjects with freshness and creativity.

Sometimes conducting a self-inventory of your interests and experiences can be helpful. Business Brief 12.1 presents some factors to consider as you go through a thorough, thoughtful self-assessment.

The Perspective of the Audience

The second major perspective from which any potential topic should be considered is the *audience.* It is usually wise to select a subject about which the audience has some information but would enjoy learning more. Normally, speech requests are accompanied by some reference to time limits; that is, no speaker is free to talk for three or four hours. In fact, most public speeches are delivered in twenty to thirty minutes. If you elect to pursue a substantive topic, it is imperative that the audience have some initial information so that your remarks are understood.

BUSINESS BRIEF

12.1

Self-Inventory for Public Speakers

1. Educational background (including anything interesting or unusual)
2. Jobs held (and skills developed through jobs)
3. Memorable childhood experiences
4. Traveling (familiar or interesting places visited)
5. Special training
6. Organizational affiliations
7. Hobbies and leisure activities
8. Books or authors you have especially enjoyed
9. People who have influenced your thinking and values (friends, writers, family members, political figures, teachers, leaders)

Let us say, for example, that a representative of General Motors chooses to speak on some of GM's automotive innovations in response to the fuel shortage to an audience composed of business and professional women. Although the speaker may assume that his all-female audience is not extremely knowledgeable about automotive technology, he can be reasonably sure that they are well aware of the nation's overall economic condition, of the basic dimensions of the energy shortage, and of some general responses of automobile designers and manufacturers to fuel consumption problems. As a result, the speaker can spend most of his time discussing specific features of particular models (probably with the assistance of visual aids) and plans for future innovations. Notice that this topic is a good, manageable choice for this audience because of the assumed level of audience knowledge and predicted interest in the subject.

Every speech topic, then, should be selected with an equal concern for speaker and audience needs, values, and interests. Both you and your listeners must be "turned on" if the communication exchange is to be meaningful and reciprocal. Too often we view public speaking as singularly source-oriented—that is, a chance for one person to hold another group captive while the former "speaks his or her mind." Yet, communication can be personally and socially significant only if *reciprocal exchange* occurs.

In choosing a subject, there are a number of *audience-related dimensions* to be considered. At the most basic level, contemplate potential subjects with regard to the *demographic characteristics* of the audience, including age, gender, socioeconomic status, and educational level. This kind of information helps you select a topic, and it also provides clues to *how* to handle a given topic tastefully and persuasively. The subject "Death and Dying" is a topic relevant to everyone. Yet the manner in which you approach its discussion would vary considerably if you were addressing a group of teenagers rather than a group of elderly citizens.

Also, seek information about the *social, economic, political,* and *religious beliefs* of the audience. Such knowledge may provide insights into the needs and values of the audience. With persuasive speaking, in particular, an assessment of such values is crucial. As soon as you accept an invitation to speak, it is appropriate to question the individual who contacted you about his or her perceptions of the audience's interests and values. If the group has regularly scheduled meetings, you might want to visit one of their meetings before your speaking engagement, spend some time interacting with them, and observe their reactions to another speaker. It is important to avoid making stereotypic assumptions about an audience based on minimal information.

Finally, in selecting a topic, you might consider the ***audience's immediate background***. Some people, for example, share concerns and have common interests in problems simply because of the context or setting in which they find themselves. Speakers are commonly asked to address groups such as prison inmates, military officers, clergy, or college students. As a student enrolled in a basic business and professional communication course, you will often address your classmates. Your audience in this instance represents a diversity of religions, political views, intelligence, and socioeconomic levels. But because they share the bond of attending college, they have common interests. So such topics as grade inflation, the job market, the university's grading system, graduation requirements, faculty evaluation, and university ratings would all be potentially relevant.

The Situational Perspective

Closely related to this last dimension of audience analysis is the third major perspective from which you might consider speech subjects, the *occasion*. Every year organizations celebrate anniversaries, schools go into virtual hysterics over sports victories, and towns have parades and festivals in honor of their own. If you are asked to speak for such an occasion, it is vital that you be sensitive to its meaning in the lives of your audience. Once in a while a speaker is unaware of the occasion being marked until he or she arrives to make the speech. If this should ever happen to you, seriously consider the impact of the occasion on your audience and the degree to which you might alter your handling of the subject to meet the demands of the situation.

Time is a critical factor. As we stated earlier, most public speeches last from twenty to thirty minutes. It is not unusual, however, for a speaker to be restricted to fifteen minutes or, at the other extreme, allotted a full hour. The focus of your topic would vary greatly in each of these instances. There are occasions when it is appropriate to provide a kind of broad overview of a topic or problem (if, for example, the audience is poorly informed). More commonly, a narrower subject with a greater depth of handling is preferable.

The Organizational Perspective

The final perspective from which you might consider topic selection is that of the *organization* you are representing. When you are called upon to make a public speech, it is often because of your affiliation with a specific organization. Consider the young

BUSINESS BRIEF

12.2

Speech Topics from the Perspective of the Organization

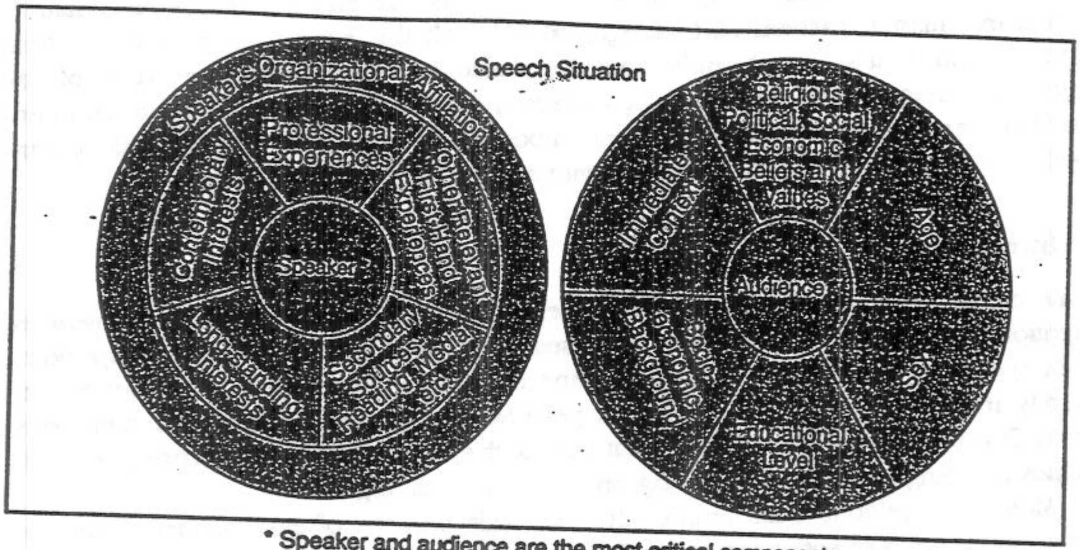
1. Is this topic of any concern to my organization?
2. What is my organization's stand on the issue?
3. Is its position public knowledge?
4. To what extent does my opinion differ from that of the organization's?
5. Am I being asked to speak for myself, for the organization, or for both?
6. Might I deal with the topic by sharing information but not articulating a specific point of view?
7. How important is this issue to me and to my organization?

woman who was a talented first-grade teacher and had a reputation as an outstanding speaker. Whenever she was asked to speak, she usually selected a topic related to her professional organizational membership, such as stimulating creativity in the very young child, the advantages and disadvantages of teaching children to read before formal schooling, or dealing with hyperactivity in children.

Of course, once the topic is actually selected, the notion of organizational representation may have some added impact. If the chosen subject is controversial—perhaps one about which the organization has taken a formal public stand—consider the degree to which your personal view coincides with the organization's and the possible advantages and disadvantages of any dissension.

In the teaching example just mentioned, suppose that the school's formal policy is to discourage parents from teaching their children to read before school. Assume further that the speaker's position is that children should be stimulated as much as possible before going to school, including learning to read if they express interest and ability in this area. Clearly the position of the school and the personal views of the teacher do not coincide on this issue. The speaker must then make a choice. Should she discard this subject due to the incompatibility of views? Should she make it a point to speak her mind, in part, perhaps, to test the open-mindedness of the school's administrators? Might she speak on the topic but handle it in such a way that she presents a good deal of information and a variety of viewpoints in a descriptive manner without actually identifying her own? These are questions of practical and ethical significance. Clearly, you need to consider the organization you are representing as you go about the task of selecting a speech topic. This does not mean that you are simply an outlet through which your organization communicates its views to the public. But the organization does create some constraints and a framework in which you must operate. As you begin to think about possible speech topics, you might consider the questions raised in Business Brief 12.2. In addition, figure 12.1 depicts the four subject selection perspectives we have discussed.

Figure 12.1
Perspectives for topic selection.


Speech Situation
Speaker's Organizational Affiliation
Professional Experiences
Other Relevant First-Hand Experiences
Secondary Sources: Reading, Media, etc.
Long-standing Interests
Contemporary Interests
Speaker*
Religious, Political, Social, Economic Beliefs and Values
Age
Sex
Educational Level
Socio-economic Background
Immediate Context
Audience*

* Speaker and audience are the most critical components.

Just as the nature of the topic chosen should reflect a consideration of the individual, the audience, the situation, and the organization, the way in which the topic is *narrowed* and *focused* should also reveal a sensitivity to these factors. The general topic of pollution, for example, might focus on the issue of noise pollution for a group of teenagers, on the practical concerns of "how pollution affects our daily lives at the university" for a classroom audience, and how the automotive industry is attempting to cope with air pollution for an audience of business people. Once the topic has been selected with these considerations in mind, you are ready to think about the basic goal or purpose of your speech.

Choosing the Purpose

In many instances, the speech purpose is virtually assigned or, at best, tactfully implied. Not long ago we were asked to make a speech as part of the opening session for a weekend-long leadership retreat. The contact person suggested to us at once, "Now these kids [college juniors and seniors] really want something *interesting*. I mean, they've been studying and listening to lectures all week; they've got finals coming up in two or three weeks. So . . . use a little humor, make them laugh! I mean, I know you're both professors, but frankly the *last* thing we want is a *lecture*."

Aside from our amazement that he had bothered to seek out such dull, lifeless "professor types" to reduce this audience to giggling hysteria, we were perplexed by what he asked us to achieve. Specifically, he wanted us to introduce the audience to all of leadership theory, cite supporting research for each theory, give them practical guidelines for their own leadership behavior, and uplift them in such a way that they would feel moved to go forth with great pride in their positions and faith in themselves. Thus, we were to interest and entertain, inform and instruct, persuade and inspire—be combination comedians, master teachers, and evangelists! Although this example represents a rather dramatic and unusual set of public speaking demands, its atypicality is a matter of degree rather than of kind. In fact, most successful speeches *do* interest, inform, and persuade in varying proportions. Yet as you choose your topic and begin the task of narrowing and focusing, you should do so with some *basic purpose* in mind.

To Interest

Some public speeches do little more than entertain. Often the speaker has no serious intention of being either informative or persuasive. Comedians and after-dinner speakers often speak to entertain. Sometimes the speech is built around a kind of theme, frequently involving recounting a series of personal experiences, each with a humorous point. Comedian Bill Cosby does a great deal of this kind of speaking, focusing on such themes as going to the dentist, paying one's bills, and having a baby.

Most of us seldom speak publicly for the single purpose of entertainment. Even so, the general notion of entertainment in the sense of listening to something for intrinsic enjoyment or interest does have a critical place in effective public speaking. All too often we overlook the importance of *interest*. We assume that if a speech is packed full of good, factual information, and well-reasoned appeals, it is sure to be a success. We overlook the fact that information, statistics, ideas, and visual aids all must be related to the interests and needs of the audience. Without attention, listeners cannot learn; neither can they be moved, uplifted, inspired, or incited to action. Thus, every speech must interest.

It is not always easy to determine what subjects audiences will find interesting. But most audiences will respond with interest to information they perceive to be

1. *Relevant*. An audience of single parents struggling with child discipline problems, financial woes, and loneliness would be interested in hearing a family therapist discuss strategies for dealing with these problems. For an audience of happily married couples whose children are grown, however, this subject would not be particularly relevant.
2. *Useful*. A group of graduating college seniors is motivated to learn about the job market in a way that a group of retiring executives is not. For the seniors, the subject is useful.
3. *Startling, unusual, or new*. Novelty sustains attention. The speaker who presents new insights into Japanese productivity, opportunities for installing computers in homes, or innovations in genetic engineering is more likely to interest the audience than one who presents a standard treatment of drug abuse, the dangers of smoking, or abortion.
4. *Worth knowing or repeating*. Not everyone would agree on what is worth knowing. However, speeches dealing with such topics as religion, the economy, or education are likely to be perceived as substantive and worthy of invested time.

5. *Amusing or entertaining*. Some speakers' primary goal is to make the audience laugh and enjoy themselves. While this goal may sound frivolous, it is one of the most difficult to accomplish. Speeches to entertain must be carefully adapted to the particular interests and knowledge of the audience.

To Inform

For most public speakers, however, interest is only the beginning. Much public discourse is primarily *informative*. Its purpose is to teach, to impart information. On occasion, you will actually present the audience with new information; at other times, you may take familiar data and present some different perspective or interpretation.

Whenever you choose to give an informative speech, your major purpose is to *gain audience understanding*. Informative speeches should meet several criteria: (1) accuracy—the result of careful observation, study, and research; (2) completeness—the inclusion of information essential to a proper understanding of the subject; (3) unity—adherence to a central theme and clarity of thought progression; and (4) meaningfulness—related to the audience's needs, interests, and levels of understanding.[3]

Often in organizational settings informative speaking takes the form of oral technical reports, a subject we will return to in chapter 14. For example: (1) A floor supervisor explains to assembly-line workers the reason for a new job rotation schedule; (2) An attorney enlightens a group of citizens about the laws governing child abuse cases; (3) An electrical engineer explains to a school board the plans for wiring a new school complex; and (4) A salesperson presents figures to her department depicting the successful marketing of a new fluoride mouthwash. Informative speeches usually require the use of visual aids to increase clarity and enhance understanding. Because achieving audience understanding is so important, informative speeches should be followed by a question-and-answer period.

Finally, it is important to remember that not all informative speeches are purely informative. Many speakers transmit information to build a common ground of understanding before urging the audience to support a given point of view or to act in a specified way. In this manner, then, information dissemination creates a foundation for persuasion.

To Persuade

Persuasion is the final goal or purpose of public speaking. Some would argue that all communication is inherently persuasive, for even the speaker who provides factual information about specific subjects, such as how legislation is passed, how to take excellent pictures, or what the federal regulations are regarding advertising, does so with some persuasive intent of getting the audience to understand and *accept* the speaker's presentation of the facts. However, speeches that are explicitly persuasive fall into three basic categories: those whose purpose is *to stimulate, to change belief,* or *to incite to action*.

Often you will be asked to address an audience whose interests, values, feelings, and beliefs are virtually identical with your own. In this case, your strategy may be to reinforce already existing beliefs. Thus, the *speech to stimulate* does not attempt to effect change except in the sense of changing the degree of listener commitment, that is, intensifying and enhancing an already existing belief or attitude. Speeches that stimulate are quite common in political and religious settings.

Most of the time as a public speaker you will not find yourself in the position of addressing large groups of totally supportive listeners. Instead, you usually face a mixed group—some members supportive, some negative, and many undecided. On occasion, you may encounter a totally hostile audience, but these instances are also relatively rare. In any event, your strategy with many audiences is to *persuade them to believe* in your advocated proposition, solution, or interpretation. For a great many listeners, this will involve some significant change in or realignment of previously held beliefs. Changing people's beliefs is difficult, particularly those beliefs that are rooted in deep clusters of attitudes and values and have developed in response to personal experiences and observations.

It is not uncommon for listeners to respond positively to a speech, demonstrating appreciation for its language and delivery, and yet remain unmoved by its appeals. This is especially true when the speaker is advocating a *behavioral commitment* on the part of the audience. Many persuasive speeches go beyond the realm of idea acceptance and attempt to move the audience to *action*. The political candidate wants more than an affirmation of belief; he wants committed listeners who will support him at the polls. The minister desires more than believing church members; her hope is for active, involved, behaviorally committed Christians. As public speakers, we are often in positions of soliciting votes and money, of requesting commitments of time and talent, of asking people to give, to share, to show their involvement in their beliefs in some measurable way. These tasks are immensely challenging. It is quite possible to succeed in changing listeners' beliefs and still not actually move them to action.

The practical impact of this can perhaps best be illustrated by a personal example. Early in our research careers (and long before AIDS was an issue) we conducted a study in which we assembled a group of people who all had indicated rather strong negative attitudes toward the idea of giving blood to the Red Cross. We subsequently exposed them to a persuasive speech in which a young hemophiliac made a poignant plea for personal blood donations. Immediately following the speech, we administered another attitude questionnaire similar to the first. Interestingly enough, impressive reversals in attitude seemed to occur. In fact, over 70 percent of those previously opposed to giving blood now indicated not only that they favored it, but that they would donate blood if provided the opportunity! Yet when these same individuals were confronted with official Red Cross sign-up cards (as soon as the attitude questionnaires were collected), informed that the Bloodmobile would be in town during the following month, and told that transportation would be provided to and from the Bloodmobile, nearly 80 percent of those with "altered" attitudes declined to commit themselves to the *action* of donating blood. Moving listeners to believe is difficult; inspiring them to act is even more demanding. In chapter 14, we will examine persuasive strategies for changing audience attitudes and moving them to action.

Specific Purposes

Once you have some basic notion of your speech's general purpose, you are ready to consider your specific purpose. It is not adequate to say that you want to persuade the audience regarding sound investment practices. Rather, be specific about the kind of response you are seeking; have a precise goal. With that goal in mind, choose evidence, draw conclusions, organize your arguments, and select a fitting delivery style.

The specific purpose of your speech should be phrased in terms of the audience response you are seeking. It is a good practice to write out a precise purpose statement specifying what you intend to accomplish. Some examples follow:

My purpose is to persuade the audience to invest their savings in money market CDs.

My goal is to help the audience recall and recognize the seven warning signs of cancer.

I want to persuade the audience to reexamine their views on child custody.

I want to convince the audience to attend the next school board meeting and vote against closing any elementary schools.

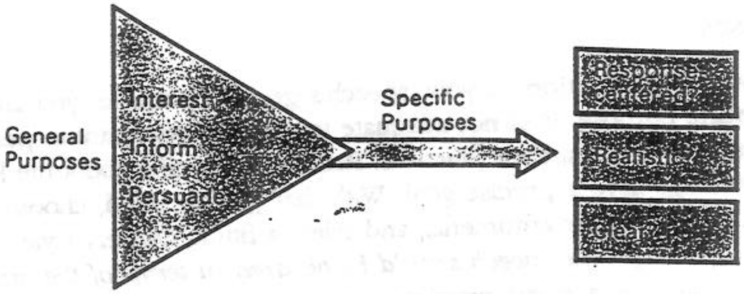
Writing a specific purpose statement encourages you to think concretely about what you are trying to achieve. With an established goal, you are more likely to make sound judgments about how to develop your speech. Moreover, after you have delivered your speech, a goal can help you determine your success.

In formulating your purpose statement, check it against these guidelines:

1. *What is the basic purpose of the speech?* To interest, inform, stimulate, change beliefs, or move to action? How do you hope to be interesting? What kind of audience understanding do you hope to gain? For what kind of persuasion are you aiming?
2. *What is the specific audience response you are seeking?* As examples: "I want the audience to enjoy my discussion of Japanese tradition"; "I want my audience to understand the differences in Japanese and American values that cause workers in the two societies to view their jobs differently"; or "I want to convince the audience to sign up for a weekend seminar on Japanese management."
3. *Is your purpose realistic?* Can it be managed within the time limits? Is it a reasonable topic, given your knowledge of the audience's needs, interests, values, and demographic characteristics?
4. *Is your purpose clear?* If your purpose is vague, both you and your audience may experience a good deal of confusion. If you say, for example, "I want my audience to understand about Japanese management," that is about the same as saying that you are going to talk about Japanese management. In contrast, the statements in number 2 are clear about the kind of audience response sought.

Figure 12.2 summarizes general speech purposes and criteria for assessing specific purposes.

Figure 12.2
Public speaking purposes.



Supporting the Speech with Evidence

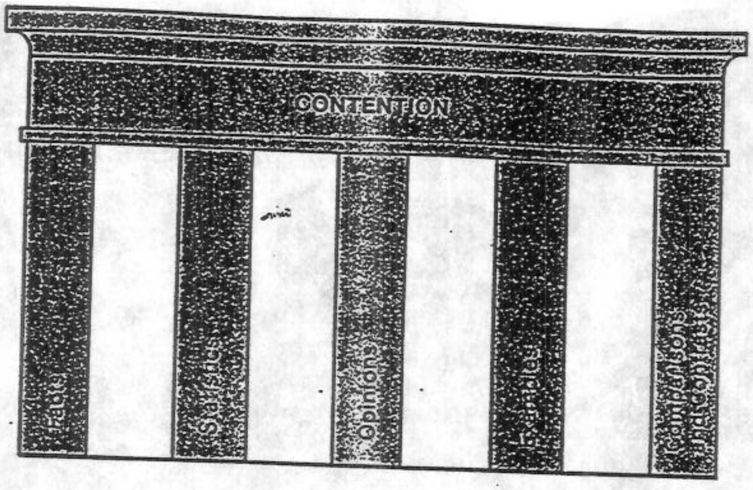
Once you have agreed to make a speech, and have chosen your subject and purpose, you can begin to consider what you want to say. Regardless of your speech's specific purpose, you will be articulating several ideas, contentions, and propositions throughout your speech. Suppose you were speaking to a congregation of the United Methodist Church. You might assert, "What we need is a ministry that reaches out to singles within this church." On the basis of that assertion alone, the audience could not determine whether your argument was strong or weak. To convince the congregation that your contention is sound, you need to support it with evidence. Evidence is *the body of fact and opinion pertaining to a subject.*

In most of your speeches, you should use varied kinds of evidence. Some kinds of speeches, such as technical reports, rely heavily on statistical evidence, often presented with the assistance of visual aids. But informative reporting may also be enhanced by the use of examples, comparisons, and the opinions of experts. Therefore, it is best to assume that for most public speeches you will need to use several different kinds of evidence. Figure 12.3 illustrates the different types of evidence that may be used to support contentions.

Facts as Evidence

Much of the evidence you collect will be factual; that is, it will involve the relatively objective description of something without interpretation or judgment. It is important to recognize that facts are not absolute truths. We make assertions about what we view as reality. If our view of reality is accurate and verifiable, then it is factual. In collecting factual information, it is important to seek reliable sources and to look through different sources to make sure you are finding consistent factual information. You ought to be able to look in more than one place and find a consistent account of how many people voted for Bill Clinton in the 1992 presidential election, what the unemployment rate was

Figure 12.3
Illustrates the different types of evidence that may be used to support contentions.



for the first six months of 1994, and what the major causes are of early blindness. Whenever you discover inconsistencies, carefully examine your sources for bias or possibly conclude that there are simply different approaches to explaining a particular phenomenon. In the latter case, avoid presenting such information as factual.

Facts are needed in most speeches and are a potentially compelling form of evidence. Compare the following assertions, the first presented without facts and the second with facts.

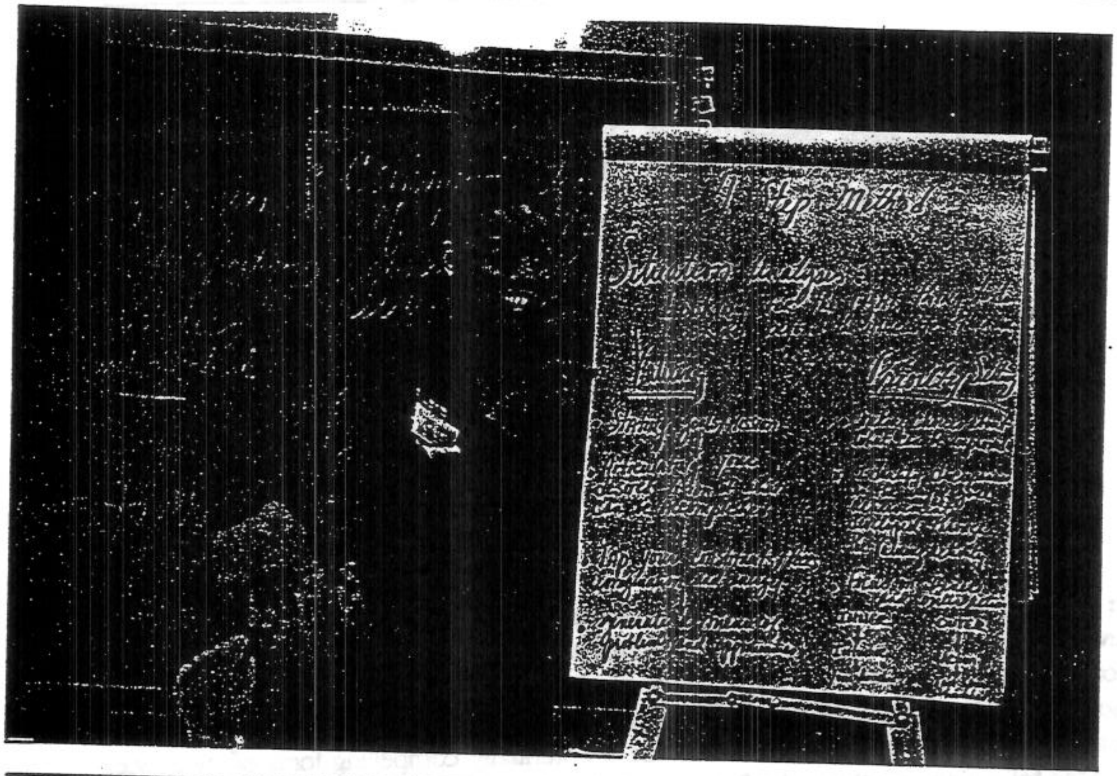
> Most people in this organization are happy with their jobs and are always trying to find ways to better themselves. (Without facts.)
>
> Last year, our employee survey revealed that over 80 percent of our employees are extremely satisfied with their jobs. Among the areas of greatest satisfaction were working relations with peers, treatment by the boss, and wages and other tangible incentives. What's more, this is a company on the move with people who are interested in growing. Over half of our employees are presently enrolled in some college or university, updating their education with our financial support. And, perhaps most impressive, five of our upper-level managers received excellent job offers from competing companies last year and decided to stay with us! (With facts.)

Because of its factual development, the latter is more concrete and convincing.

Factual evidence was also used effectively by Bob Rackleff, who, as a consulting writer, spoke before the Friends of Lloyd Environment Defense Fund Conference in Chicago late in 1991. Rackleff was trying to persuade his audience of the frequency with which oil pipelines have leaked in recent years, mostly without the public even being aware of the problem. He shared these facts:

> In March, 1991, a pipeline spill of 1.7 million gallons of crude oil flowed into a frozen marsh and the Prairie River near Grand Rapids, Minnesota.

Speakers often use visual aids as one form of evidence.



> In April, 1991, a Marathon Oil pipeline near Carlsbad, New Mexico, leaked 1.5 million gallons of crude oil before workers spotted the leak.
>
> In January, 1990, a New Jersey pipeline leaked 576,000 gallons of home heating oil into the Arthur Kill Waterway. New York City filed criminal charges that Exxon had submitted false reports that its pipeline safety equipment was working.
>
> At about the same time, 210,000 gallons of kerosene spilled from a pipeline into the Rappahannock River, shutting down Fredericksburg, Virginia's water supply.
>
> In July, 1989, a pipeline in North Dakota spilled 1.3 million gallons of crude oil.
>
> These are some of the worst of the petroleum spills and leaks in recent years—from any source—but they go largely unnoticed by the American public and most environmentalists.
>
> That's because our idea of oil pollution comes from televised images of oil slicks, oil-soaked beaches and wildlife from spills by damaged tanker ships—not underground leaks from our nation's 225,000 miles of pipelines.[4]

By citing a string of concrete factual instances of pipeline disasters, the speaker dramatizes the significance of the problem.

Statistics as Evidence

One type of fact often used in public speaking is statistical. Many people are intimidated by the thought of using statistics, yet statistics simply provide a numerical method of handling large numbers of instances. When statistics are used appropriately, they provide the most precise information about factual matters available to any public speaker.

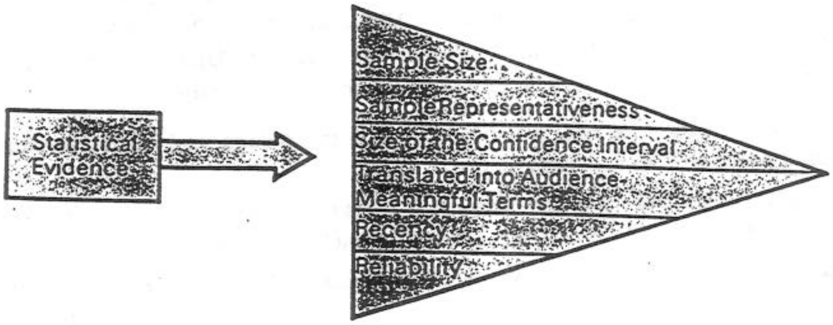
Notice how John Jacob, president and CEO of the National Urban League, used statistics effectively to portray the economic plight of African-Americans:

> The economic picture is ugly. The nation is in a recession these days, and when America is in recession, black America is in a depression.
>
> We start from a weaker base and are far more vulnerable to downturns. Here are some of the *State of Black America 1992's* findings about the black economy:
>
> The median net worth for blacks is less than 10 percent of the median net worth for whites in America.
>
> Blacks own about 424,000 businesses out of a total of 17.5 million businesses in America.
>
> Total income per black person in America in 1990 was about nine thousand dollars, versus well over fifteen thousand dollars for whites.
>
> Median black family income was only 58 percent of that for whites—$21,423 versus $36,915.
>
> About 25 percent of black families earn under ten thousand dollars a year, compared to about 7 percent of white families. Put another way, African-American families are three-and-a-half-times as likely as whites to be making less than ten thousand dollars a year.[5]

Statistics fall into two general categories: descriptive and inferential. A descriptive statistic states a population fact; for example, 30 percent of all Americans smoke cigarettes. Frequently, however, it is inconvenient or impossible to obtain descriptive data. In this instance, you can turn to inferential statistics. The collection of inferential statistics involves gathering a sample and, on the basis of that sample, reaching a conclusion about the population of interest. When Louis Harris samples a few thousand Americans and predicts the election day behavior of all the American people, he is using inferential statistics. For past elections, he and other professional pollsters have done this with impressive accuracy.

The important fact to remember about *inferential statistics is that each has a confidence interval or margin of error*. Since inferential statistics are always probabilistic in nature, you can never be certain that you have accurately described the population in question. For example, if you were to report on the basis of a survey of one thousand assembly-line workers that 50 percent of all such workers are dissatisfied with their health insurance plans, it would be important to recognize that this particular percentage is only one of a number of different figures that might represent the workers in question. In this instance, you might report that the sample statistic is significant at the .05 level of confidence. This simply means that there is a 95 percent chance that the true percentage falls within a range of 47 to 53 percent; thus, there is only a 5 percent chance that the actual percentage of dissatisfied workers is less than 47 percent or greater than 53 percent.

Figure 12.4
Tests for statistical evidence.


Statistical Evidence
Sample Size
Sample Representativeness
Size of the Confidence Interval
Translated into Audience-Meaningful Terms
Recency
Reliability

Another important statistical issue is *sample size and representativeness*. In general, as the size of the sample approaches the size of the population, the more confidence you can have in the accuracy of the statistic. Thus, if you want to know how workers in an organization of three thousand employees are responding to a new incentive plan, you are more likely to reach valid conclusions if you sample the views of three hundred than if you sample only thirty. Moreover, your sample should tap the views of all kinds of workers, male and female, experienced and inexperienced, supervisors and underlings. If you examine the views of only managerial personnel, you may well obtain a distorted view of employees' attitudes.

When using statistics, a few practical concerns should be kept in mind. Speeches should never be padded with statistics. Statistics should be used only when they are needed and when they represent the most precise way of demonstrating a point. They should *never* be used simply because they sound impressive. Moreover, every attempt should be made to make the statistics as clear and personally meaningful to the particular audience as possible. To say that a bond issue will cost the city $89 million sounds overwhelming, but the same figure presented as approximately five dollars per taxpayer clearly makes the proposal appear manageable. Finally, you should seek statistics that are as *recent* as possible. Nothing is more useless than an outdated statistic. Figure 12.4 summarizes tests for statistical evidence.

Opinions as Evidence

While evidence of fact is rooted in the notion of objectivity and suspended judgment, *evidence of opinion* is the application of interpretation and judgment to the known facts. There are three different types of opinion evidence you might use: *personal opinion, lay opinion*, and *expert testimony*.

It is probably safe to say that all speakers support their presentations with personal views from time to time. Your success in using *personal opinions* for support will largely depend on your credibility with the audience in question. If you are perceived as highly intelligent, accomplished in your area of endeavor, sincere and trustworthy in your motives, and objective in your views, you might rely extensively on personal testimony. This is especially true if you are speaking about a problem with which you have had years of experience. In his speech to the Iowa Poultry Association, for instance, John W. Megown, vice-president for public affairs and governmental regulations, at Vigortone Products Company, offers his personal views and stresses his years of professional experience.

> Early in 1977, shortly after Dr. Donald Kennedy took over as commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, we started hearing some strange stories coming out of Washington, D.C.
>
> The gist of the stories was that some bureaucrats were speculating about a theory that consumers of meat from animals fed antibiotics might possibly develop resistance to antibiotics and that maybe they should be banned.
>
> Over a quarter of a century ago, I first became involved with antibiotics. Back in 1953 and 1954, I carried out one of the early research projects with antibiotics in swine feeds.
>
> For the next fourteen years, I was a professional animal nutritionist and had the opportunity to observe first-hand the use of low-level antibiotics in all types of livestock and poultry feeds.
>
> Because of my long-time experience with antibiotics, this theory about possible antibiotic resistance is very hard for me to swallow.[6]

Regardless of high credibility, seldom will any public speaker rely on his or her own views without additional reference to other support, such as statistics or examples.

Another kind of opinion evidence is *lay opinion*. Suppose you wanted to argue that most employees in your department were dissatisfied with the food being served in the company cafeteria. To support this argument you might cite the results of a poll you have taken that indicate 85 percent of all employees in your department found the food to be "extremely poor." In this case, lay opinion is good evidence because the matter being judged does not require the testimony of an expert; nor would your personal views suffice. Thus, lay opinion is useful when you want to describe the habits, attitudes, and behaviors of ordinary people. Normally, you would collect information about lay opinion by conducting a survey or by interviewing.

The final kind of opinion evidence is *expert testimony*. Most of us are not such renowned experts in our own fields that we could not profit from quoting others of greater renown who happen to support our views. In some instances, you might be able to combine different kinds of opinion evidence. To continue the example above, you might point out, "I have been very discouraged by the quality of food in our cafeteria [personal opinion]. My poll revealed that 85 percent of the employees in my department rate the food as very poor [lay opinion]. And even the company dietician, Lois Peterson, revealed to me in an interview last week that she was not pleased with the quality of many of the products purchased by our firm for use in food preparation. In particular, she objected to the quality of meats, fruit, and vegetables [expert opinion]." This is an especially good example of expert testimony because the company dietician is known to the audience and, more important, is in a position of being able to offer some insights into the reasons for the poor food quality. Moreover, we might even view her as a "hostile witness" in that we would expect her to feel defensive about the food issue, since she shares considerable responsibility for its quality. That makes her testimony even more persuasive.

Whenever you decide to use expert testimony to support your views, you need to observe a few guidelines. First, you must be concerned with the issue of *actual expertise*. That is, the person must be a recognized authority in the area in which he or she is being quoted.

You should also be concerned with the *expert's objectivity*. It is entirely possible for an expert to be competent in a given area and yet be a poor source of testimony because of some known bias in his or her views. It is far better, for example, to know the views of lay persons concerning the quality of a particular brand of television set than to quote the opinion of the president of the company that manufactures them. While the president may well be an expert in electronics and quite knowledgeable about television sets in general, his views in this instance are probably influenced by self-interest. Thus, he lacks trustworthiness and objectivity in his credibility as a source.

Once you have collected some highly credible expert testimony to support your presentation, the task still remains of *identifying the expert for the audience*. It is critical that the quoted expert be known and acceptable to the listeners; if he or she is not, then it is up to you to provide the necessary information. Assume that you are addressing a topic related to medicine; an appropriate identifying phrase might be stated as follows: "Dr. William Johnson, chief of neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins University Medical Center, has pointed out that. . . ." This kind of identification is specific, precise, concise, and adequately informative.

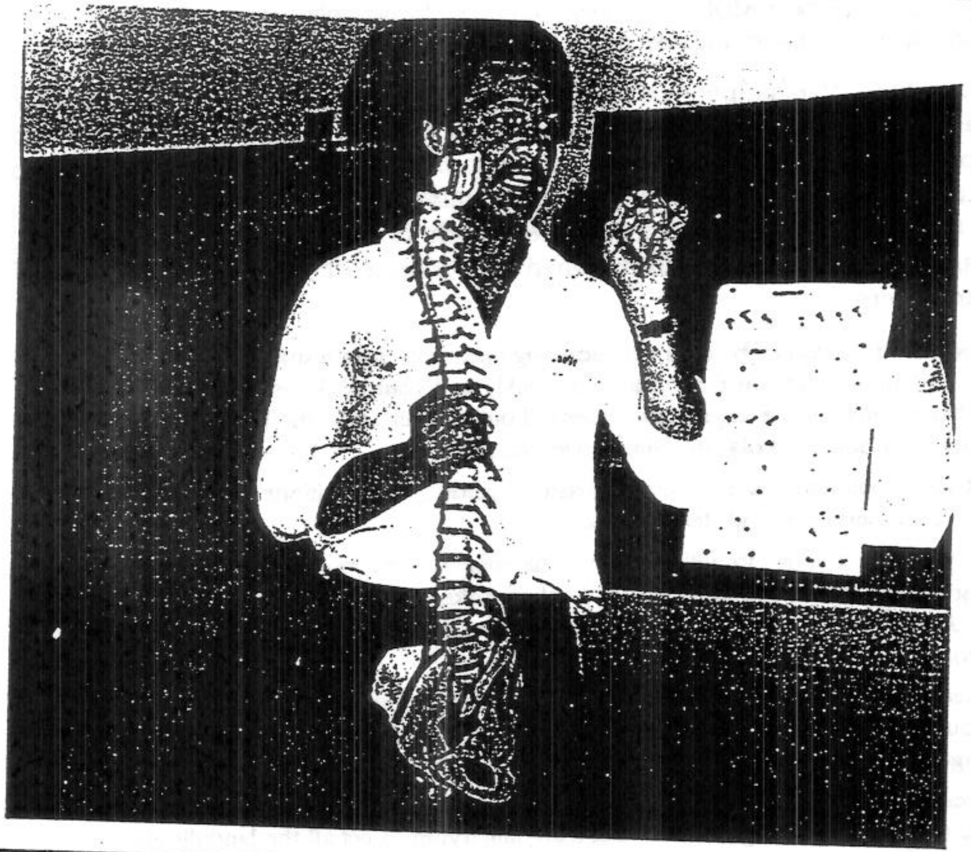
Examples as Evidence

One of the most difficult problems public speakers face is trying to make general principles or abstract notions interesting and meaningful to the audience. One of the best ways of doing this is through examples. Examples provide concrete frames of reference and by doing so interject life and meaning into the point you are making.

Examples can be either actual or hypothetical. They can be elaborate or brief. *Actual examples* point to real events or people. In the example that follows, Mario Cuomo, governor of New York, uses a moving extended example in his keynote address to the 1984 Democratic National Convention:

> It's a story I didn't read in a book, or learn in a classroom. I saw it, and lived it. Like many of you.
>
> I watched a small man with thick calluses on both hands work 15 and 16 hours a day. I saw him once literally bleed from the bottoms of his feet, a man who came here uneducated, alone, unable to speak the language, who taught me all I needed to know about faith and hard work by the simple eloquence of his example. I learned about our kind of democracy from my father. I learned about our obligation to each other from him

In certain speaking situations, real objects may be the most vivid kind of example.



and my mother. They asked only for a chance to work and to make the world better for their children and to be protected in those moments when they would not be able to protect themselves. This nation and its government did that for them.

And that they were able to build a family and live in dignity and see one of their children go from behind their little grocery store on the other side of the tracks in south Jamaica where he was born, to occupy the highest seat in the greatest state of the greatest nation in the only world we know, is an ineffably beautiful tribute to the democratic process.[7]

In a classroom speech, a student recently shared this example, one which her student audience found extremely thought-provoking:

> One of my friends is a girl named Amy. Amy went to Florida this year over spring break. One day on the beach she met the most incredible guy named John. The rest of her vacation was filled with excitement and romance. Amy thought she had met the man of her dreams. She and John talked about seeing each other in the future—as much as possible. When John pushed a sealed envelope into her hand, kissing her as she boarded the plane, Amy was pleased. Assuming it was a love note, she eagerly opened it on the plane.

> As her plane gathered speed on the runway, these were the words she read: "I'm so sorry Amy. You see, I have AIDS. I will always love you. Signed John." Amy never heard from "John" again. The name and address he had given her were false.

The other kind of example you might want to use is hypothetical. *Hypothetical examples* are ones that might reasonably or plausibly take place, but in using them you are not referring to an actual event or person. Although hypothetical examples are concocted, they should not be unrealistic or distorted. In the following example, William J. McCarville, director of environmental affairs for the Monsanto Company, used hypothetical examples effectively when he addressed the American Institute of Chemical Engineers:

> Let's suppose that instead of being a chemical engineer, you drive a truck for a soft drink manufacturer. Suppose you turn a corner too quickly and your truck turns over. Then suppose that because of the impact, the cases fall out of your truck, the bottles break and there's sugary, carbonated cola running all over the street.
>
> What you would have is a hazardous waste, according to definitions proposed under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.
>
> Now, you've lost your job with the soft drink company, so you go out and get another job driving another truck. This time, you're hauling tankers of sulfuric acid for a chemical company. As it happens, one day you skid around the same corner, turn the truck over and spill the contents all over the street.
>
> By this time, I know you're ahead of me. According to the proposed regulations, both liquids would be classified as hazardous waste. Both would require disposal under the same stringent methods.
>
> The result may be that we find ourselves filling up our Class I landfills with soft drinks. And at the same time the neighbors are out marching trying to get all the landfills shut down anyway.[8]

Because examples are so easy to identify with, they can be a powerful way of supporting your ideas. Even so, they must be used with care. Most of the time when we use examples we are arguing that the example represents the general principle we are discussing. Thus, one test of a good example is its *typicality*. If you are talking about the reading habits of children, you might, during your research, run across an example of a nine-year-old who regularly reads *Penthouse*, "trashy" comic books, and other questionable materials. Of course, you would not use this example to illustrate the point that children's reading habits were impoverished these days, unless you had reasons to believe that this child was typical.[9]

Comparisons and Contrasts as Evidence

One of the primary ways we learn is through *comparison*. We compare the known with the unknown, the more familiar with the less familiar. Whenever we encounter a new problem, we compare it with similar problems we have experienced in the past. New jobs, friends, and concepts are compared with old ones. Thus, a good way to help an audience understand what you are talking about is to compare your idea with something with which they are quite familiar or experienced. You might compare the job of managing a company with the job of managing a family. You might discuss the architectural design you had in mind for a new municipal complex by comparing it to one in a neighboring town with which you know the audience is familiar. Or you might compare a new book with one you know they have read. By using these comparisons, you hope to enlighten, to make the unknown more familiar, perhaps to make your audience less afraid of something you are advocating, more comfortable and at ease. What is important to remember in using comparisons as evidence is that they are only useful or enlightening when they are justified—that is, when the events, people, or phenomena you are comparing are similar enough to warrant the comparison.

In his speech to the Conference Board in New York, A. Thomas Young, president and CEO of the Martin Marietta Corporation, used the following comparison in discussing ethics and breaking the law:

> Whether in Washington, New York or Peoria, most people seldom set out with the deliberate intent of breaking the law. They are drawn into it, almost as a boa constrictor defeats its prey.
>
> Most of us probably think a boa crushes its target in the powerful folds of its body. Actually, this snake places two or three coils of its body around its prey. Each time the victim exhales its breath, the boa simply takes up the slack. After three or four breaths, there is no more slack. The prey quickly suffocates.
>
> This deadly phenomenon of a victim becoming the unwitting accomplice of its own destruction is not confined to the world of reptiles. It exists in the human behavior that characterizes all walks of life anywhere on the globe. The boa we have to face—and sometimes fail to face—is following our ethical values: each lapse is another coil of the snake.[10]

On occasion, you may want to inform an audience about a concept or principle by showing them its opposite. By using *contrast* rather than comparison, you are highlighting differences. This can be a compelling form of evidence when your goal is to stress the value of your advocated approach or plan in comparison to the approaches of others. For example, when Edward M. Kennedy addressed the 1980 Democratic convention, he devoted a large portion of his speech to contrasting the Democratic and Republican parties. After defining the Democratic party as that of the common man and woman—the party of farmers, mechanics, and laborers—he went on to paint a strikingly contrasting view of the Republicans:

> The 1980 Republican convention was awash with crocodile tears for our economic distress but it is by their long record and not their recent words that you shall know them.
>
> The same Republicans who are talking about the crisis of unemployment have nominated a man who once said—and I quote: "Unemployment insurance is a prepaid vacation plan for freeloaders." And that nominee is no friend of labor.
>
> The same Republicans who are talking about the problems of the inner cities have nominated a man who said—and I quote: "I have included in my morning and evening prayers everyday the prayer that the federal government not bail out New York." And that nominee is no friend of this city and of our great urban centers. . . .

> The same Republicans who are talking about preserving the environment have nominated a man who last year made the preposterous statement—and I quote: "Eighty percent of air pollution comes from plants and trees." And that nominee is no friend of the environment.
>
> And the same Republicans who are invoking Franklin Roosevelt have nominated a man who said in 1976—and these are his exact words: "Fascism was really the basis of the New Deal." And that nominee, whose name is Ronald Reagan, has no right to quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
>
> The great advantage which our opponents offer is a voyage into the past. Progress is our heritage, not theirs.[11]

Similarly, Janet Martin, vice-president of Administrative Bank, CIBC, offered these comments regarding women in organizational leadership positions when she spoke to the Business and Professional Women's Club of North Toronto, Canada. She makes her case by using both expert testimony and contrast:

> Might the glass ceiling exist because the personal trade-offs and sacrifices women must make are greater than their male counterparts? John Kenneth Galbraith once [said]:
>
> In the modern world, women's liberation consists of submerging a personality to a corporation rather than a husband.
>
> Harsh as Galbraith's view may be, he does have a point. Reports published in the *Wall Street Journal* a few years ago revealed that while 94 percent of male executives were married, only 41 percent of their female counterparts were. Ninety-five percent of male executives had children, compared to 39 percent for women. A very small percentage of men were divorced or never married. For women executives, the number was 45 percent.[12]

Regardless of the kind of supporting materials you select as evidence, you must be concerned about quality. Here, it might be appropriate to return briefly to chapter 9, where we discussed several tests that can be applied to any piece of evidence to assess its adequacy. Moreover, evidence standing alone means very little unless we are able to examine it critically and, based on it, reach reasonable conclusions.

Drawing Sound Conclusions

Whenever you stand before an audience and propose a particular solution as the best response to a problem or suggest some innovation, your proposal is based on some conclusion you have reached on the basis of supporting materials you have discovered. The cognitive process by which you do this is *reasoning,* the process of drawing conclusions from evidence.

Inductive Reasoning

The first basic reasoning process is *induction*. Induction is a method of drawing generalizations from some set of observations; thus, it moves from the particular to the general. We all engage in inductive reasoning. Unfortunately, some of us fail to reason with care and sensitivity to the hazards peculiar to the process.

BUSINESS BRIEF

12.3

Types of Reasoning

Inductive	From specific observations to general conclusion
Deductive	From general principle to specific conclusion

Inductive Fallacies

Probably the most common fallacy associated with inductive reasoning is the *hasty generalization*. Too many persons have experiences with an extremely limited and unrepresentative number of individuals or instances. Yet they jump hastily to general conclusions about the characteristics of the group or population as a whole. A few years ago, a noted minister in a small town in southern Indiana was convicted of theft (specifically, personally pocketing donations from the congregation for a new church). The affair received a great deal of state and national news coverage. Many persons concluded on the basis of this *one* instance that all ministers are dishonest hypocrites who squander the people's hard-earned contributions in the name of Christianity. Clearly, a single and undoubtedly unrepresentative instance is hardly adequate for reaching such a generalization.

Another common inductive fallacy is *faulty analogy*. In making an analogy, you compare two events, persons, ideas, and so forth on the basis of their similarity. You may encounter a problem, however, if the two things being compared are not similar enough to justify the comparison. A college administrator once stated, "The notion of restoring student direction and control of intercollegiate athletics is silly. You might just as well talk about giving horse racing back to the horses." The inference that students and horses are equally inept at directing their own "athletic" activities is absurd. There might be a number of reasons why students should not be given this sort of control. On the basis of this analogy, however, it is impossible to discern what those reasons are.

A third inductive fallacy is *faulty causal reasoning*. This fallacy confuses a chronological relationship with a causal relationship. The simple fact that one event usually follows another in time does not necessarily mean that the first caused the second. There are often other less obvious factors that contributed to the second event. An undergraduate history student once made a study of European war for a final term paper. He noticed that during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of recent wars, there occurred an increase of armaments among the aggressive nations. On the basis of this observation, he concluded as the thesis of his paper, "Increased armaments are one of the major causes of European wars." It is probably far more likely that increased armaments were the reaction to other causative factors, such as political upheaval or international tensions. Thus, increased armaments could reasonably be viewed as an *effect* rather than a cause.

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12.4

Types of Fallacies

Inductive	**Deductive**
Hasty generalization	Circular reasoning
Faulty analogy	Guilt by association
Faulty causal reasoning	Confusing definitions with facts
Perceptual biases	Bandwagon effect

A final consideration regarding inductive reasoning is not actually a part of the reasoning process but has to do with *perceptual biases*. No two persons' perceptions are exactly alike. Because of differences in ability, experiences, and expectations, our worlds are highly personalized. The inconsistency in witnesses' accounts of accidents is a familiar example of such perceptual discrepancies. Specifically, most individuals engage in both *selective perception* and *selective retention*, seeing and recalling only certain parts of something perceived, while distorting, filtering, or omitting the remainder. Often such selectivity is unintentional, occurring well below the level of consciousness. Selective perception and retention create difficulties with inductive reasoning in that the quality of the conclusions reached can be no better than the perceived and remembered data on which they are based.

Deductive Reasoning

The other major reasoning process is *deduction*. When you reach a conclusion deductively, you begin with a generally accepted idea or premise and apply it to a specific instance. Unlike induction, deduction moves from the general to the particular. An individual may believe that all research scientists are highly intelligent. Whenever he or she meets a particular person who is identified as such a scientist, our deductive thinker will probably conclude that this person, too, is quite bright. Of course, the quality of any deductively reached conclusion always depends on the validity of the generalization on which it is based.

As with inductive reasoning, deductive reasoning leads us to conclusions that are probable rather than absolutely true. Generalizations from which we reason are seldom based on all possible cases; therefore, there is always room for some error. In addition, it is quite possible to go through a reasoning process that is apparently logical and still reach an erroneous conclusion. We know, for example, that people who drink excessively throughout much of their lives usually die at an earlier age than others, partly because of the great likelihood of liver damage. If we know one such individual, we are likely to predict a shortened life span for him or her. Most of the time we will be correct, but sometimes our deduced conclusion will be wrong. Consider the example of the ninety-two-year-old man whose picture appeared in the news recently. He attributed his longevity to "women, cigars, and whiskey!" Moreover, he noted that his indulgence in each had been "excessive" for as many as seventy-five years!

Deductive Fallacies

Fallacies associated with deductive reasoning usually result when you draw conclusions from questionable assumptions or premises. It is critical, then, that you continually evaluate the quality of the premises from which you are reasoning. One common fallacy associated with deductive reasoning is *circular reasoning*. Not long ago, one of our students informed us that a mutual acquaintance had abandoned high school teaching to go into professional theater. The remainder of our conversation went something like this: Friend: "She's really a gifted actress, you know." Us: "Oh, you've seen her act?" Friend: "No, but she is currently acting on Broadway!" The circularity in this reasoning results from accepting a questionable assumption: namely, that anyone who acts on Broadway is gifted in acting. If one were to accept this peculiar premise, then the conclusion could be viewed as logical. The difficulty here is not rooted in the deductive thought process but in an erroneous assumption affecting that process.

Another common deductive fallacy is *guilty by association*. Here, the quality of an idea or the worth of a person or program is determined solely on the basis of other ideas, persons, or programs with which it is associated. An idea may be demeaned or rejected simply because it is attributed to a particular source. Abundant research on source credibility has demonstrated that speeches, poems, or pieces of art are consistently judged of high quality when attributed to persons held in high esteem by the judges and of poor quality when attributed to low-credibility individuals.[13] In all of these studies, the actual quality does not vary, only the source to which the product is attributed. Real-life examples of the guilt-by-association fallacy abound. During the 1960 presidential campaign, for example, John F. Kennedy attempted to associate Richard M. Nixon with Republican candidates of the previous half-century or more by saying: "I stand tonight where Woodrow Wilson stood, and Franklin Roosevelt stood, and Harry Truman stood. Dick Nixon stands where McKinley stood and Taft—listen to those candidates—Harding, Coolidge, Landon, Dewey. . . . Where *do* they get those candidates?" Kennedy made no attempt to establish the common ideas, programs, and principles of Nixon and the other candidates. He simply associated their names with his. The assumption operating here is that there are no substantial differences among any of a party's presidential candidates, even over a considerable historical span. Certainly this premise is open to argument.

A third fallacy associated with deduction is the *confusion of definitions with facts*. Some individuals rather arbitrarily define or label a group of people in a particular way, apply that definition to a specific person, and assume that they have given a factual description of that person. The important consideration, of course, is whether or not the label or definition has any basis in reality. There are those who define all men as "male chauvinist pigs," serious students as "nerds," college administrators as "pencil-pushing bureaucrats," and women as "broads." The implications of each of these labels are many and derogatory. If, for example, all women are indeed "broads," it follows that any individual woman should fit into this rather neat, if repugnant, category. This definition has no factual or empirical foundation; thus, the intelligent thinker will reject it.

The final fallacy of deduction is often referred to as the *bandwagon effect*. No one is completely free from the influence of others, especially the influence of those who are significant in their lives. When you are asked to make some judgment about a matter of physical reality, such as determining whether or not a stove is hot, it is relatively easy to decide without knowing the views of others. For matters involving social reality, however, it is often comforting to know that others support our views. Children learn how to employ this fallacy early in life when they beg their parents to be allowed to play outside after dark, go swimming for the afternoon, or wear blue jeans to church, on the grounds that all their friends are allowed to do it. The assumption is that these children's parents simply couldn't be all wrong! Bandwagon appeals continue to haunt us as we are asked to drink, smoke, eat, and enjoy because others are doing it. There may be some valid reasons why we should jump in the lake, but jumping in simply because others have done so is not a particularly valid one.

Summary

Early in their careers, many people believe that they will never have to make a speech. They do not see initially why a doctor or accountant or police officer would need to acquire public speaking skills. After several years on the job, they have a different view. They have found themselves being asked to present their ideas or areas of expertise to others, often in a public situation. They have learned that it is not enough to be a competent professional. One must also be able to communicate effectively with others—to present ideas for change persuasively, to brief new employees, and to convince others to act.

In this chapter, we have introduced you to some of the fundamentals of public speaking, such as selecting an appropriate topic, choosing a purpose, framing it in terms of the audience response you are seeking, and finding evidence to support the assertions you plan to make. We have also discussed logical ways of reasoning, so that your arguments will be sound and persuasive. Many speakers fail—not because they are stupid, not because they lack presentational skills or experience on the job—but because they have not taken the time to fit their subject to the particular speech situation, or they have not spoken with a clear sense of purpose, so that the audience *understands* what they are expected to do, believe, or think. If audience members leave a speech scratching their heads and asking, "What does she want me to do about it?" the speaker has not been clear about her purpose, and that creates problems for everyone.

Speakers who know what they are talking about, who have gathered sound and sufficient evidence, and who have reached logical conclusions in advancing their arguments are well on the road to effective public communication. The next steps, then, involve choosing an appropriate organizational pattern and delivering the speech effectively. In the next chapter, we will address these issues.

Questions for Discussion

1. To what extent should a public communicator consider his or her responsibilities as an organizational representative when speaking to an audience beyond the organization's boundary?
2. Which situation do you generally find most difficult as a public speaker: one in which you are asked to speak but may choose your own topic or one in which you are asked to speak and are assigned a topic? Be specific in discussing your rationale.
3. We mentioned four perspectives to be considered in selecting a topic for a public speech: personal, audience, situational, and organizational. Which of these (or combinations of these) do you feel are generally most important? Why? What kinds of contextual factors might influence your decision?
4. What are some of the basic purposes or goals of public speaking? Which, in your view, are most common or significant? Provide at least one example of a topic that would work well with each basic purpose you name. Phrase a specific purpose statement for each topic.
5. What are some of the hazards in using statistics as evidence? How can they be avoided?
6. Compare and contrast personal, expert, and lay opinion. What are some important considerations in the use of each?
7. How important are examples in developing persuasive arguments? Be specific.
8. Compare and contrast inductive and deductive reasoning, defining and giving an example of each.
9. Name at least two fallacies commonly associated with inductive reasoning. Do the same with deductive reasoning.
10. How does perception relate to reasoning? Be specific.

Exercises

1. You have just been chosen to represent your college or university as a public speaker. Your audience is to be the powerful finance committee in the state legislature. They tell you to speak on any topic related to your interests or to higher education. You have approximately twenty minutes to speak. Your speaking is part of a statewide program designed to allow government officials and their constituents to better understand each other, while interacting and exchanging ideas.
    a. What topic would you choose? Why?
    b. To what extent would you consider yourself a representative of the university and to what extent are you speaking just for yourself? How would your view of your role affect your communication behavior?
    c. What are some of the values, demographic characteristics, and other salient factors with this audience?
    d. Given the audience, topic, and situation, what would be your goal? Be specific and elaborate.
2. Michael Williams is an upper-level supervisor in a research and development laboratory. For several months, the company has had much internal bickering over the proposed purchase of a highly sophisticated, multimillion dollar computer. Williams is a brilliant man and committed to innovation—but not without a tinge of conservatism. For weeks, he has spoken out against the purchase of the computer in committee meetings within the laboratory organization. His opinions were considered with care but ultimately rejected, with a narrow majority supporting the costly expenditure. Until recently, no one has discussed the matter publicly. Now, however, news of the decision has reached the press, precipitating considerable public curiosity. As an outgrowth of this interest, Williams has been asked to address the local Lions' Club (of which he is a lifelong member) regarding the lab's decision to purchase the new computer.
    a. Should Williams agree to speak on this topic? Why or why not?
    b. If so, how should he approach it in terms of his personal views versus the position of the organization?
    c. What strategy might he use?
    d. What should be his specific purpose?
    e. How might his dual allegiance to both audience and the lab affect his presentation?

3. You are the head of the public relations division of a large industrial organization. One of your responsibilities is establishing a training program for those members of the organization who are often asked to meet the public as speakers. You have enough money allotted for this task to allow you considerable flexibility and creativity.
    a. What kind of training would you provide as the basis for this program? (That is, what topics would you cover, what services would you provide, and so forth?)
    b. What kinds of people would you hire to assist you?
    c. Would you require all managers within the organization to participate in this program or would you wait for individuals to ask for help?
    d. How long and under what conditions would the program be conducted? Why?
4. Is there anything wrong with any of the following? Why or why not?
    a. Quoting the president of General Motors regarding the superiority of the Oldsmobile.
    b. Using only statistical evidence to support a point of view.
    c. Relying exclusively on your own opinion to support a proposal.
    d. Comparing a managerial approach at a small private business with that at IBM.
5. Provide one example of each of the following reasoning fallacies:
    a. guilt by association
    b. bandwagon effect
    c. faulty causal reasoning
    d. false analogy
    e. hasty generalization
    f. selective perception

    Your examples may be either real or hypothetical. You may choose them from any communication context, that is, advertisements, social exchanges, formal speeches, or others.

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WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

CHAPTER

13

Organizing and Delivering the Public Speech

Many speakers carefully select and focus their topics, judiciously choose a specific purpose, seek out good supporting materials, and still never really experience success in their speaking endeavors. Part of their failure may be attributed to bad luck, but more commonly, a good measure of it is related to some significant problem with the way they have organized their ideas or delivered their speeches. In this chapter, we will examine speech organization, delivery, and style with the objective of helping you better accomplish your purpose as an effective public communicator.

Organizing the Speech

Rhetorical theorists have long observed that speeches must be well structured if they are to be effective. Among the earliest to comment on the importance of organization was the Greek philosopher Plato, who wrote, "Every discourse ought to be a living creature, having a body of its own and a head and feet; there should be a middle, beginning, and end, adapted to one another and to the whole."[1] In keeping with Plato's metaphor, we will next examine the three basic parts of speeches: the *introduction*, the *body*, and the *conclusion*.

The Introduction

If you have ever had the experience of rising to confront a room filled with chattering high school students, excited, noisy convention folks, or even a group of contented and disinterested Kiwanians following a luncheon, you are well aware of the first problem encountered by every public speaker: *gaining the attention and interest of the audience*. Every speech introduction should do this, although the manner in which it is done will vary greatly. Sometimes with serious topics about which there is great common interest, you may assume that the topic itself has captured the audience's attention. As a result, the best approach is to move directly into its discussion. This was the approach Jimmy Carter used in his speech to the nation on October 1, 1979. He began his remarks concerning U.S. response to Soviet military force in Cuba by moving directly to the subject:

> Tonight I want to talk with you about the subject that is my highest concern, as it has been for every President. That subject is peace and the security of the United States.[2]

It is more common, however, for public speakers to address audiences with mixed interest levels; thus, it is important to make an early attempt to gain their attention. In a moment, we will consider specific devices for doing this.

The other major function of the introduction is *orienting the audience to the speech's subject*. Although a speaker can choose to do many different things during this time of orientation (such as providing background or defining difficult or ambiguous terms), the speech's orientation phase should include four basic components: stating the speech's purpose, adapting the topic to the audience, establishing credibility, and providing a preview. Taken together, the attention-getter and the orientation prepare the audience for listening to the speech, while engaging their interest.

For the first part of the orientation phase, you should *state the purpose of your speech*. This does not mean that you literally reiterate the formal purpose statement that you developed in preparing the speech. Instead, you articulate your purpose more subtly. For instance, rather than saying, "My purpose is to persuade the audience to start using E-mail more regularly to improve their on-the-job efficiency," you might say, "Using E-mail on the job is an excellent way to improve your efficiency and productivity." Similarly, instead of stating, "My purpose is to convince my audience that donated blood is not being safely screened," you might argue, "Unfortunately, the methods used to screen donated blood are simply not safe." By using a more subtle form in articulating your objective, your purpose should be clear. But at the same time, you will follow principles of good oral style by speaking directly to the audience—and avoiding referring to your listeners in the third person as "the audience."

In the previous chapter, we stressed the importance of choosing a topic of mutual interest to both you and your audience. Even so, during your introduction, it is critical to *adapt your topic to the audience* by telling them why they should care. You, after all, have been preparing your speech for some time and are well aware of its importance to you. The audience, however, may not focus on the topic until they begin to listen to your speech. So, those early moments are a crucial time to explain to them why the subject of your speech is relevant to them and their concerns. For instance, in the sample outline in Business Brief 13.2, Indiana University sophomore Jennifer Bradley adapts to her audience in her speech about health care in America by saying: "Each of us will some day have some sort of health problem. One of us may just get a cold every now and then, while another may break a bone, and a third may have to have major surgery. Each of us will, at some point in life, have to cope with the reality of paying expensive medical bills. So clearly, we all need to be concerned about what kind of insurance coverage we have to pay these expenses." Her point, quite simply, is that everyone will have to cope with health care issues. It is only a matter of time. In a practical sense, adapting to the audience causes the speaker to address the question, "What's in it for us?"

The third part of orienting the audience involves *establishing your credibility*. In a sense, credibility is an ongoing issue throughout any speech, but for every speaker, the introduction represents an especially critical time to establish her or his credentials. For established professionals, this may be a less daunting task. We expect doctors to know about medicine, attorneys to know about the law, and accountants to be able to answer questions about taxes. For student speakers, however, the issue of establishing credibility is somewhat more challenging. In the student speech, for instance, Bradley initially establishes her credibility by referring to her numerous experiences with her grandfather's multiple major and costly surgeries. (Later in the speech, she further enhances her credibility by showing her extensive research on the subject of health care). As a speaker, you might establish your credibility by referring to a personal experience (for example, studying in Paris or learning CPR and saving someone's life), referring to the experiences of those close to you or about whom you care deeply (such as speaking of a friend who was injured by a drunken driver or addressing your ongoing concern for the poverty-stricken children of America), or by demonstrating your extensive knowledge or education in a particular field or with a special subject (for example, your ten years of experience as a jazz musician or your knowledge of the author Kurt Vonnegut from having read all of his books). By addressing the issue of your credibility, you are answering the audience's question: "Why should we listen to or believe you?"

Finally, before you launch into the body of your speech, you should complete your orientation phase by *enumerating a preview.* The preview introduces your major points and gives your audience a clear idea of what to expect from the remainder of your speech. In previewing, you are also signaling what it is that you feel is most important, those things you want the audience to remember and to reflect on long after you have finished speaking. If, after enumerating your preview, you follow through with your plan, you will have further enhanced your credibility by demonstrating your careful organization and preparation.

Common Attention-Getting Devices

Effective introductions vary with the specific demands of the speech situation. Even so, experienced speakers have found a number of introductory devices helpful in gaining the attention of the audience. These include: (1) establishing common ground with the audience, (2) paying the audience a deserved compliment, (3) asking a rhetorical question, (4) using humor, (5) using a narrative or illustration that leads into the subject, and (6) using an appropriate combination of these techniques. This list is not intended to be exhaustive; it merely suggests approaches that have been used successfully in the past.

Sometimes as a speaker you are separated from your audience in some significant way. You may hold a position of high status or influence or have vastly different experiences or knowledge. When this is the case, you may feel it necessary to establish an early bond with the audience through the introduction. Notice how Neal W. O'Connor, chairman of the board of N. W. Ayer ABH International, *establishes common ground* with his audience, the Syracuse Press Club:

> Thanks for the warmth of your welcome, a welcome back to Syracuse. One does feel old when he comes back to a place where he's been young. . . .
>
> I owe a lot to Syracuse. My father and mother both graduated from the University. Two of my father's brothers made their careers in this city. One was even president of this very hotel. I met a certain Nancy Turner, class of 1950, here. She is now Mrs. O'Connor. One of our oldest and most valued clients, the Carrier Corporation, has made this its headquarters city. I have many good friends here whom I see all too seldom. . . . I have a great respect for Syracuse, for the city and its people.[3]

We talked earlier about the potential significance of the speech occasion. Often the introduction is the most appropriate place to make direct reference to either the occasion or the efforts of the audience if praise or recognition is deserved. Eric Rubenstein, president of the Single Room Operators Association, paid the audience an honest compliment when he spoke to a group representing Job Resources, Inc. in Chicago:

> I am delighted to be here. Let me compliment your fine organization, Job Resources, on having counseled and job-trained more than 7,000 individuals, and having also obtained permanent employment for over 2,000 men and women since 1979. Clearly, much of your success is due to the hard work and dedication of your founder and Executive Director, Ms. Michal Rooney.

> Job Resources' track record is especially impressive because you only assist disabled individuals, economically-disadvantaged people, and displaced workers. Your non-profit agency truly helps needy people train for and obtain jobs, and this is appreciated.[4]

The third attention-getting device is the *rhetorical question*. Unlike ordinary questions, rhetorical ones do not seek an outward verbal or behavioral response; rather, they are meant to stimulate thought and perhaps pique curiosity. In the following speech introduction, John D. Garwood, dean of instruction at Fort Hays State University, describes a hypothetical situation involving value judgments and then poses a thought-provoking rhetorical question:

> O'Hare Airport in Chicago was about one hour away from being fogged in for the night. One plane would be leaving for New York in thirty minutes. Five seats were left; six people bought tickets. No other planes would leave that night.
>
> John Jones, laborer, had won a trip to Europe and the boat left that evening.
>
> Mark Johnson, serviceman, back from two years overseas, is returning to his wife and baby in New York.
>
> Marie Wilson is hurrying to the bedside of her father, a heart attack victim, who is dying.
>
> Thomas Roberts is scheduled to attend a father-son banquet in New York with his son, who has been having some problems.
>
> Sam Brown, rock star, is on stage at Madison Square Garden that evening before 15,000 fans.
>
> Barbara Wright, retired schoolteacher, is being honored that evening at a class reunion.
>
> Which of the six would you leave behind?[5]

The fourth introductory device is *humor*. Several words of caution are necessary here. Humor should be used only as an introductory device when it is appropriate and tasteful. Some speakers seem to believe that every speech should begin with a joke—all too often of the standard, canned variety. Some humor can be planned in advance, but often the best kind of humor grows naturally from the speech situation and includes some references to persons present or preceding events. Moreover, some individuals are more skilled with humor than others. As a public speaker, you must honestly assess yourself with regard to this issue. There is probably no worse way to begin a speech than by telling a joke that flops. When tastefully employed, however, humor that is relevant to the topic and occasion can serve as an extremely effective attention-getting device. In the following introduction, George H. Dixon, president of First Bank System, begins his speech to the International Trade Seminar with a humorous anecdote:

> It is a genuine pleasure to be here in Duluth again today and to have this opportunity to share with you some thoughts on trade with the People's Republic of China. This being a speech, we might as well begin with a brief anecdote about another speech, which can give us an early insight into the nature of the Chinese people.
>
> It is a story about a young American who at a banquet found himself seated next to the eminent Wellington Koo, a Chinese diplomat. Completely at a loss as to what to say to a Chinese, this young man ventured, "Likee soupee?" Mr. Koo smiled and nodded. Later when

called upon to speak, Wellington Koo delivered an eloquent talk in exquisite English, sat down while the applause was still resounding, turned to the young man and said, "Likee speechee?"[6]

Another attention-getting device is a *narrative* or *illustration* leading into the topic. Sometimes these devices focus on a personal experience; on other occasions, they simply recount an example or event read or remembered. They may be true to life or hypothetical, literary, or historical—so long as they gain attention in a meaningful manner. We might note here that good introductions often employ more than one attention-getting device. In the following example, the speaker begins by going directly to the topic and follows that with a brief, interesting narrative. Herbert Richey, chairman of the board of the Chamber of Commerce, begins his speech to the Ohio Chamber of Commerce in this way:

> I'd like to talk about modern economics today. I'm sure many of us are already familiar with that. But for those who are not, I can illustrate the theory with a story: Jed is a part-time farm worker with a flair for applied economics. One day he "borrowed" a country ham from the farmer who employs him . . . without bothering to tell the farmer. He went downtown and sold the ham to the grocer for $27. Then he used $20 of that money to buy $80 worth of food stamps. With the food stamps, he bought $48 worth of groceries. He used the remaining $32 worth of food stamps to buy back the ham. Then he returned the ham to the farmer's smokehouse. So the grocer made a profit, the farmer got his ham back, and Jed has $48 worth of groceries plus $7 in cash. If you see no flaw in that process, then you are already familiar with modern economics. On the other hand, if you suspect that someone, somewhere, has been "taken" for $80, then the rest of this speech is dedicated to you.[7]

A final way to introduce a speech in an interesting and creative way is to use several different attention-getting devices in some appropriate combination. Gary Trudeau, cartoonist and satirist and husband of Jane Pauley, formerly of the *Today* show, delivered some clever introductory remarks when he spoke at Wake Forest University's commencement on May 19, 1986. In his introduction, Trudeau shared some intriguing statistics, used humor (and satire), and referred directly to the occasion:

> Ladies and gentlemen of Wake Forest: My wife, who works in television, told me recently that a typical interview on her show used to run ten minutes. It now runs only five minutes, which is still triple the length of the average television news story. The average pop recording these days lasts around three minutes, or, about the time it takes to read a story in *People* magazine. The stories in *USA Today* take so little time to read that they're known in the business as "News McNuggets."
>
> Now, the average comic strip only takes about 10 seconds to digest, but if you read every strip published in the *Washington Post,* as the President of the United States claims to, it takes roughly eight minutes a day, which means, a quick computation reveals, that the Leader of the Free World has spent a total of 11 days, 3 hours and 40 minutes of his presidency reading the comics. This fact, along with nuclear meltdown, are easily two of the most frightening thoughts of our time.
>
> There's one exception to this relentless compression of time in modern life. That's right—the graduation speech. When it comes to graduation speeches, it is generally conceded that time—a generous dollop of time—is of the essence.

> This is because the chief function of the graduation speaker has always been to prevent graduating seniors from being released into the real world before they've been properly sedated.
>
> Like all anesthetics, graduation speeches take time to kick in, so I'm going to ask you to bear with me for about a quarter of an hour. It will go faster if you think of it as the equivalent of four videos.[8]

The length of the introduction varies with the needs of the speech situation. Some formal speech occasions demand extensive introductory reference to the events at hand, as well as to significant persons present. Some audiences are already basically attentive; others need considerable coaxing. In general, introductions should not be too extensive, particularly in the classroom context. The introduction does, however, create an important initial impression and should be constructed with care and creativity.

The Body

The part of the speech where you present your major ideas is the body. Most of your speaking time (80 to 90 percent) will be spent here. Within the body of your speech will appear the bulk of your information. It is here that you will develop your line of thinking and reveal your informative or persuasive strategy.

Common Patterns of Organization

One commonly used pattern of arrangement is *chronological order*. You begin with a given time and then move forward, or backward, depending on the nature of the subject. Chronological order may be useful with a variety of topics, so long as you are dealing with a subject involving chronological relationships. Thus, the life of Albert Schweitzer, the development of the labor movement in the United States, the evolution of the moral majority movement in religion, or changing views of management theory are all appropriate subjects for time arrangement.

A second common pattern is *spatial arrangement*. You employ space as your ordering principle. You could discuss any of the topics mentioned in the preceding paragraph spatially rather than chronologically simply by talking of them in terms of locations. For example, you might discuss Schweitzer's contributions in several specific geographical locations without regard to the order in which those contributions occurred. Or you might talk of the inception of the moral majority movement in the South and its spread to the Midwest, the West, and the East. These examples illustrate an important notion: *most topics can be approached from a variety of ordering perspectives*. Your task is to make a judicious decision in choosing the most appropriate one for the particular situation in which you are speaking.

Another pattern is *topical*. When you arrange your ideas topically, you often deal with types, forms, qualities, or aspects of the speech subject. You might discuss higher education by looking at vocational and technical institutes, community or junior colleges, four-year colleges, and universities. Similarly, you might speak about dogs according to breed; people according to religious beliefs or socioeconomic status; or

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Patterns of Organization

Chronological	In order of time
Spatial	In order of location
Topical	In order of types, forms, qualities, or aspects of speech subject
Cause-effect	In order of causes to effects
Problem-solution	In order of problem to possible and/or best solutions

the writings of Shakespeare in terms of type, including sonnets, histories, comedies, and tragedies. It is often possible to look at the same subject from several topical perspectives. You might discuss Shakespeare as we just suggested; but you might also rank Shakespeare's work qualitatively and speak about the lesser, the average, and the best of Shakespeare. Moreover, you might discuss the major social issues brought forth in his works or interesting male or female characters. Some topics clearly lend themselves well to varied topical arrangements.

Whenever you choose to make an analytical speech, you may wish to consider using a *cause-and-effect* arrangement. This pattern can move from effect to cause or from cause to effect. Sometimes it can be incorporated as part of an overall problem-solution pattern; for usually within the structure of such a speech, you will analyze the problem (effect) in terms of contributing causes. It is important to remember that a chronological relationship does not necessarily equal a causal relationship. One event following another may represent chance as easily as cause. Furthermore, whenever you look at a given effect to seek its causes, you must continually guard against oversimplification. The quest for the single cause is usually hopeless. The cause-and-effect pattern of organization should be used with care.

Finally, the *problem-solution pattern* is one of the most frequently used by public speakers. In instances where the audience is well aware of the nature and causes of the problem, you might only briefly describe it and spend the remainder of the time exploring viable solutions. It is also acceptable for you to discuss a problem and consider a number of alternative solutions without actually selecting one as the best. When, as a result of your preparatory research, a preferred solution naturally emerges, you would do well to support it; but you should also consider leaving the selection of a preferable alternative up to the audience.

Given the wide variety of organizational patterns from which you can choose, a few general principles should be kept in mind. First, select your organizational pattern carefully. *The way you present your ideas and information should be strategic,* designed to enhance the chance that you will elicit the audience response you are seeking. If you are talking to an audience about a technical area in which they have little background and experience, you have to devote a good portion of your speech to educating them—giving them information they need so that they can understand what you want them to do. Second, *give some thought to symmetry and balance*. Normally, you would develop each of your main points so that each idea is given equal emphasis. But, if you decide that one idea is clearly more controversial, complex, or important than the others, you may consciously decide to devote more time to that idea. Again, what is important is that the decision be strategic. Finally, *be aware of primacy and recency effects*. Although researchers have not been able to agree on whether arguments are more memorable and persuasive if they are placed first (primacy) or last (recency), they do agree that those two positions are the most powerful—and that information or arguments embedded in the middle of a message are less likely to have the same impact.

The Transition

A final vital aspect of organization is the *transition*, the bridge connecting one idea with another. Good transitions are critical to the coherence and continuity of the speech. Each major idea needs to be rounded off and related to that which follows. Too many speakers believe that they can move magically from one main point to another. Thus, they concentrate on remembering the main concepts in the speech while paying little attention to the problem of moving smoothly from point to point. Many basically well-structured speeches have been seriously hindered by poor transitions.

Sometimes transitions can be relatively brief. For example, "Now that we've considered the basic dimensions of the problem, let's attempt to analyze its causes." On other occasions, an entire paragraph may be needed to maintain the flow of thought or demonstrate the nature of the relationships involved.

Speakers can sometimes employ rhetorical questions as transition devices. Some examples are: "But what do we really mean by the word democratic?" "How do you think a well-educated person would approach this kind of complex problem?" "What, then, are the ways we can best prepare our children for responsible adulthood?"

If a preview is used at the beginning of the speech, it may be necessary only to say subsequently, "first, second, and third" in moving from point to point. No speaker should rely exclusively on this manner of transition.

Internal summaries can also be useful as transitions. With the internal summary, you usually review the points already covered, and you may even preview the ideas or approaches to follow; for example, "Now that we've looked at some of the major dimensions of our economic plight, let's move on to consider some ways of improving the situation."

Unfortunately, transitions are often ignored by speakers. Without the skillful use of transitions, speeches seem incoherent. One of the best ways of ensuring that audiences *perceive* the unity and interrelatedness of your ideas is to make these relationships clear through good transitions. In sum, transitions can create bonds by revealing the speech's main ideas as integral parts of a coherent whole.

The Conclusion

We've all heard speakers who pause slightly near the end of their speech and then mumble, "Well, I guess that's all I have to say. I sure appreciate your attention. [Further pause.] Thank you." Some might call this a conclusion, but we would contend that the speaker did not conclude; he or she simply stopped. The specific purpose of a conclusion will vary from speech to speech, but the general purpose is to *bring the speech to a strategic close—thus creating a final impact*. We turn now to a consideration of some specific concluding devices.

One common method of concluding persuasive speeches is with a *challenge*. You may challenge the audience to act, to believe, to meet the need, to demonstrate concern, or even to live a different kind of life. At the 1992 Democratic convention in New York City, presidential candidate Bill Clinton concluded his acceptance speech with this compelling challenge:

> Somewhere at this very moment, another child is born in America. Let it be our cause to give that child a happy home, a healthy family, a hopeful future. Let it be our cause to see that child reach the fullest of her God-given abilities. Let it be our cause that she grow up strong and secure, braced by her challenges, but never, never struggling alone; with family and friends and a faith that in America, no one is left out; no one is left behind.
>
> Let it be our cause that when she is able, she gives something back to her children, her community and her country. And let it be our cause to give her a country that's coming together and moving ahead, a country of boundless hopes and endless dreams, a country that once again lifts up its people and inspires the world.
>
> Let that be our cause and our commitment and our new Covenant.
>
> I end tonight where it all began for me: I still believe in a place called Hope.[9]

A second concluding device useful with informative as well as persuasive discourse is the *summary*. In summarizing, you may repeat the main points in a straightforward, almost literal fashion; or you may choose to restate the major ideas in different, and often more concise, phraseology. Summaries are often used in conjunction with another concluding device. A student used the following summary, followed by a rhetorical question, to conclude his speech on LAMP, a new interdisciplinary curriculum at Indiana University:

> In short, the Liberal Arts and Management Program is an excellent alternative to a traditional college degree. Indiana is one of only a few schools offering this interdisciplinary degree (so, it's a unique opportunity). It combines a broad education in the liberal arts and sciences with a substantial cluster of business courses (giving you the best of both worlds). And, you have a lot of contact with your professors because LAMP is small, with several courses team-taught by faculty from the liberal arts and business. At a time when business leaders are calling for more liberally educated employees, why not look into LAMP?

Yet another concluding device is the *quotation*. Quoted material can take the form of expert testimony, poems, songs, or striking, memorable slogans. Quotations should be pertinent and meaningful; they *must* be brief. In a speech from which we quoted earlier, President Carter concluded with a striking quotation:

> The struggle for peace—the long, hard struggle to bring weapons of mass destruction under the control of human reason and human law—is the central drama of our age.

> At another time of challenge in our nation's history, President Abraham Lincoln told the American people: "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."
>
> We acted wisely then, and preserved the union. Let us act wisely now, and preserve the world.[10]

A good way to demonstrate the effects of an advocated plan is to conclude by *visualizing the future*. This device allows you to picture concretely the projected results of your ideas in an appealing way. One of the most famous examples of an entire speech that visualizes the future is Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speech, "I Have a Dream." In his conclusion, he further imagines the future in this way:

> And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."[11]

More recently, New York Governor Mario Cuomo, in his speech to the 1992 Democratic convention nominating Bill Clinton for the presidency of the United States, concluded by vividly portraying the future under Democratic leadership:

> A year ago, we had a great parade in New York City to celebrate the return of our armed forces from the Persian Gulf. I'm sure you had one, too. But as joyous as those parades were, I'd like to march with you in a different kind of celebration—one, regrettably, we cannot hold yet.
>
> I'd like to march with you through cities and rural villages where all the people have safe streets, affordable housing and health care when they need it.
>
> I want to clap my hands and throw my fists in the air, cheering neighborhoods where children can be children, where they can grow up and have the chance to go to college and one day own their own home.
>
> I want to sing—proud songs, happy songs—arm in arm with workers who have a real stake in their company's success, who once again have the assurance that a lifetime of hard work will make life better for their children than it's been for them.
>
> I want to be part of a victory parade that sends up fireworks, celebrating the triumph of our technology centers and factories, outproducing and outselling our overseas competitors.
>
> I want to march—with you—knowing that we are selecting justices to the Supreme Court who are qualified to be there, and who understand the basic American right to make our own individual moral and religious judgments.
>
> I want to look around and feel the warmth, the pride, the profound gratitude of knowing we are making America surer, stronger—sweeter. Some day I want to march to Washington, not to beg for what we need, but to shout our thanks because we made the greatest nation in the world freer than it's ever been, provided new opportunities to new generations of seekers, justified our gifts by showing the world how much better we can be!
>
> So step aside, Mr. Bush, You've had your parade.[12]

A final concluding device involves *referring to materials used in the introduction*. This is most readily accomplished when you earlier introduced your speech with some attention-getting illustration or narrative. Because this device unites the conclusion and the introduction, it has great potential for giving the speech a sense of unity. Consider the following example in which Janice Carlat, a freshman at the University of Kansas, speaks to her classmates on the subject of Pablo Picasso's art and its meaning. During the introduction, she quotes Picasso as saying, "Reality is more than the thing itself. I always look for its super-reality. A green parrot is also a green salad." Carlat subsequently refers to this introduction in the conclusion that follows:

> In contrast with other artists, Picasso, unlike the cool, constricted, specialized artist of today, is haunted by a need to search and find. He is probably one of the last humanists in the problematic history of art. His works will always be a study to the individual, and, as long as there continue to be problems in our world, Picasso will continue to communicate—to communicate in his world of abstraction where faces are not faces but conglomerations of eyes and ears, where baby buggies are not baby buggies but piles of nuts and screws, and where green parrots are not green parrots but green salads.[13]

Conclusions, like introductions, should be tailored to the needs of the specific speech situation. As a general rule, they should be brief. Probably the most irritating thing a speaker can do is to say, "In conclusion . . . ," and then drone on and on. Once again, conclusions are used to create a final impact, to remind, to reinforce, and to round out the strategy.

Outlining the Speech

Although we have chosen to discuss outlining at this point in the chapter, the outline is, in fact, something that develops as you prepare the speech. Most speakers construct a rough outline quite early, representing their initial thinking and ideas they would like to explore. Later, as they read widely and begin to choose some strategy of organization, the outline will grow, change, and be refined. The outline, then, evolves as your ideas emerge. Sometimes it is rearranged; often it is expanded to include more detail or support. The outline from which you ultimately deliver your speech will reflect your total speech preparation process. This final outline serves several useful purposes.

First, the outline allows you to examine your speech's structure to see if you are satisfied with the way you have organized your ideas. You can see whether or not you have consistently followed the pattern of organization you set out to pursue. Have you, for example, examined all aspects of the problem before moving on to the solution—or have you jumped back and forth? By examining your outline, you can see if you have given each main point the emphasis you had intended. You can also note if you have developed your arguments properly, that is, with adequate supporting material. Finally, by constructing an outline, you encourage yourself to go over your speech. This helps to fix the main points in your mind and will later assist your memory during the actual delivery of the speech.

The sample outline in Business Brief 13.2 illustrates the kind of outline you will develop. Some speakers prefer to write out their introductions and conclusions, especially if they are concerned about beginning and ending in a specific, carefully planned way.

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13.2

SAMPLE OUTLINE

Health Care: A Basic Right of Every American

By Jennifer E. Bradley

Specific Purpose: I want my audience to agree that America is experiencing a severe health care crisis and that *everyone* has a right to quality health care.

Introduction

I. **Attention-Getting Device:** I'd like to tell you the story of a woman without health insurance. This story was reported by Steven Miles in the November 11, 1992, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA).* The woman had been assaulted by a man she knew and he had broken her arm. After this, she had taken an overdose of an anticonvulsant on impulse, and a friend took her to the emergency room. There, her overdose, which was considered an emergency, was treated, and her arm was temporarily splinted. She was admitted to the hospital and stabilized within two days. A surgeon said that the woman's arm needed to be operated on in order to set the fracture, but he refused to perform the surgery because the woman had no insurance, and he didn't think that Medicaid, which she was eligible for, would cover the whole cost. This surgeon was legally able to refuse this necessary treatment, and in the United States of America, no less, where equality is supposed to prevail (Testimony-Miles, 1992).

II. **Orientation Phase:** This story illustrates the health care crisis that is going on in America right now.

Adaptation: Each of us will some day have some sort of health problem. One of us may just get a cold every now and then, while another may break a bone, and a third may have to have major surgery. The same is true of our parents, grandparents, and children. Each of us will, at some point in life, have to cope with the reality of paying expensive medical bills. So clearly, we all need to be concerned about what kind of insurance coverage we have to pay these expenses.

Credibility: My grandfather has had eleven major surgeries in the past twelve years, including open heart surgery, prostate surgery, and back surgery. The huge fees for the surgeries themselves are only made worse by the operating room and hospital fees, plus any post-surgical therapy. If it's amazing that his body has survived all this cutting, then it's even more amazing that his wallet has survived it. Luckily, he has the best health insurance policy money can buy, as everyone should have. There's just one catch. He has the money to buy it, while many who need even more medical care don't.

Enumerated Preview: I'd like to talk to you today about the health care crisis we are currently experiencing in America. Then I'd like to discuss why we should care about fixing this problem and why all deserve quality health care.

Transition: First, let's look at the severity of the health care crisis.

Body

III. America is in the middle of a huge health care crisis.

  A. Health care costs are out of control.

    1. According to the November 1992 issue of *Scientific American,* we were spending 4% of our GNP (gross national product) on health care in 1940. In 1990, the figure jumped to 12.2% (Statistic-Fein, 1992). That's more than a 300% increase in only 50 years.
    2. And the December 14, 1992, *New York Times* reported that the Congressional Budget Office predicts that we will be spending 18% of our GNP on health care by the year 2000 (Statistic-Reinhardt, 1992).
    3. *Scientific American* reports that we are currently spending more of our GDP (gross domestic product) on health care than any of the 23 other nations in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (Statistic-Fein, 1992).
    4. The March 8, 1993, issue of *Time* reports that in 1991, 100 Tylenol with Codeine 3 tablets cost $19.38 wholesale here in the U.S., whereas the same amount cost only $3.32 in Canada (Statistic-Greenwald, 1993). That is, we paid nearly six times as much for the same medicine here, just because we don't control costs. And the situation is the same with numerous other drugs.
    5. So, as you can see, our huge health care costs are not only taking money away from other important programs, but are also hurting us in terms of international competition, since our companies have proportionately less money to invest.

Internal Transition: But dollars and cents are only one part of this huge problem.

  B. In addition, many Americans who badly need health care just aren't getting it.

    1. The December 4, 1990, *Washington Post* reports that 37 million Americans have no health insurance whatsoever, and that an additional 50 million more have only partial coverage that wouldn't pay for a serious illness (Statistic-Matthiessen, 1990).
    2. Sadly, as the December 14, 1992, *New York Times* tells us, one third of these uninsured Americans are children (Statistic-Reinhardt, 1992).
    3. The November 1992 copy of *Scientific American* points to three other groups who, being uninsured or underinsured, are particularly at risk in the health care crisis (Testimony-Fein, 1992).
      a. First, there are the unemployed, the homeless, and those who work part-time.
      b. Second, there are those whose employers don't provide coverage or provide only inadequate coverage.
      c. And finally, there are those with preexisting conditions, including high-risk individuals such as those who are HIV positive or who have histories of medical conditions in their families, and the elderly, who represent a growing proportion of the population.
      d. Clearly, these are many of the people who most need medical care.

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Transition: Health care costs are so high (and increasing) that only the richest can afford good health insurance policies. In addition, many of those who most need care (the unemployed, underprivileged, and poor) are unable to get it. Clearly, this shows not only that America is in a severe health care crisis, but also, as Uwe E. Reinhardt so aptly put it in the December 14, 1992, *New York Times,* it illustrates the " 'God-bless-me-and-to-hell-with-you' ethic of the 1980's" (Testimony-Reinhardt, 1992). This kind of attitude has only served to exacerbate the health care crisis and must be changed. Let me tell you why we need to start caring more about a national health care program and why each and every person has a fundamental right to quality medical care.

IV. Two basic principles shape the argument that all deserve health care: those of human dignity and caring for the least well-off. Much of the following is based on an article in the November 4, 1992, issue of *JAMA,* written by Charles Dougherty.
  A. The first ethical principle is that of human dignity.
    1. As caring individuals, most of us believe that human beings have a certain intrinsic value, commonly referred to as human dignity or worth. This value is, as Dougherty puts it, "beyond any relative estimation, beyond the contingencies of supply and demand" (Testimony-Dougherty, 1992). We cannot put a price tag on the worth of a human—humans are priceless.
    2. The implication of this is that we respect people because of their intrinsic value.
    3. This respect, in turn, creates two duties in terms of health.
      a. We must not only avoid destroying the health of others,
      b. but must also make an effort to protect and maintain health.
      c. According to Dougherty, "Failure to act on this duty, by allowing lives to be shortened or diminished in quality because of lack of access to basic health care, expresses a callous disregard for the dignity of human life" (Testimony-Dougherty, 1992).

Internal Transition: While this argument is reason enough to support universal health care, another ethical issue must also be considered.

  B. The second moral value central to the health care debate is that we should take care of those who are least able to care for themselves.
    1. This is why people donate clothes to the Salvation Army, work at the Community Kitchen, and give food to food banks. People daily support and act on this basic moral principle by donating time, goods, and money to various charitable organizations.
    2. Since all people have human dignity, even the least well-off deserve respect, which includes the opportunity to live a "life fit for a human being" (Testimony-Dougherty, 1992).
    3. In keeping with this idea, we all have a social responsibility to help those who are least able to help themselves.
    4. As Dougherty points out, "this is the very point of health care: that the well should assist the sick and dying" (Testimony-Dougherty, 1992).

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5. Again, this responsibility can be fulfilled by making sure that everyone has access to health care, regardless of income, race, class, or employment status.

Transition: As you can see, all people are human beings of immense worth. We have a personal responsibility to help those less fortunate than ourselves. This makes health care for all Americans a moral imperative.

Conclusion

V. **Summary:** Clearly, our nation is right in the middle of a severe health care crisis. Many, many people are not receiving the medical attention and insurance they need and deserve. It is our moral and social responsibility to take care of one another. **Concluding Device:** As a cab driver I once met put it, "If I just follow the Golden Rule, then I got no use for all them other rules."

Others write out each transition to ensure a clear movement from one main point to another. Most speakers write out certain kinds of supporting details, such as statistics and quotations taken from experts, where precision is vital.

Although some variations are appropriate in the outlining format, some rules apply to all outlines. First, *each point in the outline should contain only one piece of information or idea*. For example:

I. Refined sugar should be minimized in the diet to decrease obesity and reduce one's susceptibility to high blood pressure.

Because more than one point is made here, this part of the outline should be altered as follows:

I. Refined sugar should be minimized in the diet.
    A. Minimizing sugar intake decreases obesity.
    B. Minimizing sugar intake reduces one's susceptibility to high blood pressure.

Here the main idea is presented with a Roman numeral. The subpoints are subordinated with capital letters.

Second, *the outline should accurately reflect relationships between ideas*. The most general ideas should be listed with Roman numerals, the next most general with capital letters, the next with Arabic numbers, and so on. Consider this *poor* example:

I. Too much refined sugar leads to hyperactivity in children.
    A. Sugar should be minimized in the diet.
    B. Most breakfast cereals consumed by children are over 75 percent sugar.
    C. Consuming too much refined sugar as children encourages adult obesity.
    D. Refined sugar can be replaced by other natural sweeteners in most recipes.

The most general idea here is that sugar should be minimized in the diet. Yet that point is made subordinate to the one claiming that sugar leads to hyperactivity. In fact, none of the subpoints is related directly to I. Here is a better way to approach this outline:

I. Refined sugar should be minimized in the diet.
    A. Diets containing much refined sugar produce several negative effects.
        1. Children often develop hyperactivity.
        2. Adults often develop high blood pressure.
        3. All age groups tend to become obese.
    B. Minimizing refined sugar does not mean that sweets cannot be consumed.
        1. Many foods are naturally sweet.
        2. Honey may be substituted in many recipes.
        3. Brown sugar may be used for most baking.

In this outline segment, one general idea is introduced with a Roman numeral. That main idea is developed by two slightly less general subpoints appearing under *A* and *B*. These, in turn, are elaborated through more specific subpoints appearing in *1*, *2*, and *3*.

The example we just presented illustrates another important outlining rule: *Each subpoint should be logically related to the main point under which it falls*. In the poor example, that rule was consistently violated. That is, what one can do with recipes or adult obesity has little to do with hyperactivity in children. In the second outline, however, each subpoint is logically related to the main idea of the need to minimize refined sugar in the diet.

You should also *use a consistent system of symbols and indention*. All main points should be listed with Roman numerals; all major subpoints should have capital letters; all supporting statements following major subpoints should have Arabic numbers. You should follow the system we have illustrated in this section. In addition, when an entry runs longer than one line, indent the second line the same amount as the first line. For example:

I. Finding ways to cook enticing meals without using refined sugar can be challenging.
    A. One way of approaching this challenge is to purchase one of the several new "sugar-free" cookbooks that have appeared in recent months.

By using this sort of consistent indention and symbol system, you visually establish the logical relationship among your ideas.

Most of the time you should *avoid having single subpoints*. Usually, subpoints indicate subdivisions of the main points under which they fall. Thus, for every *A* you should have a *B;* for every *1* there should be a *2;* for every *a* you need a *b,* and so forth.

Finally, *be consistent in the kind of phraseology used*. Some speakers prefer *full sentence outlines,* such as the one dealing with sugar above. Others prefer a topical or key word outlining approach. Outlines should not jump back and forth between phrases and sentences. An example of a *key word outline* follows:

I. Reasons for regular exercise
    A. Weight control
    B. Muscle tone

    - C. Cardiovascular health
    - D. Attitude improvement
    - E. Sleep enhancement
- II. Ways to get regular exercise
    - A. Joining a YMCA
    - B. Finding a partner
    - C. Beginning or ending the day with exercise

For the actual delivery of your speech, a key word outline may be most beneficial. In fact, some experts believe that the best way to achieve really effective delivery is by using a key word outline.[14] If you practice with this kind of outline, and go on to deliver your speech with it as well, you may find that your presentational style will be more direct and spontaneous.

Although outlining rules are often violated, they are not difficult to master. A well-constructed outline is of great help during the delivery of a speech. Equally important, it stands as a tangible symbol of the time, effort, and thought you have put into your speech.

Presentation of the Public Speech

However well organized you are, the actual delivery of the speech is of paramount importance. Many an intelligent, well-intentioned, and well-prepared speaker has failed to move his or her listeners simply because of an inability to present the speech directly, spontaneously, and emphatically. To deliver any speech effectively requires that the speaker approach the situation with some measure of confidence; yet stage fright remains a nearly universal phenomenon.

Developing Confidence

The term *stage fright* originated in the theater, but most people do not have to participate in a dramatic production to experience this unfortunate malady. Quaking limbs, quivering voices, and dry mouths are only a few of the dreaded symptoms. It is a paradox of human nature that most of us desire attention; but when we receive attention in the form of an audience, we respond with some measure of fear. Essentially, it is a fear of personal failure, for we expose a good deal of ourselves through our public expression of attitudes and ideas.

Even so, many speakers lack confidence because they hold a number of erroneous notions about stage fright. Among these fallacious assumptions are (1) the speaker is virtually alone in experiencing anxiety in public speaking; (2) only beginners experience stage fright; (3) everyone in the audience can tell exactly how frightened a speaker is; and (4) stage fright is always debilitating for the speaker. Let us consider each in turn.

Anxiety in public speaking is not an uncommon occurrence. In fact, only rarely do public speakers experience no anxiety before or during the actual delivery of their speeches. One study demonstrated that 77 percent of all experienced speakers admitted

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The *Wall Street Journal* recently published an interesting article focusing on the fear of public speaking in the business world. The article reported that

> In this garrulous, smooth-talking world, many executives and professionals are afflicted with what specialists call presentation phobia, or stage fright. A far cry from butterflies in the stomach, it's sometimes severe enough to slow careers to a stop.
>
> The fear can strike not only the chief executive facing a hall of shareholders but also the manager asked to "say something about yourself" at a staff meeting. Bert Decker of Decker Communications, a San Francisco consulting firm, estimates that "roughly half the business population" labors under (some) form of the anxiety and tries to avoid speaking in public.
>
> But as treatment becomes more effective and widely available, more people are getting help. "Of the full range of anxiety disorders," says Charles Melville, an Atlanta psychiatrist, "people can most predictably overcome a fear of public speaking."

Jolie Solomon, "Executives Who Dread Public Speaking Learn to Keep Their Cool in the Spotlight," *Wall Street Journal*, 4 May 1990, p. B3.

to some stage fright on each speaking occasion.[15] Of course, "experienced" speakers are not necessarily synonymous with "great" speakers. Yet, historically, some of the most eloquent orators of all time were besieged by stage fright, including Cicero, Abraham Lincoln, and Winston Churchill. Clearly then, anxiety is not infrequent; nor is it experienced by only the small and insignificant.

Although exceptions exist, normally stage fright decreases as individuals gain experience as public speakers.[16] It is not uncommon for students in basic public speaking courses to experience fairly intense anxiety during their first speech performance. As public speaking becomes a part of their normal classroom activities, however, they meet future assignments with greater confidence.

Speakers frequently overrate the accuracy with which listeners can judge the extent of their nervousness. Even if there are no physical reactions to anxiety, we often assume that the audience can see through our smiles and calm appearance to the turmoil and uncertainty lurking beneath. Once again, studies do not support this assumption. *Listeners*, including college speech teachers, *are notoriously poor judges of the amount of anxiety speakers experience*.[17] The typical tendency is to underrate stage fright, attributing greater confidence to the speaker than he or she claims to feel. In fact, it is not uncommon for speakers to believe they "acted nervous" while audience members will comment on the degree to which the speakers seemed completely in control and self-assured!

Earlier in this section we referred to stage fright as an "unfortunate malady." While this represents a commonly held view, in truth, anxiety is a hindrance to your performance

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13.4

Types of Delivery

Impromptu	Unprepared, off-the-cuff
Extemporaneous	Prepared, outlined, practiced, usually from notes
Manuscript	Written, read word for word

only if it is severe or uncontrolled. A number of psychological studies have demonstrated that *moderate anxiety can be an asset in performance,* whether you are taking an examination or giving a speech.[18] You should welcome some anxiety as a possible stimulus for a better presentation. Whenever you become anxious before giving a speech, your flow of adrenalin is increased. Unfortunately, this increased source of energy often manifests itself in shaking hands and other signs of nervousness. Yet that same energy can be channeled into positive behaviors that may enhance the effectiveness of your presentation. Moderate tension can provide a creative edge, a more dynamic style of delivery, a more animated presentation. When viewed from this perspective, stage fright becomes a tool for creating a more involving presentation.

Finally, there is perhaps no better way to control anxiety than to *know that you are well prepared* for the speech event. When you have carefully analyzed your audience, engaged in thorough research, strategically structured the organizational pattern of the speech, practiced the delivery of the speech, and are committed to the ideas therein, you are in an excellent position to control your anxiety. Without such diligent preparation, however, anxieties are not only present but quite likely well founded.

Types of Delivery

There are three major styles of delivering a speech: *impromptu, extemporaneous,* and *manuscript.* We will discuss each one briefly.

Impromptu

Impromptu speeches are essentially off-the-cuff; they are delivered without preparation, other than perhaps a few minutes to organize your thoughts. As you function in professional and social groups and organizations, you are often called upon to articulate a point of view, make a brief report, or explain a procedure. More often than not, requests for these speeches arise directly within the meeting when someone needs information. While impromptu speaking is a common occurrence in daily organizational life, you should *never* elect to give an impromptu speech whenever you are asked in advance to make a speech. By definition, impromptu speaking excludes the opportunity for research, audience analysis, arranging some strategic plan, and practicing delivery. As a result, you have minimal control over most crucial speech variables.

Extemporaneous Speaking

A second type of delivery is extemporaneous. Many individuals confuse impromptu and extemporaneous speaking, believing that one does little to prepare for an extemporaneous address. On the contrary, extemporaneous delivery requires a great deal of preparation. The extemporaneous speech is carefully prepared, thoroughly outlined, practiced but not memorized, and delivered from notes.[19] When speaking extemporaneously, you commit key ideas to memory, but precise words, specific phrases, and particular examples vary during practice sessions as well as during the actual presentation of the speech. The outline used in extemporaneous speaking should meet your needs and follow the guidelines we established earlier in this chapter.

Outlines can be placed either on full sheets of paper or on four-by-six-inch note cards, depending upon a number of variables in the particular speech situation. If you plan a great deal of bodily movement, including perhaps the use of a chalkboard, it is probably best to use note cards rather than carrying sheets of paper around the room. On the other hand, papers are entirely appropriate if they are placed on the podium and left there; in fact, they allow you to visualize a greater portion of the speech in one glance. The greatest difficulty with the use of notes is preventing them from becoming a crutch, reducing eye contact and directness. When properly employed, however, the notes used for extemporaneous speaking have the potential for allowing maximum flexibility, directness, and spontaneity. This is especially likely if you use a key word outline. Your notes serve as a reminder of strategies planned and ideas developed; but you should feel able to deviate from them whenever the situation demands it. As an extemporaneous speaker, you can make structural alterations, clarify or elaborate with additional examples or illustrations, and omit unnecessary passages because you are creating the speech as you deliver it.

This is not to imply that extemporaneous speakers can do no wrong. There are times when they will flounder for precise words (and sometimes will never find them); they may ramble or use too many examples, especially of a personal nature. With appropriate criticism and guidance, however, these problems usually decrease with experience. Perhaps the greatest advantage of extemporaneous delivery is that it requires total involvement on the part of the speaker.

Speaking from a Manuscript

The final delivery mode is manuscript. You write the speech out word for word and read the manuscript to the audience. The use of the manuscript is not infrequent among business and professional speakers. Furthermore, manuscripts are often *required* whenever the speaking occasion is an especially important one. If an organizational representative is speaking on a controversial issue and the press is likely to be present, the manuscript provides a record of what the speaker actually said so that there will be minimal distortions in reporting. Within the political world, manuscript speaking is widespread. Nearly all major presidential addresses are delivered with the assistance of a manuscript. If poorly handled, however, the manuscript can become a most deadly form of delivery.

Common problems associated with manuscript speaking are limited eye contact, poor oral style, difficulties associated with reading, and inflexibility. Unless speakers practice frequently before delivering the manuscript, they are apt to become bogged down in the manuscript itself during the presentation. We have all seen speakers who are glued to their manuscript, looking up only sporadically or failing to look up at all. Without eye contact, a sense of directness and involvement cannot be effectively communicated. Actually, if manuscript speaking is to be successful, it should sound very much like a good extemporaneous speech. Its words, phrases, and sentences should have a conversational quality. All too often we write manuscript speeches as we would write essays—with long, complicated sentences and complete impersonality (for example, "one might think" rather than the more direct "you might think").

When properly used, the manuscript speech provides the opportunity for maximum speaker control. Time limitations are important and often overlooked by public speakers. By using a manuscript, you can plan precisely with regard to time, again leaving some room for "during delivery" alterations. The potential for excellence in language usage is also great with the use of the manuscript. Descriptive passages can be created with attention to color, precision, simplicity, and figurative elements. Precise verbs can be chosen and incorporated throughout the speech. The manuscript speech can become a work of art so long as you are constantly aware of the need for keeping a conversational quality. Finally, because the manuscript is ordinarily rehearsed with approximate similarity to the speech as actually presented, you should find it possible to practice the delivery with relative precision. This, in turn, makes it possible to face the speaking occasion with an increased sense of confidence.

Before we leave the specific subject of manuscript speaking, it may be appropriate here to consider a form of speaking often associated with the professional conventions of organizations. Many professional persons are asked to read scholarly or research papers at conventions several times throughout their lives. These papers are not speeches but essays, critical or methodological studies, and other forms of scientific and artistic endeavors. Audiences are usually persons quite familiar with the content and jargon of the field. Our personal experience with such "speaking" occasions reveals that, while the presented ideas are often excellent, the oral deliveries are usually less than satisfactory.

When faced with the necessity of presenting a paper in this kind of situation, it is usually best to have copies of the paper available for all audience members so they can seek out any details of interest or inquiry. It is most effective, then, to talk about the paper extemporaneously, highlighting major ideas and adjusting the style and length of the presentation to the needs of the audience and situation. Sometimes it is possible to read certain important passages off the paper, including, for example, the introduction and conclusion; seldom is it effective to read the entire paper word for word. The only exception to this is when the paper is fashioned in good oral style—that is, when it is not written as it would subsequently appear in a scholarly journal. Even then, the paper should be altered, as any manuscript speech should, whenever the situation demands it.

Characteristics of Effective Delivery

In discussing the three major styles of delivery, we have alluded to the qualities of effective delivery. In general, effective delivery in public speaking is characterized by *spontaneity, directness, flexibility,* and *involvement.*

Spontaneity is particularly important in the use of gestures and bodily movement. Neither should be planned in advance; they should emerge naturally from the speech, the enlarged conversation. Both gestures and bodily movement should reinforce the spoken words so that movement does not involve aimless wandering around the room. As a general rule, you ought to gesture whenever you feel like it, making some attempt to adjust the size of the gesture to the size of the room (the small classroom versus the five thousand-seat auditorium).

Directness is another critical quality of effective delivery. Probably the best way to communicate directly with others is to look directly into their eyes while articulating your ideas. We recognize this fact at an interpersonal level, but the importance of eye contact often escapes us when we communicate as public speakers. Whenever possible, you should strive to establish eye contact with everyone in the audience as often as possible. When speaking in a large lecture hall, it is also important to look at least in the direction of everyone in the audience.

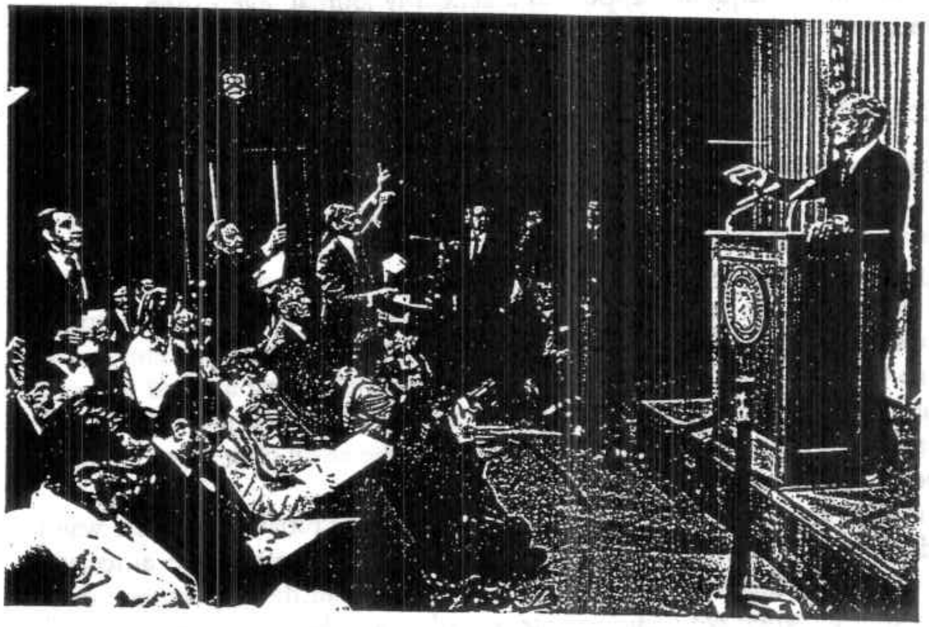
Directness can also be communicated through the language and supporting evidence used. Speaking in the second person, translating statistics into figures of direct relevance to the audience, and using examples and illustrations of great personal interest to the listeners are some approaches to stylistic directness.

Finally, directness may be demonstrated through appropriate vocal qualities. You should speak so as to be heard—but not so that you blast listeners from the room. Some speakers talk with an overly projected, artificial vocal quality, leaving the impression of a dramatic production rather than a speaking occasion. On the other hand, no one cares to listen to a monotone. Ideas are best communicated directly to audiences by speakers who employ vocal variety and expressiveness.

Flexibility is a third quality of effective delivery. To be a flexible speaker, you must be alert to information, responses, and other stimuli that might indicate a need for change in your planned strategy and choice of words. Speakers who insist on delivering the speech precisely as they have practiced it often fail to meet important needs of audience members. They are not responsive to boredom, confusion, or hostility. Thus, they say what they want to say, but the listeners cannot, will not, or do not receive the message. Once again, the most effective public speakers are usually those who are especially responsive to audience feedback.

The final important delivery characteristic is *involvement.* It is imperative that you appear concerned about your communicated message. Involvement is a total delivery

The speaker's ability to respond to audience questions has a major impact on his credibility.



concept, including eye contact, movement, word choice, and facial expression. We believe that you are committed to your ideas when you reinforce your words with appropriate nonverbal and inflectional emphasis. The speaker who says, "I couldn't believe in this more" in a deadpan manner without communicating an image of total commitment might as well say, "I couldn't care less about this"; certainly the latter is more likely the meaning the audience will perceive.

Responding to Unexpected Events

In every public speaking situation, we can never completely predict audience responses nor be completely certain of the kinds of questions audience members are likely to pose after the speech. That kind of uncertainty is part of the speech environment and should be anticipated and even welcomed. But from time to time, every speaker faces other sorts of unexpected events that may be more unsettling.

Consider some of the following examples. One woman scheduled to speak at a convention became flustered before the presentation and left all of her notes in her hotel room, several blocks from the convention center. She had planned to use extemporaneous delivery with considerable reliance on her notes. Yet only a few minutes before she was scheduled to speak, she realized her notes were missing. On a different occasion, one of the authors was planning to speak from a manuscript but arrived at the restaurant meeting room only to discover that there was no podium.

Obviously, the list of unexpected events could continue indefinitely, and that is precisely the point. Because of the endless array, you must approach each speaking situation recognizing that unforeseen events may occur. For the most part, they are the exception rather than the rule; most listeners are polite and receptive, most rooms do have podiums, and notes seldom get shuffled or lost. When unfortunate unexpected events do occur, the best approach is one of calmness, common sense, and good humor. In most instances, audience members and others who planned the program are more than happy to help you overcome a difficult situation. We have seen listeners' seats moved, podiums created out of boxes, and outside noise sources removed to accommodate the needs of the speaker. After all, the mere fact that you have been invited to address a group of listeners indicates some regard, interest, and respect for you as a person.

Responding to Questions

Every public speaker should be prepared to answer audience questions, usually following the presentation. There are situations in which the speaker encourages listeners to interrupt him or her during the speech whenever they have a question, when something is unclear, or when they simply wish to relate a personal view. The typical procedure, however, is for the speaker to present her or his ideas without interruption and entertain questions during a forum period following the speech.

No speaker should underestimate the importance of responding meaningfully to listeners' questions. In a sense, the *questioning* or *forum period* is simply an extension of the more formally structured presentation, for the skill with which questions are answered will be a major determinant of listeners' overall response to the speech. The forum period represents yet another opportunity to reinforce important ideas, build credibility, provide additional interesting information, and even deal with aspects of the topic untouched by the speech itself.

In handling the forum period procedurally, it is important that each listener hear and understand the question being answered. Sometimes it is helpful to have the questioning audience member rise and state his or her question; or if the room is especially large, you may simply repeat the question before answering it. If several persons have questions, deal with as many as time permits.

No one questioner should be allowed to dominate the forum period, nor should you pursue irrelevant questions for long. If an irrelevant issue is raised or a question so technical that you suspect only a few listeners are interested in hearing the response, you might ask the person who raised the inquiry to talk with you following the forum period. You should never attempt to fake your way through a difficult question. It is best to admit that you do not have that kind of experience or perhaps never uncovered that kind of data during your research. While continual responses of "I don't know" damage your credibility, a single admission of ignorance tends to humanize you and give you a positive mark for openness. And just as you should know how long you are expected to speak, it is equally important to learn how much time is available for answering questions. Time limits vary greatly, but whatever they are, they should be respected.

Language: Striving for Good Oral Style

When we speak of good *oral* style, we are really stressing the fact that speaking and writing are not the same. Even though both deal with words, sentences, and language in general, there are several important differences. Speakers who read from a written text often sound stuffy or overly formal. In listening to them, we may feel that their remarks really do not speak to us directly. This is especially the case if they are reading from a written report. Actually, most of the differences between oral and written style are more a matter of degree than of kind. While most people couldn't list the differences, they could easily identify a speech that violated good oral "rules."

Differences Between Oral and Written Style

Generally speaking, in contrast to written prose style, good oral style uses:

1. *More personal pronouns* (we, ours, I, mine, you, yours)
2. *More simple sentences* (Although good speakers use variety in sentence structure, they rely mostly on the simple "subject-verb-predicate" sentence structure.)
3. *Shorter sentences* (This is related to number 2 and will be elaborated shortly.)
4. *Many more rhetorical questions* (We have already discussed these as potentially good attention-getting devices to be used in the introduction. Used throughout the speech, they tend to sustain the audience's attention by challenging them to think.)
5. *More repetition of words, phrases, and sentences* (Readers can go back and reread something they have missed or focus on a phrase that strikes their fancy. Listeners cannot do this. Thus, good speakers often intentionally repeat key ideas, colorful phrases, or slogans that they want the audience to remember and ponder after the speech is over.)
6. *More monosyllabic than polysyllabic words* (As we said above, good speeches must be instantly intelligible. Listeners do not carry dictionaries in their hip pockets. It is vital, therefore, to use familiar, relatively simple words with most audiences.)
7. *More contractions* (Good public speaking should have a conversational quality. In daily conversation, we use many contractions—"I've," "you can't," "he won't," rather than "I have," "you cannot," or "he will not." Speakers sound more natural when they use contractions.)
8. *More figurative language* (By using metaphor, simile, alliteration, repetition, and other figures of speech, the public speaker makes her words more pleasing to the ear and stimulates the audience's imagination. Figures of speech also make abstract ideas concrete, add color and life to the speech, and reinforce key ideas.)[20]

Choosing Words

Certainly a primary goal of any public speaker is to be clear. One way of achieving clarity is to choose your words with great care. *Concrete words*, for example, are usually preferable to abstract words. Concrete words point to real events or objects that the audience can associate with objective experience. As your words become more and more concrete, the pictures you paint in the minds of your audience tend to become clearer and clearer. Concrete words appeal to the senses. They point to something the listeners can hear, touch, see, taste, or feel: lemon, motorcycle, boots, tea, roses, picnic table, the howl of a wolf, the smell of freshly perked coffee. Whenever you must deal with a relatively abstract concept in your speaking, you can make it clearer and more concrete by providing specific illustrations and examples.

Besides being concrete, your words should also be *simple*. Simplicity is related to clarity. When you use simple words, you avoid being vague, pretentious, or verbose. But simplicity is not the same as simpleness. In fact, many great speakers of the past, including Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, have been masters of simplicity. Although simple words are usually familiar ones as well, there are some phrases that have become clichéd by overuse. Among the *clichés that should be avoided are*

it goes without saying
after all is said and done
easier said than done
last but not least
method in his madness
more than meets the eye
ignorance is bliss
few and far between
in the final analysis
tired but happy
all in all
drastic action
reigns supreme
worked like a horse
clear as a crystal

These are only a few examples of expressions that were probably amusing and interesting at one time but are now stale from overuse.

Besides striving for concreteness and simplicity in word choice, you should also seek *precision*. Although we often speak of synonyms, rarely do we find any two words that have *exactly* the same meaning. If you looked up the following five words, you would soon discover that while each has to do with being poor, they still represent subtly different shades of meaning: *destitute, impoverished, bankrupt, impecunious,* and *needy*. Precise words are accurate. Rather than using the verb *walked,* for instance, you might describe the *way* a person walked by using such verbs as *staggered, ambled, strutted, sauntered, waddled,* or *raced*. By selecting the best word in these cases, you also eliminate unnecessary modifiers, such as, "walked *slowly*" or "walked *drunkenly*." Thus, precise language is usually compact.

Constructing Sentences

As you choose your words carefully and begin to place them into sentences, some additional guiding principles are useful. First, *construct your sentences so that the subject and the verb are close together*. This increases the intelligibility of the sentence. It is also a practical characteristic of daily conversation; therefore, it sounds more natural. Consider the following sentence in which subject and verb have been separated: "This plan, which has been tested in other companies like our own and has resulted in enormous profits, is worthy of your support." To place the subject and the verb together and thus increase the sentence's intelligibility, you might create two separate sentences, as follows: "This plan is worthy of your support. It has been tested in companies like our own and has resulted in enormous profits."

Another important guideline is to *keep your sentences relatively short,* with some variety in sentence length and type. Short sentences are easier for audiences to follow and comprehend. Supposedly, a "standard" sentence is made up of seventeen words.[21] Even so, some variety is essential. Longer sentences can be clear if properly constructed. In writing sentences, you should avoid needless repetition, unnecessary modifiers, and circumlocutions, such as "*The reason why* I think this plan will work is *because*. . . ." One of the best ways to delete unnecessary words is to *use the active voice* whenever possible. Compare the following:

"Much dissatisfaction with this new rotation schedule has been expressed by line workers." (passive voice)

"Line workers have expressed much dissatisfaction with this new rotation schedule." (active voice)

Sometimes the passive voice is unclear because it is wordy, but often it is intrinsically unclear. For example, "This product was chosen because it met governmental standards and . . ." What this sentence does not tell us is who did the choosing. Depending upon the issue being discussed, that might be very important information.

Also related to the issue of sentence length is the use of modifiers. Specifically, *use only necessary modifiers*. There are two kinds of modifiers in the English language, those that comment and those that define. Commenting modifiers include *very, most,* and *definitely*. These modifiers tell us nothing new; instead, they try to boost the meaning of the word they modify. Yet if your words are selected carefully, with a concern for precision, they should be able to stand alone without the assistance of modifiers that simply try to make their meaning more emphatic. Of course, some modifiers are essential; they tell us something we need to know. Depending upon whether a plan is described as "innovative," "costly," "sensible," or "outdated," we will and should respond differently. Defining modifiers provide information that the noun standing alone cannot convey.

Sometimes we add other kinds of unnecessary words to our sentences. Often we load up on prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, and relative pronouns that add nothing to the sentence but empty words. To be concise, you need to *eliminate* these *low information content (LIC) words* from your speaking (as well as from your writing). Business Brief 13.5 lists LIC words and phrases, specifying those that should be eliminated completely and noting how the remaining ones should be modified.

Yet another way of enhancing the intelligibility of your remarks is to *use straightforward sentences*. Sometimes we begin our sentences with an accumulation of clauses. We might say, for example, "When you try to think of a less expensive way, when you

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Examples of Low Information Content (LIC) Words and Phrases

The LIC words and phrases in this partial list are followed by an expression in parentheses (to illustrate a better way to write the phrase) or by an (X), which means that it should be dropped entirely.

actually (X)
a majority of (most)
a number of (many; several)
as a means of (for; to)
as a result (so)
as necessary (X)
at the rate of (at)
at the same time as (while)
bring to a conclusion (conclude)
by means of (by)
by use of (by)
communicate with (talk to; telephone; write to)
connected together (connected)
contact (talk to; telephone; write to)
due to the fact that (because)
during the time that (while)
end result (result)
exhibit a tendency (tend)
for a period of (for)
for the purpose of (for; to)
for this reason (because)
in an area where (where)
in an effort to (to)
in close proximity to (close to; near)
in connection with (about)
in fact (X)
in order to (to)
in such a manner as to (to)
in terms of (in; for)
in the course of (during)
in the direction of (toward)
in the event that (if)
in the form of (as)
in the neighborhood of; in the vicinity of (about; approximately; near)
involves the use of (employs; uses)
involves the necessity of (demands; requires)
is designed to be (is)
it can be seen that (thus; so)
it is considered desirable (I/we want to)
it will be necessary to (I, you, or we must)
of considerable magnitude (large)
on account of (because)
prior to (before)
subsequent to (after)
with the aid of (with)

Note: Many of these phrases start and end with little connecting words such as *as, at, by, for, in, is, it, of, to,* and *with*. This can help you to identify LIC words and phrases in your writing.

consider the issue of practicality, and when you look for a plan that is really forward-looking, I am convinced that the plan I've outlined here tonight is the one to pursue." Because of the way this sentence is constructed, audience members may never make it to the persuasive point at the end. A more straightforward way to say it is: "I am convinced that the plan I've outlined here tonight is the one to pursue. It is practical, inexpensive, and forward-looking."

Similarly, you can keep your sentences straightforward by refusing to invert them. Inverted sentence structures may look sophisticated on the page, but they are hard for listeners to follow. Here is an example: "That we have a severe morale problem, reduced productivity, and high levels of absenteeism were the findings of our recent organizational analysis." This sentence is not the kind you would utter naturally; it is contrived. Here is the same sentence, but with normal word order: "The findings of our recent organizational analysis were that we have a severe morale problem, reduced productivity, and high levels of absenteeism."

Delivery: Using Visual Aids

In each speaking situation, the need for communicating information clearly, concretely, and concisely is great. One way of doing this is through the use of visual aids. By using visual aids, you reinforce your ideas by letting your audience see them as well as hear about them. You may choose from numerous visual vehicles.

Probably the simplest and most basic is the *chalkboard*. This allows you to put diagrams and sketches on the board as an explanation unfolds. If you are counting on using a chalkboard, however, you had better check in advance to make sure the room has one. The chalkboard is a convenient and potentially effective means of depicting important data. Moving to and from the chalkboard allows you to be active in communicating your ideas. It may serve to spark your own interest, as well as the audience's. Moreover, physical activity may help you to manage any speech anxiety you are experiencing. Of course, the chalkboard has its limitations. Because it is so familiar to most audiences, it tends to be less interesting than other forms of visual aids. But if your handwriting is legible, if you are working on a clean board, and if you can practice so that you do not lose contact with the audience while you write, then the chalkboard may be a sensible choice of visual support. You can also enhance the rather ordinary appearance of most chalkboards by using several different colors of chalk. If possible, prepare the board in advance and cover it with a screen, to be lifted at the appropriate moment.

Other visual aids can be prepared in advance and brought with you to the speaking event. For example, if you want to use color or a sophisticated design, you may elect *posterboard drawings* as a presentational aid. These can be prepared in advance and can be as professional and impressive as budget and talent will allow. Since posterboards can be somewhat clumsy to handle, especially if two or more are used during the presentation, you may want to use a *flipchart*. With this method, you place the drawings on a rather large tablet and display them on a convenient frame that facilitates movement from one drawing to the next. It is also possible to use *flannel boards* to create a picture during the presentation by adding relevant elements as you discuss them, rather than unveiling the entire visual at once. This visual aid encourages listeners to follow you progressively as you discuss an idea or sequence of events point by point. Finally, if you need to demonstrate a progression of information, you may choose to use the *cutaway,* a visual aid that begins with a basic outline or simple picture and adds parts to it so that it progresses into a complex drawing. A speaker explaining the value of specific features of a particular automobile design might find a cutaway useful to depict, first, the basic car body. The speaker might then add each part one by one so that, eventually, the automobile is completed. Cutaways are rather difficult to construct. If you want to use one, you may have to consult the design department of your organization for assistance.

On occasion, you may decide to prepare copies of a *handout* to aid the audience's comprehension. These are especially useful when you are referring to extensive lists of figures, such as budgetary statements in the context of a technical report. You can also use handouts to outline essential information to which the audience can refer during subsequent decision-making sessions. By using handouts, you reduce the need for audience notetaking. Thus, listeners can devote greater attention to your ideas. The handout serves as an outline for you, potentially assisting you in your organization and delivery. While many teachers have discovered the virtues of the handout, in general, duplicated materials tend to be underused by speakers. When using handouts, you should pass them out at the moment you plan to discuss them (not in advance) and make sure that copies are available for everyone.

A final kind of frequently used visual aid is the *model.* Models may be either *single-dimensional* or *three-dimensional,* depending on the subject of the presentation. In chapter 1, we presented a single-dimensional model depicting the role that communication plays in organizational life. These models are typically rather simple and straightforward. Three-dimensional models, on the other hand, are miniatures of the real, often larger, object. Suppose an architect has been asked to make a presentation in which he is to discuss his concept of a new museum. He may elect to construct a three-dimensional model of the proposed building so that the audience will have a precise picture of the structure he envisions. One major advantage of these models is the clarity and precision with which they allow you to demonstrate your ideas.

Depicting Statistics

In most speaking situations, you will find yourself using statistics as support from time to time. Visual aids can often help you to present statistical information clearly and concisely. One common method is to use *summary tables.* These tables allow you to analyze raw data and present the data's major conclusions in such a way that important relationships are clarified. Table 13.1 provides an illustration of a summary table. In this example, assume that the speaker is describing a problem that has developed in the financial stability of one branch of the organization's clothing stores. In the

Table 13.1 A Comparison of the Fashion Corner with the Fashion Nook in Terms of the Average Number of Different Garments Sold Daily

Garment Types	Average Number Sold Daily Fashion Corner	Fashion Nook
Dresses	11	24
Coats	2	7
Blouses	8	16
Slacks	12	22
Pantsuits	3	13

summary table, she is comparing the average number of garments sold per day in the problem store (Fashion Corner) with the average number sold daily in a successful branch in a similar town (Fashion Nook).

Statistical summary tables may contain only one main idea, or they may be more complicated and introduce several summaries. Even with relatively sophisticated audiences, however, you should not attempt to crowd too much information onto one summary table. Fairly complicated summary tables should be presented on handouts, or the data should be separated so that it is depicted on several different tables.

Another common method for presenting statistical summaries is by a *graph*. A graph is a representation of numbers by geometric figures drawn to scale.[22] Speakers often use graphs to make statistical information more vivid and to depict relationships. Two of the more familiar and useful kinds of graphs are line and bar graphs. *Line graphs* are especially useful for depicting comparative relationships through time. Many business and professional presentations focus on information relating to time-based trends—for example, comparing gross or net profits, production, or wages. As a result, the line graph is one of the more useful tools of the presentational speaker. Figure 13.1 presents an example of a line graph depicting gross income.

It is possible to place more than one curve on a single graph, but it may be at the expense of clarity. Moreover, you should recognize that a trend can be distorted simply by compressing or elongating the space allotted to time periods, while keeping the other dimension of the graph constant. The ethical speaker will not knowingly distort a trend simply to dramatize a particular point.

The other kind of commonly used graph is the *bar graph*. These graphs usually depict quantity. Thus, a simple bar graph literally uses bars to indicate amounts and is well suited to presenting comparative statistics. Figure 13.2 depicts comparisons of worker productivity, focusing on five known time periods and one projected one.

Bar graphs are particularly useful as visual aids in that they can be made large enough for the audience to see and easily understand the point being made. As with the line graph, it is possible to depict a number of different statistical comparisons simultaneously on the same bar graph, often through the use of different colors or shadings. Once again, however, when a graph is shown from the front of the room, simplicity should be sought to avoid confusion.

Figure 13.1
Line graph of gross income.

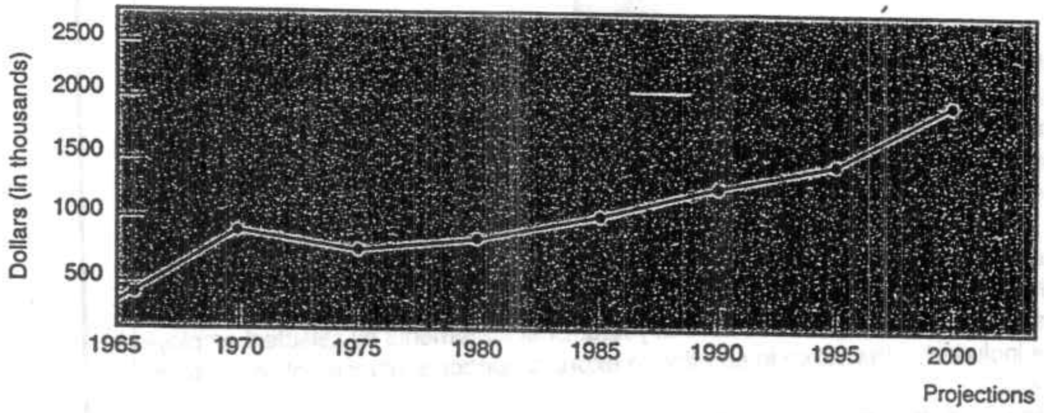
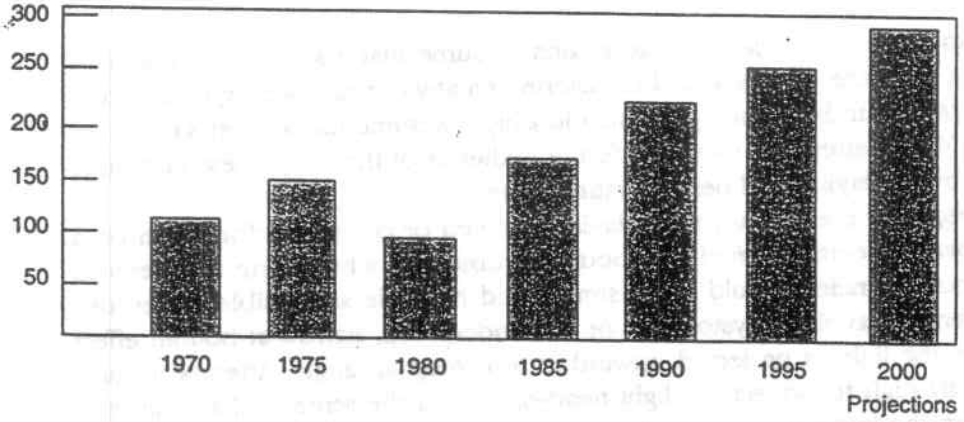


Figure 13.2
Bar graph of worker productivity.



Other Visual Devices

There are many other types of visual aids from which to choose. *Maps*, for example, can be used in a great variety of ways. They are particularly useful if you are dealing with geographical locations. Locations are often important when you are addressing issues such as sales progress in different territories, when the company is considering opening branch offices, and when specific populations are concentrated. As visual aids, maps should be prepared with care to add color and clarity to the presentation.

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When McDonnell Douglas was forced to lay off many of its employees, it made extensive use of video as a communication tool. In a tape sent to 100,000 employees, John F. McDonnell, chairman of the company, used a series of charts and graphs to describe the company's financial difficulties and explain the reasons behind his decision to lay off 17,000 workers.

The video, along with a series of "town hall" meetings between McDonnell and employees, were part of a strategy to regain the support and confidence of employees who had become progressively less productive and made an increasing number of on-the-job mistakes over the previous several years. Brief statements by selected employees also were included in the video in an effort to express concerns other employees might have as well.

These efforts drew positive reactions. Some felt it was an effective way of sending warnings to less productive employees, and one employee remarked that the video could signal a new approach to management-employee relations throughout the company.

From Stephen Franklin, "New Candor in the Air at McDonnell Douglas," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 September, 1990, Sec. 4, p. 1.

You can also use actual *objects* as visual aids. Assume that a speaker is proposing the adoption of a new line of toys aimed at fostering creativity and teaching certain critical concepts, such as numbers and spatial relationships. Assume further that samples of these toys exist. What better way to persuade the audience of the uniqueness and value of the toys than by displaying and demonstrating them?

Overhead projectors are useful for displaying detailed or complex information on a large screen. However, certain principles should be observed when using an overhead projector. The transparencies should be as simple and readable as possible. When displaying transparencies, avoid "keystoning," or the wide-at-top, narrow-at-bottom effect that occurs when the light is projected upward at too steep an angle. Attempt to have the lens sufficiently high to project the light head-on, and if the screen is hanging from the ceiling, secure the bottom to the wall behind it to create an appropriate angle. In addition, stand next to the screen, not the machine, when speaking (thereby presenting a unified image to the audience), and be sure you do not stand between audience members and the projected image. When using a pointer, do not hold it over the platform of the machine (thereby magnifying by a thousand times any shakiness of the hands you are experiencing); instead, point directly to the screen.

When changing transparencies, try to accomplish the switch quickly and smoothly so that the audience is not blinded by a bath of hot, white light between every slide. Try to avoid "lightheads," or askewed positioning of the overheads, by placing each squarely on the machine.

Slide projectors are particularly useful in showing pictures or delivering presentations that must be repeated in the future. For maximum effectiveness, slide presentations should be planned in advance to maintain a relatively steady pace. As each new slide is shown, allow a moment of silence so the audience has an opportunity to grasp its contents, then describe and discuss what they are viewing. In addition, avoid turning your back to the audience and talking to the screen; glance at the screen to determine what slide is showing, and then speak directly to the audience as you provide added information.

Finally, with increasingly sophisticated technology, *electronic presentation systems* are becoming widely available. These include an array of electronic aids that can be used to enhance oral presentations. For instance, some presentational rooms are now equipped with a multipurpose, large projection screen. The speaker uses one centralized system to shift among color slides, overhead transparencies, videotapes, and computer graphics—all of which are projected onto the large screen. Even in more traditional rooms, software can still be used to generate computer graphics. Some are predicting a revolution in this area.[23] For instance, cumulative graphics (for example, ones that start with an empty pie and add pieces) and dynamic (moving) graphics are already available. Standard graphics packages offer about sixteen colors from which to select, but one package offers nearly a thousand colors.[24]

Some Practical Considerations

Regardless of the type of visual aid you choose to clarify the presentation, here are some general guidelines you should follow:

1. *Use visual aids only when they are justified.* Some speakers try to jazz up their presentations by using visual aids. But unnecessary visual aids can annoy or distract an audience as easily as persuade them. Visual aids should be used to clarify, to make more concrete, or to demonstrate something that is difficult to describe without them. They should reinforce main points to help the audience understand and remember them.
2. *Don't hesitate to use essential visual aids.* You cannot tell an audience what a proposed budget is "like." To be clear and complete, you must present it in detail visually, usually by providing a handout. Similarly, it would be foolish to describe a building plan, a surgical procedure, or an automobile design without the aid of visuals.
3. *Your visual aids should be large enough so that each member of the audience can see and decipher them with ease.* A visual aid that cannot be seen is actually a hindrance and would best be omitted entirely.
4. *Your visual aids should be clear and, if appropriate, colorful.* Your writing or printing should be neat and clear. In general, a black-and-white chart is not nearly so striking as one that includes red, purple, or blue. Whatever color scheme you choose, your visual aid should enhance clarity and be pleasing to the eye.
5. *Your visual aids should be simple.* The inclusion of many complicated details will serve only to distract the audience and obscure the point being made. In general, it is best to illustrate only the essentials, with one concept featured with each diagram.

6. *Consider the needs of each audience member in presenting your visuals.* It is quite possible for the visual aid to be large enough, but due to nervousness or insensitivity on the part of the speaker, many listeners are never given the opportunity to see it. Visual aids should be placed high enough so that those in the front of the room do not obstruct the view of those in the back. On other occasions, it may be necessary to turn the aid and display it at varied angles so that all persons in the room can see it with ease.
7. *Do not inadvertently obscure the view of your visual aid by standing in front of it.* Often a part of the graph or chart is hidden from some of the audience, but those individuals cannot be rationalized out of existence—particularly since they could be critical group leaders! There is often a tendency, when writing on the chalkboard, to hide a great deal of the writing with one's body while, at the same time, talking to the board rather than to the audience.
8. *Point to the part of the visual aid you are discussing.* In this way, you can help the audience follow your remarks. You can point by using your finger or, with large visual aids, a pointer.
9. *Visual aids should be displayed only when they are being discussed in the presentation.* When you are finished with them, remove them from view. When visual aids are randomly displayed at the beginning of the presentation or left in view after they have functioned as aids, you are inviting the audience to continue to look at the visual and ignore your message.
10. *Practice with your visual aid before the presentation.* Make sure you are comfortable with the equipment. More important, be sure you can move smoothly from your notes at the podium to the visual aid and back again without losing either your composure or your sense of directness with the audience.

Visual aids are potentially useful supportive devices for the presentation of speeches. Not every speaker should use them, but most presentations would benefit from their skillful use. The careful preparation of visual materials is simply one way for the speaker to demonstrate a concern for clarity, precision, and concreteness. When properly prepared, visual aids should, as the name suggests, *aid* audience comprehension. Furthermore, they indicate that you believe you are engaging in a significant form of organizational communication.

Summary

There are many reasons why public speakers fail to communicate effectively. Chief among them is the speaker being perceived by the audience as disorganized. Poor organization leaves the audience feeling confused and frustrated. What were the speaker's *main* ideas? How did the arguments progress throughout the speech? How were the main points related? Did the speech hang together so that it seemed like a coherent whole? What information or arguments should be remembered? If the answers to these questions are unclear, the speaker probably had some difficulty organizing his or her thoughts—or difficulty communicating them to the audience in a way that let them see the speech's underlying logic and coherence.

Organizing your speech into a form well suited to the audience's needs and your specific purpose is a step crucial to your success as a public speaker. Your task is to choose a pattern of organization that makes sense in terms of your overall speaking strategy. One useful tool for accomplishing this is the outline. By outlining, you can begin to put your ideas down on paper and examine the way your speech is developing. Later, you can use the outline to assist you in delivering your speech extemporaneously.

For most public speaking contexts, the extemporaneous style of delivery is best. Extemporaneous delivery allows you to be direct with your audience, as well as flexible and spontaneous. In general, these qualities will serve you well as you speak within your organization or as a representative of your organization addressing the general public. Through extemporaneous delivery, you are also more likely to use conversational language, so that your sentences are less stilted and your word choice is simple and appropriate. One hazard associated with extemporaneous delivery, however, is that your word choice may be less than perfect, and occasionally your sentences may ramble. As you speak more and more frequently and as you work to improve over time (using the criteria outlined in this chapter), your oral style will surely improve.

Finally, using carefully prepared visual aids is an excellent way to enhance your speech. With visual aids, you can highlight your main ideas, depict statistics, picture things that otherwise have to be imagined, and show the audience that you did, in fact, prepare very well for your presentation. Almost any speech can benefit from the use of at least one visual aid. As with other aspects of your speech, visual aids will be more effective if they are prepared well in advance (using the criteria discussed in this chapter) and if you practice using them *before* you deliver your speech. Visual aids are a virtual requirement in certain types of speech situations, such as those involving sales or proposal presentations. In our last chapter, we turn our attention to some of these special kinds of public speaking contexts.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are some of the elements of an effective speech introduction? Be specific. What are some methods of gaining the audience's attention? Cite examples whenever possible.
2. What are some speech topics that would be well suited to each of the following patterns of organization?
    a. chronological order
    b. spatial order
    c. topical order
    d. cause-and-effect order
    e. problem-solution order
3. Discuss the basic characteristics of good speech conclusions. What are some specific devices that might be used to conclude speeches? Examples?

4. Describe the components of a good speech outline. In what ways do you see outlines as important?
5. Refute or defend the following: "Stage fright is a nearly universal phenomenon." Cite evidence to support your position. What are some strategies for developing confidence as a public speaker?
6. Compare and contrast impromptu and extemporaneous speaking. What are the conditions under which each is appropriately used?
7. If given the choice, would you elect to speak extemporaneously or from a manuscript? Why? How would you prepare for the mode of delivery you have chosen?
8. What are some problems you might anticipate with regard to answering questions after a speech? How might you cope with each? Again, be specific.
9. List some of the differences between oral and written style. What happens when a public speaker violates the "rules" of good oral style?
10. What are some of the characteristics of good word choice and sound sentence structure? Cite examples of each quality you name.
11. List several guidelines for the effective use of visual aids.

Exercises

1. Choose one of the following topics. Assume that you have been assigned to speak on this chosen topic to your classroom audience. Compose a good introduction and conclusion. Select a basic purpose for your speech. Then choose a tentative strategy of organization for the body and outline it briefly. Discuss the reasoning behind your choices.
   a. grade inflation
   b. the job market
   c. reverse discrimination
   d. the institution of marriage
   e. accomplishments of the present federal administration
   f. United Way
   g. ethics in advertising
   h. heart disease
   i. sugar in the diet
   j. postretirement years
   k. exercise
2. Take a topic of your choice and deliver it to the classroom audience using extemporaneous delivery. Try to capitalize on the qualities of effective delivery that are particularly well suited to the extemporaneous mode of delivery. If possible, ask your instructor to make a videotape of your speaking so that you can later watch yourself and gain from self-analysis. At the very least, ask the audience to focus specifically on your delivery and how it might be improved.
3. Choose another speech topic and develop it into a manuscript speech. Be sure to guard against composing it like an essay rather than a speech, and practice it several times so that you can overcome some of the problems associated with manuscript speaking. Then follow the same procedure in delivering the speech outlined above. Which mode of delivery do you prefer, or does it depend on the context, topic, and so forth?

4. After each of the speeches, allow the audience to ask you questions. In answering them, make every effort to follow the guidelines established in the chapter. After the question-and-answer period, ask the class to evaluate that part of your speaking as well. To what extent, for example, did your responding to questions contribute to your clarity, credibility, and responsiveness?
5. Go to the library and look up *Vital Speeches of the Day*. Select any speech delivered during the past two years. Make a copy of it. Then determine to what extent the speaker used good oral style. Mark specific instances where either word choice or sentence structure is especially good or bad. Then write a brief speech analysis in which you discuss the extent to which the speaker developed her or his speech using good oral style. Be sure to define the criteria you use to assess oral style.

THE SOUL OF A NEW MACHINE

It had been painful for West and for a number of engineers working with him at Westborough to watch DEC's VAX go to market, to hear it described as "a breakthrough," and not have a brand-new machine of their own to show off. It had been painful for them to read in the trade press of the VAX's growing success; VAX was beginning to look like one of those best-sellers that come along only once in a while. But by the fall of 1978 West had drawn around him a team of enthusiastic engineers and they were finally working on their own supermini, which they had nicknamed Eagle. A new computer, especially one of this class, does not get built in a month. Often it takes years to bring one to life. But it wasn't too late, West was saying. Not if they could build this computer in the record time of something like a year. This was at last "the right machine." This was "the answer to VAX." At times West fancied that this computer would become the source of Data General's continued ascent in the Fortune 500. "This is the second billion," he said. His doubts he did not share widely.

Some of the engineers closest to West suspected that if he weren't given a crisis to deal with once in a while, he would create one. To them he seemed so confident and happy in an emergency. But as for this big crisis in the little world of Westborough engineering, although West had made it his own, no one could say he had invented it.

Why had Data General failed to produce a rival to VAX? When trade journalists asked this question, Data General put on a bold face of course, and suggested in essence that all was proceeding according to plan. In fact, years before the appearance of VAX, Data General engineers had foreseen the advent of such machines. For about five years they had been trying to produce one of their own. But there had been problems. They had made some false starts, and the engineers involved had been arguing over who was going to produce this new machine and what it would be.

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Matters proceeded so informally and with such speed that there would never be any way of telling afterward where all of the first technical solutions to the problem of making a 32-bit Eclipse came from. But it was West who gathered them together. Soon he began an in-house PR campaign that would not end for a long time.

Carl Alsing participated in the beginnings of West's proselytizing. Among other acts, Alsing gave the new, unbuilt machine the code name Eagle. Mostly, though, he observed. Alsing was by temperament a watcher, a moviegoer. He had been with West longer than anyone else in the Eclipse Group. He felt that he knew West and then again he felt that he didn't. West launching Eagle was to Alsing something worth watching. For example, the meeting West set up with the vice presidents of engineering and software. West took Alsing along. The way it looked to Alsing, West brought two proposals to the VPs. One of these was an obvious loser and the other was Eagle. "West's letting them pick Eagle," thought Alsing, and he smiled.

"West's never unprepared in any kind of meeting. He doesn't talk fast or raise his voice. He conveys — it's not enthusiasm exactly, it's the intensity of someone who's weathering a storm and showing us the way out. He's saying, 'Look, we gotta move this way.' Then once he gets the VPs to say it sounds good, Tom goes to some of the software people and some of his own people. 'The bosses are signed up for this,' he tells them. 'Can I get you signed up to do your part?' He goes around and hits people one at a time, gets 'em enthused. They say, 'Ahhh, it sounds like you're just gonna put a bag on the side of the Eclipse,' and Tom'll give 'em his little grin and say, 'It's more than that, we're really gonna build this fucker and it's gonna be fast as greased lightning.' He tells them, 'We're gonna do it by April.' That's less than a year away, but never mind. Tom's message is: 'Are you guys gonna do it or sit on your ass and complain?' It's a challenge he throws at them.

Alsing went on: "West brought us out of our depression into the honesty of pure work. He put new life into a lot of people's jobs, I think."

Not everyone associated with the Eclipse Group liked the looks of this proposed new machine. They thought it would be just a refinement of the Eclipse, which was itself a refinement of the NOVA. "A wart on a wart on a wart," one engineer said. "A bag on the side of the Eclipse." Some even said that it would be a "kludge," and this was the unkindest cut. *Kludge* is perhaps the most disdainful term in the computer engineer's vocabulary: it conjures up visions of a machine with wires hanging out of it, of things fastened together with adhesive tape.

So some engineers dropped out of the project right away. To the remainder and to new recruits, West preached whatever gospel seemed most likely to stir up enthusiasm. It would be an opportunity for them to "get a machine out the door with their names on it."

Rosemarie Seale, the group's main secretary, felt excitement in the air. She, for one, took West's exhortations to heart. She resolved to do whatever she could in order to keep bureaucratic and trivial affairs from distracting these youngsters on their crucial mission. Her spirit never flagged, but from time to time she did wonder why, if this project was so important to the company, so few people in other departments seemed to recognize the fact. Why, for instance, was it allowed that the mailroom be moved in the midst of the project, creating the risk that vital mail would be held up? To prevent that sort of small catastrophe, for several weeks she would go to the mailroom daily and sort through the mail herself. Likewise, why would the carpenters be allowed to come in during a particularly delicate phase of the Eagle project and totally remodel the Eclipse Group's office space?

The answer, one possible answer, was that West had two ways of describing Eagle. One way made it sound important and glorious; the other, like something routine. West explained: "You gotta distinguish between the internal promotion to the actual workers and the promoting we did externally to other parts of the company. Outside the group I tried to low-key the thing. I tried to dull the impression that this was a competing product with North Carolina. I tried to sell it externally as not much of a threat. I was selling insurance; this would be there if something went wrong in North Carolina. It was just gonna be a fast, Eclipse-like machine. This was the only way it was gonna live. We had to get the resources quietly, without creating a big brouhaha, and it's difficult to get a lot of external cooperation under those circumstances."

Here's how it looked to West: The company could not afford to field two new big computers; Data General had made a large investment in North Carolina as a place where major computers would be built; and although the Eclipse Group's engineers had good technical reputations, North Carolina's had better ones. The game was fixed for North Carolina and all the support groups knew it.

So West started out by calling Eagle "insurance" — it would be there in case something went wrong down south. Thus he avoided an open fight and thus he could argue that the support groups should hedge their bets and put at least a little effort into this project, too. As for North Carolina's superior reputation, West never stopped suggesting to people around Westborough that their talents had been slighted. His message was: "Let's show 'em what we can do."

"West takes lemons and makes lemonade," observed Alsing.

Between the summer of 1978 and the fall of that year, West's team roughly doubled in size. To the dozen or so old hands — old in a relative sense — were added about a dozen neophytes, fresh from graduate schools of electrical engineering and computer science. These newcomers were known as "the kids." West was the boss, and he had a sort of adjutant — an architect of the electronic school — and two main lieutenants, each of whom had a sublieutenant or two. One lieutenant managed the crew that worked on the hardware, the machine's actual circuitry, and the members of this crew were called, and called themselves, "the Hardy Boys." The other main part of the team worked on microcode, a synaptic language that would fuse the physical machine with the programs that would tell it what to do. To join this part of the group, which Alsing ran, was to become one of "the Microkids." There were also a draftsman and some technicians. The group's numbers changed from time to time, generally diminishing, as people dropped out. But usually they totaled about thirty.

How was it to be one of "the kids"? You were in no danger of being fired, but you didn't know that, and besides, when you are brand-new in a job you want to make a good impression right from the start. So you set out to get to know your boss, as Hardy Boy Dave Epstein did. You walk into his office and say, "Hi, I'm Dave," and you begin to extend your hand. Epstein would never forget that experience: "West just sat there and stared at me. After a few seconds, I decided I'd better get out of there."

But where did the relish in their voices come from?

At the start of the project, a newcomer could expect to earn something like $20,000 a year, while a veteran such as Alsing might make a little more than $30,000 — and those figures grew enormously at Data General and elsewhere over the next few years. But they received no extra pay for working overtime. The old hands had also received some stock options, but most seemed to view the prospect of stock as a mere sweetener, and most agreed with Ken Holberger, sublieutenant of Hardy Boys, who declared, "I don't work for money."

Some of the recruits said they liked the atmosphere. Microkid Dave Keating, for instance, had looked at other companies, where de facto dress codes were in force. He liked the "casual" look of the basement of Westborough. "The jeans and so on." Several talked about their "flexible hours." "No one keeps track of the hours we work," said Ken Holberger. He grinned. "That's not altruism on Data General's part. If anybody kept track, they'd have to pay us a hell of a lot more than they do." Yet it is a fact, not entirely lost on management consultants, that some people would rather work twelve hours a day of their own choosing than eight that are prescribed. Provided, of course, that the work is interesting. That was the main thing.

A couple of the Microkids were chatting. They talked about the jobs they had turned down.

"At IBM we wouldn't have gotten on a project this good. They don't hand out projects like this to rookies."

"They don't hand out projects like this to rookies anywhere but Data General."

"I got an offer at IBM to work on a memory chip, to see what could be done about improving its performance. Here I got an offer to work on a major new machine, which was gonna be the backbone of company sales. I'd get to do *computer* design. It wasn't hard to make that choice."

There was, it appeared, a mysterious rite of initiation through which, in one way or another, almost every member of the team passed. The term that the old hands used for this rite — West invented the term, not the practice — was "signing up." By signing up for the project you agreed to do whatever was necessary for success. You agreed to forsake, if necessary, family, hobbies, and friends — if you had any of these left (and you might not if you had signed up too many times before). From a manager's point of view, the practical virtues of the ritual were manifold. Labor was no longer coerced. Labor volunteered. When you signed up you in effect declared, "I want to do this job and I'll give it my heart and soul." It cut another way. The vice president of engineering, Carl Carman, who knew the term, said much later on: "Sometimes I worry that I pushed too hard. I tried not to push any harder than I would on myself. That's why, by the way, you have to go through the sign-up. To be sure you're not conning anybody."

The rite was not accomplished with formal declarations, as a rule. Among the old hands, a statement such as "Yeah, I'll do that" could constitute the act of signing up, and often it was done tacitly — as when, without being ordered to do so, Alsing took on the role of chief recruiter.

The old hands knew the game and what they were getting into. The new recruits, however, presented some problems in this regard.

The demand for young computer engineers far exceeded the supply. The competition for them was fierce. What enticements could the Eclipse Group offer to the ones they wanted that companies such as IBM could not? Clearly, West and Alsing agreed, their strongest pitch would be the project itself. Alsing reasoned as follows: "Engineering school prepares you for big projects, and a lot of guys wind up as transformer designers. It's a terrible letdown, I think. They end up with some rote engineering job with some thoroughly known technology that's repetitive, where all you have to do is look up the answers in books." By contrast, Alsing knew, it was thought to be a fine thing in the fraternity of hardware engineers — in the local idiom, it was "the sexy job" —

to be a builder of new computers, and the demand for opportunities to be a maker of new computers also exceeded the supply. West put it this way: "We had the best high-energy story to tell a college graduate. They'd all heard about VAX. Well, we were gonna build a thirty-two-bit machine less expensive, faster and so on. You can sign a guy up to that any day of the year. And we got the best there was."

But the new recruits were going to be asked to work at a feverish pace almost at once. They'd have no time to learn the true meaning of signing up on their own. They had to be carefully selected and they had to be warned. Common decency and the fear of having to feel lingering guilt demanded that this be done.

"West's not a technical genius. He's perfect for making it all work. He's gotta move forward. He doesn't put off the tough problem, the way I do. He's fearless, he's a great politician, he's arbitrary, sometimes he's ruthless." Alsing laced his hands together so that his knuckles made an arch, on which he rested his chin. Why was West so obsessed about this machine? How would it all end? Sometimes, Alsing said, he felt he had joined up mainly to find out. He went on: "I screamed and hollered over NAND gates and microinstructions with the first Eclipse, but I'm too old to feel that way about computers now. This would be crashingly dull if I was doing it for someone else. West is interesting. He's the main reason why I do what I do."

From the start of Eagle, Alsing disengaged himself from much of the technical work on the machine. He was running the Microteam, but from a little distance. Eagle would contain more code than any Data General machine before it — as much code as Alsing had written in his entire career. Alsing could not write all of it, even if there were time. He simply could not generate the excitement he used to feel about gates and bits. Moreover, he believed that since he could not write all of the code, then he couldn't write any of it. These new kids, he saw, approached the job in a way he never had. They worked steadily, day after day, night after night. That was fortunate, for the sake of the team. Alsing admired their discipline. He believed that it exceeded his by far. So he left the writing of the code to half a dozen new recruits, and most of the supervision of their work to submanagers.

WEST OFTEN SAID that they were playing a game, called getting a machine out the door of Data General with their names on it. What were the rules?

"There's a thing you learn at Data General, if you work here for any period of time," said West's lieutenant of hardware, Ed Rasala. "That nothing ever happens unless you push it." To at least some people upstairs, this condition took the name "competition for resources." As a strategy of management, it has a long lineage. "*Throw down a challenge*," writes Dale Carnegie in that venerable bible of stratagems dressed up as homilies, *How to Win Friends and Influence People.*

In a sense, the competition between Eagle and North Carolina was institutionalized; each project lay in the domain of a different vice president. But that may have been accidental. West's boss, who was the vice president of engineering, Carl Carman, remarked that he had worked at IBM and that compared to competition among divisions there, rivalry among engineering teams at Data General resembled "Sunday school." Moreover, Carman said, in a company with a "mature product line" like Data General's, situations naturally occur in which not enough large new computers are needed for every team of computer builders to put one of its own out the door. "And yeah," Carman continued, "the competition is fostered." He said that de Castro liked to see a little competition stirred up among teams. Let them compete with their ideas for new products, and bad ideas, as well as the negative points of good ones, are likely to get identified inside the company and not out in the marketplace. That was the general strategy, Carman said. What it now meant downstairs, to the Eclipse Group, was that they not only had to invent their new computer but also had to struggle for the resources to build it. Resources meant, among other things, the active cooperation of such so-called support groups as Software. You had to persuade such groups that your idea had merit and would get out the door, or else you wouldn't get much help — and then your machine almost certainly *wouldn't* get out the door.

From the first rule — that you must compete for resources — it followed that if your group was vying with another for the right to get a new machine out the door, then you had to promise to finish yours sooner, or at least just as soon as the other team promised. West had said that the Eclipse Group would do EGO in a year. North Carolina had said, okay, they'd finish their machine in a year. In turn, West had said that Eagle would come to life in a year. West said he felt he had to pursue "what's-the-earliest-date-by-which-you-can't-prove-you-won't-be-finished" scheduling in this case. "We have to do it in a year to have any chance." But you felt obliged to set such a schedule anyway, in order to demonstrate to the ultimate bosses strong determination.

Promising to achieve a nearly impossible schedule was a way of signing up — the subject of the third rule, as I saw it. Signing up required, of course, that you fervently desire the right to build your machine and that you do whatever was necessary for success, including putting in lots of overtime, for no extra pay.

The fourth rule seemed to say that if the team succeeded, those who had signed up would get a reward. Not one in the group felt certain that stock options were promised in case of success. "But it sure as hell was suggested!" said one of the Microkids. All members of the team insisted that with or without the lure of gold, they would have worked hard. But for a while, at least, the implied promise did boost spirits, which were generally high anyway.

At last, by the fall of 1978, the preliminaries were complete. The kids had been hired, the general sign-up had been performed, the promises suggested, and the escape valve established. Then West turned up the steam.

You're a Microkid, like Jon Blau. You arrived that summer and now you've learned how to handle Trixie. Your immediate boss, Chuck Holland, has given you a good overall picture of the microcode to be written, and he's broken down the total job into several smaller ones and has offered you your choice. You've decided that you want to write the code for many of the arithmetic operations in Eagle's instruction set. You always liked math and feel that this will help you understand it in new, insightful ways. You've started working on your piece of the puzzle. You can see that it's a big job, but you know you can do it. Right now you're doing a lot of reading, to prepare yourself. Then one day you're sitting at your desk studying Booth's algorithm, a really nifty procedure for doing multiplication, when Alsing comes by and tells you, "There's a meeting."

You troop into a conference room with most of the other new hirees, joking, feeling a little nervous, and there waiting for you are the brass: the vice president of engineering, another lower-level but important executive, and West, sitting in a corner chewing on a toothpick. The speeches are brief. Listening intently, you hear all about the history of 32-bit superminis. These have been around awhile, but sales are really picking up. DEC's starting to turn out VAXes like jelly beans, and the word is DEC'll probably introduce a new model of VAX in about nine months. No one's saying it's your fault, but Eagle's late, very late. It really must be designed and brought to life and be ready to go by April. Really. In just six months. That won't be easy, but the brass think you can do it. That's why you were hired — you're the cream of a very fine crop. Everything depends on you now, they say.

You feel good about yourself and what you're doing when you leave that meeting. You go right back to your desk, of course, and pick up Booth's algorithm. In a little while, though, you feel you need a break. You look around for another Microkid to share coffee with you. But everyone is working, assiduously, peering into manuals and cathode-ray tubes. You go back to your reading. Then suddenly, you feel it, like a little trickle of sweat down your back. "I've gotta hurry," you say to yourself. "I've gotta get this reading done and write my code. This is just one little detail. There's a hundred of these. I better get this little piece of code done today."

Practically the next time you look up, it's midnight, but you've done what you set out to do. You leave the basement thinking: "This is life. Accomplishment. Challenges. I'm in control of a crucial part of this big machine." You look back from your car at the blank, brick, monolithic back of Building 14A/B and say to yourself, "What a great place to work." Tomorrow you'll have to get to work on an instruction called FFAS. That shouldn't be too hard. When you wake up the next morning, however, FFAS is upon you. "Oh my God! FFAS. They need that code next week. I better hurry."

"The pressure," said Blau. "I felt it from inside of me."

In another cubicle, around this time, Dave Epstein of the Hardy Boys is dreaming up the circuits of a thing called the Microsequencer. Nothing else will work without this piece of hardware.

Some weeks ago, Ed Rasala asked Epstein, "How long will it take you?"

Epstein replied, "About two months."

"Two months?" Rasala said. "Oh, come on."

So Epstein told him, "Okay, six weeks."

Epstein felt as if he were writing his own death warrant. Six weeks didn't look like enough time, so he's been staying here half the night working on the thing, and it's gone faster than he thought it would. This has made him so happy that just a moment ago he went down the hall and told Rasala, "Hey, Ed, I think I'm gonna do it in four weeks."

"Oh, good," Rasala said.

Now, back in his cubicle, Epstein has just realized, "I just signed up to do it in four weeks."

Better hurry, Dave.

"I don't know if I'm complaining, though," says Epstein. "I don't think I am. I work well under pressure." Indeed, Epstein will finish on schedule and his design will turn out to be almost errorless.

But not everyone works well under such conditions. Not everyone thinks it is worth it. A couple of engineers have already dropped out. A few are less than happy. One Hardy Boy, Josh Rosen, looks around and can hardly believe what he sees. For example, Microkids and Hardy Boys are arguing. A Microkid wants the hardware to perform a certain function. A Hardy Boy tells him, "No way — I already did my design for microcode to do that." They make a deal: "I'll encode this for you, if you'll do this other function in hardware." "All right."

What a way to design a computer! "There's no grand design," thinks Rosen. "People are just reaching out in the dark, touching hands." Rosen is having some problems with his own piece of the design. He knows he can solve them, if he's just given the time. But the managers keep saying, "There's no time." Okay. Sure. It's a rush job. But this is ridiculous. No one seems to be in control; nothing's ever explained. Foul up, however, and the managers come at you from all sides.

"The whole management structure," said Rosen. "Anyone in Harvard Business School would have barfed."

West figured that the Eclipse Group had to show quick and constant progress in order to get the various arms of the company increasingly interested in helping out. For public relations, and maybe in order to keep the pressure on his crew, he made extravagant claims. He always pushed them one step ahead of themselves. Before Wallach finished specifying the architecture, West had the team designing the boards that would implement the architecture; before the engineers cleaned up their designs, West was ordering wire-wrapped, prototype boards; before the wire-wraps could possibly be made right, he was arranging for the making of printed-circuit boards; and long before anyone could know whether Eagle would become a functioning computer, West had the designers stand in front of a TV camera and describe their parts of the machine. The result of this last act of hubris was a videotaped extravaganza some twenty hours long. West planned to use it, when the right time came (if it ever did), as a tool for spreading the news of Eagle all around Westborough. "Pretty gutsy," he said, with a grin, nodding toward the shelfful of video casettes.

West never passed up an opportunity to add flavor to the project. He helped to transform a dispute among engineers into a virtual War of the Roses. He created, as Rasala put it, a seemingly endless series of "brushfires," and got his staff charged up about putting them out. He was always finding romance and excitement in the seemingly ordinary. He welcomed a journalist to observe his team; and how it did delight him when one of the so-called kids remarked to me, "What we're doing must be important, if there's a writer covering it."

One evening West paused to say to me: "I'm flat out by definition. I'm a mess. It's terrible." A pause. "It's a lot of fun."

West established the rules for the design of Eagle and he made them stick. The team should use as little silicon as possible, a mere few thousand dollars' worth of chips. The CPU should fit on far fewer than VAX's twenty-seven boards, and each major element of the CPU should fit on a single board. If they could fulfill those requirements, Eagle would be cheaper to build than VAX. On the other hand, it had better run faster than VAX, by certain widely accepted standards. It should be capable of handling a host of terminals. A CPU is not a functioning computer system: Eagle also had to be compatible with existing lines of Data General peripherals as well as with Eclipse software. West espoused these principles of computer design: "There's a whole lot of things you've gotta do to make a successful product. The technological challenge is one thing, but you can win there and still have a disaster. You gotta give 'em guidelines so that if they follow them, they're gonna be a success. 'Do ABC and D without getting the color of the front bezel mixed up in it.' " Another precept was "No bells and whistles." And a third: "You tell a guy to do this and fit it all on one board, and I don't want to hear from him until he knows how to do it."

That fall West had put a new term in his vocabulary. It was *trust.* "Trust is risk, and risk avoidance is the name of the game in business," West said once, in praise of trust. He would bind his team with mutual trust, he had decided. When a person signed up to do a job for him, he would in turn trust that person to accomplish it; he wouldn't break it down into little pieces and make the task small, easy and dull.

To Alsing, West still had that knack for making the ordinary seem special, and the way West said "Trust" made Alsing wonder whether either of them had ever heard the word before. But West prided himself on his skills at debugging and, by repute, he excelled at it. He wanted to go into the lab and will the machine into life, Alsing thought. But if West barged in there now, he would be admitting that he didn't trust his team after all. So West was staying away from the lab and instead was banning laughter outside his door and throwing water pumps around. Most every day now West called Alsing into his office, closed the door, and asked, "What's really going on in the lab, Alsing?"

Wasn't all this excessive? If you set a preposterous schedule, don't you figure that it can slip a little? True, said Alsing, but not to the point. "If you say you're gonna do it in a year and you don't take it seriously, then it'll take three years. The game of crazy scheduling is in the category of games that you play on yourself, in order to get yourself to move."

It was a game in which new hands were always being dealt, a little like poker perhaps. West and his staff had created the deadline of April and, in the act, had agreed at least to pretend to take it seriously. Many months later, Carl Carman would say that no one upstairs believed they would finish Eagle that soon. Some evenings downstairs, West seemed to say the same thing. "We're gonna finish this sucker by April, Alsing," he'd say.

"Yeah, Tom. Sure we are," Alsing would reply.

They'd smile at each other.

Sometimes, however, when, for instance, Alsing came in and told West that the Microteam would probably miss some intermediate deadline, West would say, "Come on, Alsing, this schedule's real."

Now, on an evening early in 1979, Carman brought West a piece of momentous news: North Carolina was going to miss their own deadline by a huge margin.

What did this mean? That the game of internal competition had essentially ended and the game of outlandish scheduling had begun in earnest? West had always maintained that Eagle was crucial to the company. Well, events were proving him right. But that was no cause for celebration. Meeting that preposterous deadline of April, when Eagle should be free of all bugs, was no longer merely desirable or just a matter of pride: it had become a corporate necessity.

West called himself "a mechanic" — one who could take the ideas of engineers technically brighter than he and make those ideas work; he thought he had spotted that quality in Rasala, too, and he had promoted it. West groomed Rasala as a leader of hardware teams. Eventually, he put Rasala in charge of the hardware for the biggest of the 16-bit Eclipses, the M/600. As often happened, the pace of that project became frenetic. It took a year of increasingly intense labor from Rasala, and when it ended he felt tired. He was looking around for something easy to do when West asked him to manage the development of Eagle's hardware. Rasala declined.

In his office, the door closed, West schemed. "How am I gonna get Rasala to sign up?" he asked Alsing.

Unlike Wallach, Rasala wasn't a student of advanced architectures. Rasala wasn't worried about Eagle's supposed inelegance; he was just tired. Offering him a chance for vengeance wouldn't work, because Rasala had been pounding out the M/600 during the EGO wars and he didn't have anything to feel vengeful about. Rasala was a hard one, West said. Bringing him to the signed-up condition was mainly a matter of persistence. West presented Eagle to him as a test of strength. Could they get this machine out the door on time? Again and again, he told Rasala that the company needed this machine desperately. Rasala never actually said, "I'll do it." One day, it seemed to him, he was just doing it.

For months afterward, he would come home at night and his wife would ask him, "How was your day?"

"It was terrible," Rasala would tell her. But as he went on describing the day's events, his wife noticed, he became increasingly excited.

"Maybe it's masochism," Rasala said. "But I guess the reason I do it fundamentally is that there's a certain satisfaction in building a machine like this, which is important to the company, which is on its way to becoming a billion-dollar company. There aren't that many opportunities in this world to be where the action is, making an impact." It struck him as paradoxical, all this energy and passion, both his own and that of the engineers around him, being expended for a decidedly commercial purpose. But that purpose wasn't his own. He had enjoyed his years at Raytheon; life had been pleasant there and he had been an easygoing fellow.

Now, in the Eclipse Group, for several years in a row he had been working overtime without extra pay in an atmosphere that was decidedly not easygoing. Why had he made the switch to Data General and now signed up to work on Eagle?

Rasala said, "I was looking for" — he ticked the items off on his fingers — "opportunity, responsibility, visibility."

What did those words mean to him, though?

Rasala shrugged his shoulders. "I wanted to see what I was worth," he explained.

Months later, looking back, Rasala decided that when West took on people in other groups and "beat them up," as this sort of activity was called, he did so in a purposeful way, one that was usually "not so much mean as intimidating." In one fairly typical case, a support group missed a promised deadline. At a meeting, West questioned the group's leader. The leader said that he hadn't received a certain piece of equipment yet. West would not let the matter rest there. He wanted to know why it hadn't been shipped and what was being done about it. West was "always pushing," Rasala noticed. But the act, Rasala would come to believe, was never as dramatic as the language West used to describe either what he was going to do or what he had actually done. For a long time, however, Rasala took West's descriptions as a fairly literal model of how to contend, and when Rasala confronted a troublesome support group, he beat his fist on the table and shouted and made open threats. I saw him after one such encounter, returning to his cubicle. He was red. "I don't want to beat people up," he said, throwing his hands down. "I don't want to be a bad guy. I just want to get something done." He took some deep breaths, then proceeded to explain that it really wasn't the support group's fault. Eagle wasn't their machine, they couldn't be expected to work as diligently on it as the Eclipse Group.

TO ALMOST EVERYTHING they touched, the Microteam attached their prefix. The office that four of them shared, sitting virtually knee to knee, had a sign on the door that said THE MICROPIT; the room in which they held their weekly meeting was the microconference room. They gave out microawards and Carl Alsing had his microporch. One of them owned a van, which became the microbus. That winter several of them would go out riding in it on Friday afternoons, when West held his own weekly meetings with his managers. Then, in the first warm days of spring, they created the outdoor microlounge, to which they now repaired on those Friday afternoons.

West remembered working on the prototype of the Eclipse. Most evenings the company's president, Ed de Castro himself, would appear in the lab, eating a Fudgsicle. The soft-spoken de Castro wouldn't say much. He'd ask a few questions, ones that seemed remarkably acute to West. The questions and the man's mere presence made West feel, again and again, "This project is really important."

Then one night, without any warning, de Castro said to him softly, "Got that fucking pig working yet?"

West was startled, then amused, and finally, though he could hardly explain it to himself, aroused. *No. But I will,* he wanted to say to de Castro.

For some time during the debugging of the first Eclipse, West was ill every morning before work — a psychological form of morning sickness, perhaps. But when the job was done and he went to the factory floor and saw a long file of brand-new Eclipses come gliding down a conveyor belt, some great delight, which he would describe as "almost a chemical change," came over him, and what he wanted most of all to do then was to do it all over again someday, only better.

To the observant Rosemarie, it seemed that West was always planning. She began to believe that he planned almost everything that happened during the season of Eagle. As time went on he seemed to grow skinnier and skinnier before her eyes, as if the job and all that planning were somehow consuming his flesh. Once in a while she would look into his office. He would be staring at some paper and wouldn't notice her standing in the doorway. She would watch for a moment. "Why is he doing this?" she wondered. "He belongs in the north woods somewhere, canoeing and fishing and appreciating nature. He doesn't belong here."

Long afterward, at a time when she found herself talking about West in the past tense — "Geez, I hate to talk about him in the past" — the question of West's motivation still had importance for her. Most people, she reasoned, do jobs because they are told to and might get fired if they don't obey. But certainly West didn't have to drum up Eagle and waste away over it. Indeed, from her perspective, it really did seem as though the company didn't want the project undertaken at all. "So why is he doing it?" she asked.

"There's a big high in here somewhere for me that I don't fully understand," said West. "Some of it's a raw power-trip. . . .

"The reason why I work is because I win. . . .

"Realistically, I've got some stock in this company. I gotta help keep it afloat for a while."

Someone once suggested to West that he wanted to build Eagle out of love for chains and whips. West lay awake several nights worrying that it might be so.

"I'm sitting here burning myself up and doing it because I like it. You wouldn't have to pay me very much to do this," he said one night while he sat fretting, sick to his stomach over the slow progress of the debugging.

Later: "I'm trying to talk myself into quitting. . . .

"Not many people around here would admit to being in business," he said. And: "What makes this all possible is doing this and putting money on the bottom line and not having to go all the way with the capitalist system. . . ."

"What makes it all possible is the kids."

When he talked about his reasons for wanting to build Eagle, West might have been trying to figure out how to get one of his lieutenants to sign up. He said he wished someone could explain his reasons to him. He said once, "De Castro knows what makes me go." He smiled. "The bastard."

He also said: "No one ever pats anybody on the back around here. If de Castro ever patted me on the back, I'd probably quit."

Holberger is married but has no children yet. He says he has more than enough money right now. He has also received some company stock. Stock options, he notes, blur issues of salary; "Data General turns people into capitalists," he says. Holberger likes the local atmosphere. The jeans, West's casual dress, remind him, he says, "that we're not at IBM." He likes not having to punch a time clock. But he knows that his freedom from company clocks doesn't stem from corporate altruism. "They don't want us to know how many hours we work. If we did, they'd have to pay us a lot more. . . . But," Holberger says, "I don't work for money."

For the last two years, he has been involved in projects with the flavor of crisis about them. He worked on the M/600 with Rasala and went without a break into Eagle. He has been saying of late that he doesn't want to take on any more jobs like this one, but he's also been saying that he isn't sure he means it. "It's very challenging and very interesting," he says. "There's a lot of, uh, prestige, I would say. Perhaps I like some of the things I say I don't like. It's consuming. I don't know. Perhaps I don't like it. But jobs like this aren't real common. In other companies people with our experience aren't allowed to do this, I think." He wears a wry smile. "Of course, that's how Data General gets cheap labor." Holberger has noticed that there is almost no one in the basement involved in CPU design who is over thirty-five. What happens to old CPU engineers? Holberger is twenty-six now, and though not exactly on his deathbed, he is curious about what a computer engineer does "afterward." Maybe, he says, efforts like this one can only be conducted by the very young.

"Like war," I suggest.

"Yeah, really," he says, laughing.

From the moment they started designing the computer, engineers were dropping out. The reasons varied, from the feeling that the machine would be a kludge, to disappointment over positions in the group's pecking order. Some may have tired of the competition within the group, of what Ken Holberger called the peer pressure: "If I screw up this, then I'll be the only one, and I'm not gonna be the only one." Some may have had trouble keeping up with the others. A few did not participate in the group's social life, and some seemed to drift away from the project. Building Eagle wasn't the best of times for everyone.

Rosen came to the group in the middle of the summer of 1978 and went to work on the all-important ALU. He felt constrained to start designing right away, before he could really study the architectural spec — before, indeed, a complete spec existed. A few months later, in August, he decided that he had chosen to use the wrong sort of chips. He told Rasala he wanted to redesign the whole board. Rasala replied, "There isn't time." In effect, Rosen felt, Rasala was saying: "This'll probably work. Put a Band-Aid fix on it."

In December Rosen brought in a design that called for far more chips than it was supposed to contain. West assigned another engineer to examine Rosen's work — a necessary act from West's point of view, but a form of censure for Rosen. A while after that, Rosen underwent his review, a periodic ritual at Data General in which your boss evaluates your performance and sometimes gives you a raise. He was handed a report card less flattering than he was used to. It was the only unflattering one he had ever seen in his brief but distinguished career as a builder of computing equipment.

Rosen had come over from Data General's Special Systems Division, which produces equipment for customers' special needs. "I was *the* star at Special Systems," he said. "I got all the sexy jobs. I went to the Eclipse Group and I wasn't treated like a star." Ken Holberger, about the same age as Rosen and endowed with roughly the same amount of experience, occupied that position among the Hardy Boys, if anyone did. Clearly, Rasala considered Holberger to be the team's stellar designer. Rosen, by his own account, found himself competing with Holberger. He wanted to be "the driving force" behind Eagle's hardware. He was used to being in control of entire designs. Over at Special Systems, he had often felt free to pursue pure technical excellence. Three weeks after joining the Eclipse Group, he said to himelf, "This is all wrong."

Data General recruited Rosen by promising him interesting work, and he got it. The first truly commercial product he designed was something known as a cluster controller, a kind of computer terminal, which he called Hydra. After it had been built and shipped, a small microcode error cropped up in it, and Rosen's boss sent him to California to make the repair. Out west, Rosen was ushered into a room and saw a dozen people using the machine that he had designed. The sight made him tremble. It took his breath away. He felt scared. "My God!" he thought. "Don't use one of those. Why don't you use a real terminal?" He felt thrilled. "That's something I designed. That's my machine. That's not Data General's. That's me.

"You don't get to see that very often," Rosen said. "But that's the biggest satisfaction of all."

He was only twenty-two, and he had done it all — except that he had never helped to build a commercially important, big and brand-new computer. He expressed an interest in doing so, and the word got back to the Eclipse Group. They recruited him; he had fine credentials. Then, of course, everything went sour for him. But perhaps his personal catastrophe had started earlier. Maybe he volunteered for Eagle looking for a way out of a malaise already upon him. He thought that was probably the case.

Rosen said that when he first came to Data General a few years before Eagle, the staffer at Personnel told him, "We know how you fellows work, and we will remind you if you forget to take your vacations." But, he said, they never did remind him. Probably, it wouldn't have mattered if they had. He went to work at Special Systems, and in his first year there, he was assigned so many important, challenging projects that he not only forgot to take his vacation, he also failed to take a weekend off. What would obtain in the Eclipse Group also held at Special Systems. "There was no question of deadlines. You'd already missed it, whatever it was." He worked many eighty-hour weeks — without extra pay, of course, but that wasn't the issue. "I had a lot of control over the things I did, and the price was a lot of pressure. If I spent only a sixty-hour week, I felt intensely guilty."

He told himself that he was having the time of his life. During his second year at Special Systems, he began to remind himself of this with some regularity. "Josh," he would say to himself, "you're designing the sexy machines."

The dialogue with himself continued when he joined the Eclipse Group and began working on Eagle. "You've always revered the people who built the NOVA and the PDP-11. Now you're one of them. You're the guy you always wanted to be," he said in his mind.

"So why," he asked himself, "am I not happy?"

Many of the team, especially some of the Hardy Boys, said they felt comfortable around their division's vice president, Carl Carman. He visited the lab almost every morning and evening now. He asked them about their problems. He knew all their names. But most of them, when they ran into West in the hallways, got the feeling that their immediate boss did not know nearly so much about them. "He'll look off in another direction as he walks by, and you never see him smile." When West did speak to the masses, some felt afraid.

It seemed peculiar to some of the team. Here they were laboring mightily on the most crucial project in the company, and yet they lacked equipment, comforts and all signs of recognition from their boss. Their project had number-one priority. Their vice president said so. Who among them could doubt that what they were doing was important to the company? The problem had to lie with West. "Why are some managers effective in getting resources and Tom isn't? That's my bitch," complained one member of the team.

"Sometimes even the pencil supply seems short," said another. "I can't help but think that someone wants us to run lean and mean because he thinks we work better that way. I don't know. Maybe Carman doesn't have the pull. Maybe Tom West only talks tough to people at his own level and below. Maybe he wants us to look lean and mean to impress other people above him."

When they had time on their hands to look up from the machine, some saw that they were building Eagle all by themselves, without any significant help from their leader. It was *their* project, theirs alone. West was just an office out of which came "disconnected inputs and outputs," said one Hardy Boy. He shrugged. It didn't matter. "West may be acting as a real good buffer between us and the rest of the company. Or maybe he's not doing anything."

Alsing listened, and sometimes he smiled. "When this is all over, there are gonna be thirty inventors of the Eagle machine," he predicted. "Tom's letting them believe that they invented it. It's cheaper than money."

West had put this project together, almost single-handedly. If West did nothing else, Alsing felt, Eagle would still in some ways be West's machine. But the idea that he was doing nothing else was crazy, although Alsing could understand why many on the team got that impression. Maybe they were supposed to. West had never sat down with him and Rasala and Steve Wallach and Rosemarie Seale and said: "We're gonna bury this team. They're not gonna see anything except the machine." But West had said, in a cautionary tone: "There's thirty guys out there who think it's their machine. I don't want that tampered with. It's very useful to me right now."

From time to time, Rasala and Alsing would tell some of their troops that West was acting as a buffer between them and the company bureaucrats, but the two managers didn't go into details. To do so would have violated West's unspoken orders — "an unspoken agreement," said Alsing, "that we won't pass on the garbage and the politics." They wished sometimes that the rest of the team could get a glimpse of West when some other manager dared to criticize the Eclipse Group or one of its members. West, notoriously, kept a double standard in such matters. He criticized other groups but would brook no criticism directed toward his own. He could carry this policy to absurd lengths, Rasala thought. Sometimes West would simply ignore criticism directed toward his team. Sometimes he would answer it with questions in this vein: "Are your people working sixty hour weeks?"

I can't imagine someone else running that show. Someone else might have smiled at them and said the right words, but not many bosses would have done as much as he did for them, letting them grow in their work, giving them a chance to really do something. Tom West gave the appearance of not caring for them, but he did the things that a person would do if he did care for them. Life is odd. Is it the words? Or the thing itself? I don't think those guys could've accepted a person keeping their minds down, but I don't think they know it yet. For a lot of them, you see, this was their first working experience. They never had a boss who kept them down. I have.

"He kept it inside him. He didn't go out and complain. Maybe he didn't pat people on the back, but he didn't complain either. He was very tired. He poured himself into it. I think he allowed all the complaints to be on himself. I think it was deliberate. My opinion is he wanted them to have someone to lay it all on, all their problems, so they could get rid of their frustrations and all their problems quicker and go on and do that thing that was desperately needed. I think he set himself out there as the bad guy, but bad guy is too strong. For people to grow up they need someone to lay their problems on. 'You're the daddy.'" She laughed. "Whether he did that or not deliberately, it had that effect."

Eagle was failing its Multiprogramming Reliability Test mysteriously. It was blowing away, crashing, going to never-never land, and falling off the end of the world after every four hours or so of smooth running.

"Machines somewhere in the agony of the last few bugs are very vulnerable," said Alsing. "The shouting starts about it. It'll never work, and so on. Managers and support groups start saying this. Hangers-on say, 'Gee, I thought you'd get it done a lot sooner.' That's when people start talking about redesigning the whole thing."

Alsing added, "Watch out for Tom now."

West sat in his office. "I'm thinking of throwing the kids out of the lab and going in there with Rasala and fix it. It's true. I don't understand all the details of that sucker, but I will, and I'll get it to work."

He called for Rasala one evening. "I want to go into the lab."

"Gimme a few more days," said Rasala.

On September 25 Rasala said, "As of this morning, Eagle ran Multiprogramming twelve hours overnight without failing."

Holberger said, "I know how West felt, but he couldn't have done a thing."

Back in his office West said: "It wasn't an empty threat. The game, of course, though, is that when I say I'm gonna go in there, they haul ass, because they assume it's gonna be some kind of trivial, dumb thing."

A month after Gallifrey Eagle was rolled slowly down the corridor to Software, Ed Rasala and several of the Hardy Boys got together at the Cain Ridge Saloon and did some reminiscing — disputatiously, as usual. At one point, Jim Guyer said: "We didn't get our commitment to this project from de Castro or Carman or West. We got it from within ourselves. Nobody told us we had to put extra effort into the project."

Ken Holberger burst out laughing.

Guyer raised his voice. "We got it from within *ourselves* to put extra effort in the project."

Laughing hard, Holberger managed to blurt out, "Their idea was piped into our minds!"

"The company didn't ask for this machine," cried Guyer. "We *gave* it to them. We created that design."

Others raised their voices. Quietly, Rasala said, "West created that design."

Rasala's big forearms rested on the table, surrounding a mug of beer. I thought perhaps I had not heard him right. He had always insisted that Eagle belonged equally to every member of the team. There was a whiff of heresy in the air.

"What did you say that West created?"

"Eagle," said Rasala.

By then the others had stopped arguing and had turned toward Rasala, who was wearing one of his looks; it seemed to warn against contradiction.

"You mean West created the excitement."

"No," said Rasala, in a flat voice. "The machine."

"The opportunity," offered Holberger.

"The machine," said Rasala.

Then there was a moment during which everyone avoided everyone else's eyes, and the conversation resumed on another subject.

Case Discussion Questions: Soul of a New Machine

1. Why did members of the Eagle team work so hard?

2. What exactly did West do to motivate the team? What else did he do to make the project a success?

3. How effective is West as the manager of a team? Would you want to work for him?

7/21/95

How Three CEOs Achieved Fast Turnarounds

MANAGEMENT

By JOANN S. LUBLIN
And ALEX MARKELS
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Hours after he took over as chief executive officer of Scott Paper Co. in April 1994, Albert J. Dunlap offered three former associates top jobs.

On his second day, he disbanded the ruling management committee. On his third day, he fired nine of the 11 highest-ranking executives. On his fourth day, he threw out four bookshelves crammed with his predecessors' strategic plans.

Mr. Dunlap's blitzkrieg didn't stop there. In a year, he engineered one of the fastest turnarounds in corporate history—an effort capped this week by **Kimberly-Clark Corp.**'s $7.36 billion offer for Scott.

Many chief executives spend years struggling to fix a sick company; some executives get the job done fast. The speedy ones have a clear vision, a willingness to clean house, a supportive board and the ability to tackle many problems at once.

People who can turn companies around fast are in hot demand these days because increasingly impatient boards and stockholders are demanding swift results. "The window that a new CEO has in a turnaround is shrinking," says David A. Nadler, chairman of Delta Consulting Group Inc. in New York. "You used to have a couple of years," he says. Now more boards want to see a revival within 18 months.

But the difficulty of turning a company around at all, let alone fast, shouldn't be underestimated. In January, turnaround specialist C. Robert Kidder became the fourth chief of **Borden Inc.** since 1986. Four months later, he unveiled a "realignment"—the fifth restructuring in six years for the Columbus, Ohio, food and chemical conglomerate. When will Borden finally turn around? "We're working on it," a spokesman says.

A look at three rapid turnarounds — at Scott, **Compaq Computer Corp.** and **National Car Rental System Inc.**, a former **General Motors Corp.** unit — offers some lessons about fast turnarounds.

In each case, a corporate crisis compelled a new leader to move swiftly. Scott lost $277 million in 1993. Compaq posted its first quarterly loss ever in fall 1991, ousted its founder and promoted Eckhard Pfeiffer to CEO. GM took a $744 million fourth-quarter charge in 1992 due to its National losses; it hired turnaround expert Jay Alix in January 1993.

Messrs. Dunlap, Pfeiffer and Alix revived their enterprises with the following:

1. They showed clear vision, charisma and decisive leadership.

Compaq's Mr. Pfeiffer, 53 years old, says he exhorted people "to compete for market share across the entire spectrum" of the PC market instead of focusing on high-priced products. "That was a simple change," he recalls. But such a strategic shift is so radical that "you have to communicate it a hundred times or more. It doesn't sink in the first few times."

At Scott, Mr. Dunlap came up with a list of priorities, and "they became his mantra," says Richard Lochridge, a management consultant and outside board member. In a turnaround, he notes, "there has to be childlike clarity to move fast."

2. They changed the old guard, the old culture—or both.

Six senior Compaq executives quit soon after Mr. Pfeiffer became CEO. He trimmed nearly 20% of Compaq's work force during his first year.

A recent McKinsey & Co. study of 85 big companies found that two-thirds of the senior managers had been replaced by the time the businesses were revived.

Mr. Alix says he shook up National managers' timid, "wait-and-see" outlook by making it clear that GM might liquidate the car-rental business. "The sense that this is an emergency tends to motivate people and change the culture quickly," says Mr. Alix, president of a Southfield, Mich., turnaround firm that bears his name.

3. They tackled many problems at the same time.

"You have to move on all fronts concurrently," says Mr. Dunlap. He says he simultaneously cut costs, built a new management team, bolstered the balance sheet, sold assets and plotted strategy. "If you don't do all of that, it isn't a turnaround," says Mr. Dunlap.

During the first year after he assumed Compaq's No. 1 job, Mr. Pfeiffer unveiled a new line of bargain-priced machines and also mounted an assault on the small-business and home-PC markets. In addition, he overhauled the manufacturing process and expanded abroad.

But a sick company can't absorb too many changes at once, cautions Mr. Nadler, the consultant. A CEO committed to a turnaround "can probably undertake three major initiatives," he suggests. "Beyond that, the place gets overwhelmed."

4. They changed how the companies' employees were judged and rewarded.

Mr. Alix altered the performance standards of reservation agents: Instead of rating agents on the time they spent per call, he graded them on the number of sales made.

With management, "we tied everybody's compensation to the goals of the turnaround," Mr. Alix recalls. Previously, managers' bonuses depended on whether they met corporate budgets.

5. Their directors fully backed their

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Lessons From CEOs On How to Achieve Rapid Turnarounds

Continued From Page B1

plans and held them accountable.

Board support "is absolutely essential" in a turnaround because "you don't have a guarantee that it is going to be a winner," Mr. Pfeiffer notes. "We have seen many attempts that didn't work out."

At Scott, "there was some wincing about some of his decisions," says Mr. Lochridge, the board member. "But I don't remember anybody objecting to the substance of any decision he proposed."

A quick fix isn't right for every struggling business, some say. "Not everybody does a Dunlap," says corporate-governance expert Ira Millstein, a senior partner at Weil, Gotshal & Manges in New York. "Nor is a Dunlap right for every company," he adds.

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WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

WHO'S NEWS

Scott Paper's 'Rambo in Pin Stripes' Is On the Prowl for Another Company to Fix

By JOANN S. LUBLIN
And STEVEN LIPIN
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Albert J. Dunlap began his career as a $7,800-a-year management trainee for Kimberly-Clark Corp. Now, 32 years later, Kimberly-Clark intends to make him $90 million to $100 million richer.

Albert J. Dunlap

Mr. Dunlap, chairman and chief executive of once-struggling Scott Paper Co., expects to step down from his posts when Kimberly's purchase of Scott is completed. His payment from Kimberly would include $20 million for promising not to compete against the combined company for five years.

But the 57-year-old executive says he won't retire soon. "I've retired about four times and failed miserably," he says.

Instead, the brash and boastful Mr. Dunlap wants to fix another industrial giant, preferably one bigger than Scott. General Motors Corp., Westinghouse Electric Corp. and other "huge corporations like that could certainly benefit from a guy like Al Dunlap," insists Mr. Dunlap, a veteran turnaround artist who has dubbed himself "Rambo in Pin Stripes." "I can't wait to do another [restructuring]."

Many companies "are grossly underperforming," Mr. Dunlap says. "The biggest turnarounds just haven't been done."

Kimberly-Clark appears to be willing to pay him plenty for turning around Scott—and for moving on. Under the agreement, Mr. Dunlap would resign and remain a consultant to the combined company for five years. He says he would receive 5,000 shares a year for this advisory work.

In addition to the $20 million noncompete accord, Mr. Dunlap says, Kimberly-Clark also would pay $12 million to cover the rest of his five-year Scott contract. The balance of the exit package represents his stake of almost two million Scott shares and stock options, valued at about $60 million, according to Mr. Dunlap.

Kimberly-Clark's offer would leave him richer than after any of his seven previous corporate restructuring efforts, Mr. Dunlap says. He earned $3.2 million in salary and bonus last year. His personal net worth is estimated at close to $100 million.

Even so, Mr. Dunlap insists, "I am still the best bargain in corporate America."

It's true that Mr. Dunlap, who joined Scott in April 1994, engineered one of the fastest turnarounds in corporate history. And the dramatic restructuring suggests that the era of bureaucracy-busting cost-cutters is far from over. Indeed, new chief executives of several other major companies, such as Times Mirror Co.'s Mark H. Willes, undoubtedly will make—or already have made—similar sweeping changes, experts believe.

Since taking command of Scott, Mr. Dunlap has jettisoned more than $2 billion in assets and laid off 31% of its work force. Shares of Scott's stock have more than doubled in price, adding more than $4.5 billion to its market value. "He has changed corporate America," says Linda Lieberman, a Bear, Stearns & Co. analyst. "Right now, he *is* money."

But some shareholder activists resent Mr. Dunlap's history of quickly fixing troubled businesses and then departing with a wallet fattened by their recovery. He engineered similar turnarounds at U.S. companies Diamond International Corp. and Crown Zellerbach Corp. in the 1980s. Mr. Dunlap should not "be paid such huge sums until and unless he stuck around and performed for years," contends Sarah Teslik, executive director of the Council of Institutional Investors, a Washington, D.C., group of 97 pension funds with assets of more than $800 billion.

Bristling at such criticism, Mr. Dunlap rattles off a list of new products, capital expenditures and other long-term improvements that he has made at Scott. "If [Scott] were just a cost-cutting story, this merger wouldn't have taken place," Mr. Dunlap says. "When I do a turnaround, I use the full gamut" of strategies. "For what I do, I am the best."

Indeed, certain investors want to see

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Scott Paper's Turnaround Artist Will Be Looking for a Firm to Fix

Continued From Page B1

the former Army paratrooper parachute into yet another troubled corporation and restore its sagging stock price. Several institutional investors recently urged Kmart Corp. to choose Mr. Dunlap as chief executive of the second biggest discount-store chain, one knowledgeable individual says. Last month, Kmart instead chose veteran retailer Floyd Hall.

Mr. Dunlap "is a loose cannon – but a loose cannon with a big impact," says Nell Minow, a principal at Lens Inc., a Washington activist investment fund that targets underperforming companies. "I'd love to see him go to Westinghouse. That has been a real problem for a long time."

Last month, Westinghouse said second-quarter per-share earnings from continuing operations would be 30% to 40% below year-earlier levels. Analysts had high hopes that Michael Jordan, named chairman and chief executive officer in 1993, would rapidly turn the company around. Westinghouse declined to comment on Mr. Dunlap's chances of succeeding Mr. Jordan.

But the robust economy has shrunk the supply of struggling major corporations like Westinghouse, turnaround specialists say. That may be why Mr. Dunlap started hunting for a new turnaround post weeks before he reached the merger agreement with Kimberly-Clark.

During a June 19 lunch at Washington's National Press Club, Ms. Minow says, he pressed her to name the nation's 20 worst-performing companies. "I was interested in who she thought would best benefit from an Al Dunlap," he recalls. Spending 12 hours a day salvaging ailing businesses "is fun," he explains. "I'm better at work than I am at golf."

LEADERSHIP

Enhancing the Lessons of Experience

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Chapter Fifteen

Contingency Theories of Leadership

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The Normative Decision Model
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  Decision Quality and Acceptance
  The Decision Tree
  Concluding Thoughts about the Normative Decision Model
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  Maturity of the Follower
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INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews four of the more well-known contingency theories of leadership. These four theories are generally more comprehensive than those previously discussed in this text, as all four address certain aspects of the leader, the followers, and the situation. These four theories also share several other similarities. First, because they are theories rather than someone's personal opinions, these four models have been the focus of a considerable amount of empirical research over the years. Second, these theories implicitly assume that leaders are able to accurately diagnose or assess key aspects of the followers and the leadership situation. Third, with the exception of the contingency model (Fiedler, 1967), leaders are assumed to be able to act in a flexible manner. In other words, leaders can and should change their behaviors as situational and follower characteristics change. Fourth, a correct match between situational and follower characteristics and leaders' behaviors is assumed to have a positive effect on group or organizational outcomes. Thus, these theories maintain that leadership effectiveness is maximized when leaders correctly make their behaviors *contingent* on certain situational and follower characteristics. Because of these similarities, Chemers (1984) argued that these four theories were more similar than they were different. He said they differed primarily in terms of the types of situational and follower characteristics that various leader behaviors should be contingent on (also see Highlight 15–1 for some different perspectives on theories and leadership).

THE NORMATIVE DECISION MODEL

Obviously, in some situations leaders can delegate decisions to subordinates or should ask subordinates for relevant information before making a decision. In other situations, such as emergencies or crises, leaders may need to make a decision with little, if any, input from subordinates. The level of input subordinates have in the decision-making process can and does vary substantially depending on the issue at hand, followers' level of technical expertise, or the presence or absence of a crisis. Although the level of participation varies due to various leader, follower, and situational factors, Vroom and Yetton (1973) maintained that leaders could often improve group performance by using an optimal amount of participation in the decision-making process. Thus, the normative decision model is directed solely at determining how much input subordinates should have in the decision-making process. Precisely because the normative decision model is limited only to decision making and is not a grand, all-encompassing theory, it is a good model with which to begin the chapter.

HIGHLIGHT 15–1

Leadership Quotes, Chapter Fifteen

The real world is a messy place—yet, even a messy place can (should?) be attacked systematically.

Alex Cornell

Although people object when a scientific analysis traces their behavior to external conditions and thus deprives them of credit and the chance to be admired, they seldom object when the same analysis absolves them of blame.

B. F. Skinner

There is to me something profoundly affecting in large masses of men following the lead of those who do not believe in men.

Walt Whitman

Disraeli cynically expressed the dilemma when he said: "I must follow the people. Am I not their leader?" He might have added: "I must lead the people. Am I not their servant?"

Edward L. Bernays

Men are marked out from the moment of birth to rule or be ruled.

Aristotle

To act is easy; to think is hard.

Goethe

It is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Irrationally held truths may be more harmful than reasoned errors.

Thomas Huxley

Levels of Participation

Like the other theories in this chapter, the **normative decision model** (Vroom & Yetton, 1973) was designed to improve some aspects of leadership effectiveness. In this case, Vroom and Yetton explored how various leader, follower, and situational factors affect the degree of subordinates' participation in the

TABLE 15–1
Levels of Participation in the Normative Decision Model

Autocratic Processes

AI: The leader solves the problem or makes the decision by him- or herself using the information available at the time.

AII: The leader obtains any necessary information from followers, then decides on a solution to the problem herself. She may or may not tell followers the purpose of her questions or give information about the problem or decision she is working on. The input provided by them is clearly in response to her request for specific information. They do not play a role in the definition of the problem or in generating or evaluating alternative solutions.

Consultative Processes

CI: The leader shares the problem with the relevant followers individually, getting their ideas and suggestions without bringing them together as a group. Then *he* makes a decision. This decision may or may not reflect the followers' influence.

CII: The leader shares the problem with her followers in a group meeting. In this meeting, she obtains their ideas and suggestions. Then she makes the decision, which may or may not reflect the followers' influence.

Group Process

GII: The leader shares the problem with his followers as a group. Together they generate and evaluate alternatives and attempt to reach agreement (consensus) on a solution. The leader's role is much like that of a chairman, coordinating the discussion, keeping it focused on the problem, and making sure that the critical issues are discussed. He can provide the group with information or ideas that he has, but he does not try to "press" them to adopt "his" solution. Moreover, leaders adopting this level of participation are willing to accept and implement any solution that has the support of the entire group.

Source: Adapted from V. H. Vroom and P. W. Yetton, *Leadership and Decision Making* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973).

decision-making process and, in turn, group performance. To determine which situational and follower factors affect the level of participation and group performance, Vroom and Yetton first investigated the decision-making processes leaders use in group settings. They discovered a continuum of decision-making processes ranging from completely autocratic (labeled "AI") to completely democratic, where all member of the group have equal participation (labeled "GII"). These processes are listed in Table 15-1.

Decision Quality and Acceptance

After establishing a continuum of decision processes, Vroom and Yetton (1973) established criteria to evaluate the adequacy of the decisions made—criteria they believed would be credible to leaders and equally applicable across the

five levels of participation. Although a wide variety of criteria could be used, Vroom and Yetton believed decision quality and decision acceptance were the two most important criteria for judging the adequacy of a decision.

Decision quality means simply that if the decision has a rational or objectively determinable "better or worse" alternative, the leader should select the better alternative. Vroom and Yetton (1973) intended quality in their model to apply when the decision could result in an objectively or measurably better outcome for the group or organization. In the "for-profit" sector, this criterion can be assessed in several ways, but perhaps the easiest to understand is, Would the decision show up on the balance sheet? In this case, a high-quality (or, conversely, low-quality) decision would have a direct and measurable impact on the organization's bottom line. In the public sector, one might determine if there was a quality component to a decision by asking, " Will one alternative have a greater cost saving than the other?" or "Does this decision improve services to the client?" Although it may seem that leaders should always choose the alternative with the highest decision quality, this is not always the case. Often, leaders are confronted with equally good (or bad) alternatives. At other times, the issue in question is fairly trivial, rendering the quality of the decision relatively unimportant.

Decision acceptance implies that followers accept the decision as if it were their own and do not merely comply with the decision. Acceptance of the decision outcome by the followers may be critical, particularly if it is the followers who will bear principle responsibility for implementing the decision. With such acceptance, there will be no need for superiors to monitor compliance, which can be a continuing and time-consuming activity (and virtually impossible in some circumstances, such as with a geographically dispersed sales staff).

As with quality, acceptance of a decision is not always critical for implementation. For example, most organizations have an accounting form that employees use to obtain reimbursement for travel expenses. Suppose a company's chief financial officer has decided to change the format of the form for reimbursing travel expenses and has had the new forms printed and distributed throughout the company. Further, she has sent out a notice that effective June 1, the old forms will no longer be accepted for reimbursement—only claims made using the new forms will be processed and paid. Assuming the new form has no gross errors, problems, or omissions, our CFO really has no concern with acceptance as defined here. If people want to be reimbursed for their travel expenses, then they will use the new form. This decision, in essence, implements itself.

On the other hand, leaders sometimes assume that they do not need to worry about acceptance because they have so much power over their followers that overt rejection of a decision is not likely to occur. A corporate CEO is not apt to see a junior accountant stand up and openly challenge the CEO's decision to implement a new policy, even though the young accountant may not "buy in" to the new policy at all. Because followers generally do not openly object to the decisions made by leaders with this much power, these leaders often mistakenly assume that their decisions have been accepted and will be fully implemented. This is a rather naive view of what really goes on in organizations. Just because the junior subordinate does not publicly voice his opposition does not mean he will rush right out and wholeheartedly implement the decision. In fact, the junior accountant has a lot more time to destructively undermine the policy than the CEO does to check to ensure it is being carried out to the letter of the law.

The Decision Tree

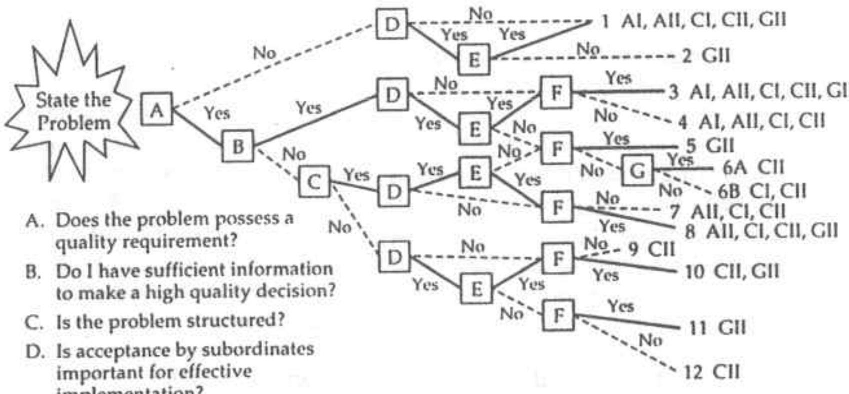
Having settled on quality and acceptance as the two principle criteria for effective decisions, Vroom and Yetton then developed a normative decision model. (A normative model is one based on what "ought" to happen rather than describing what does happen.) They also developed a set of questions to protect quality and acceptance by eliminating decision processes that would be "wrong" or inappropriate. Generally, these questions concern the problem itself, the amount of pertinent information possessed by the leader and followers, and various situational factors.

In order to make it easier for leaders to determine how much participation subordinates should have to optimize decision quality and acceptance, Vroom and Yetton (1973) incorporated these questions into a decision tree (see Figure 15–1). To use the decision tree, one starts at the left by stating the problem and then proceeds through the model from left to right. Every time a box is encountered, the question associated with that box must be answered with either a yes or no response. Eventually, all paths lead to a set of decision processes that, if used, will lead to a decision that protects both quality and acceptance.

Having reached a set of feasible alternatives that meet the desirable criteria for quality and acceptance among followers, the leader may then wish to consider additional criteria. One very practical consideration is the amount of time available. If time is critical, then the leader should select the alternative in the feasible set that is farthest to the *left*, again noting that the feasible set is arranged from AI through GII. It generally takes less time to make and implement autocratic decisions than it does to make consultative or group decisions. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the first step is to protect quality and acceptance (by using the model). Only *after* arriving at an appropriate set of outcomes should leaders consider time in the decision-making process. This tenet is sometimes neglected in the workplace by leaders who overemphasize time as a criterion. Obviously, there are some situations where time is absolutely critical, as in life-or-death emergencies. But too often, leaders ask for a decision to be made as if the situation were an emergency when, in reality, they (the leaders, not the situation) are creating the time pressure. Despite such behavior, it is difficult to imagine a leader who would knowingly prefer a fast decision that lacks both quality and acceptance among the implementors than one that is of high quality and acceptable to followers but that takes more time.

FIGURE 15–1

Vroom and Yetton's Leadership Decision Tree



A. Does the problem possess a quality requirement?

B. Do I have sufficient information to make a high quality decision?

C. Is the problem structured?

D. Is acceptance by subordinates important for effective implementation?

E. If I were to make the decision myself, is it reasonably certain that it would be accepted by subordinates?

F. Do subordinates share the organizational goals to be attained in solving this problem?

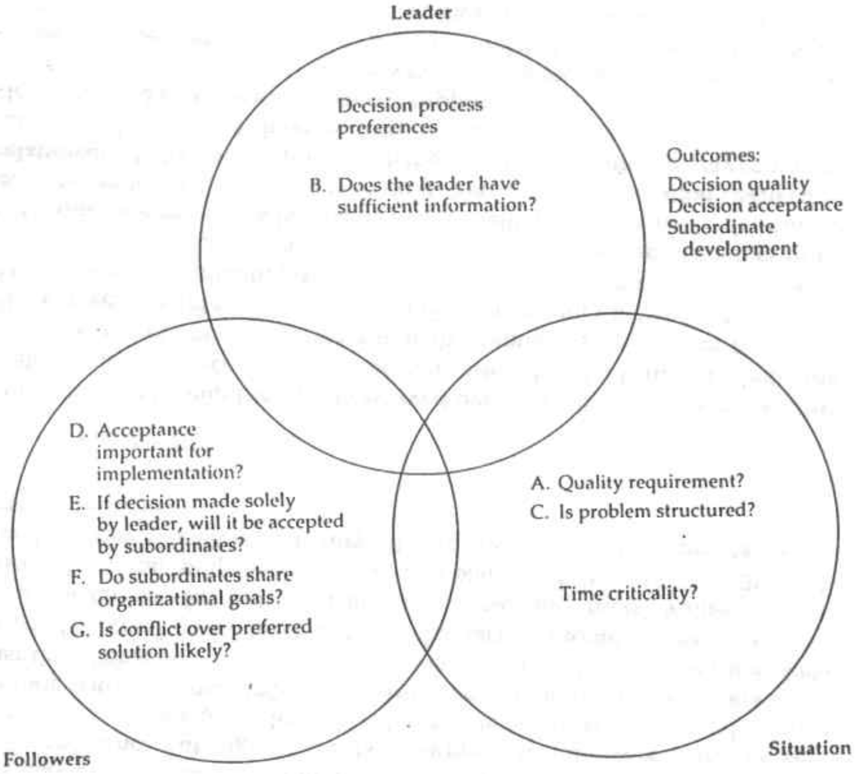
G. Is conflict among subordinates over preferred solutions likely?

Source: Adapted from Vroom and Yetton, *Leadership and Decision Making* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973). Used with permission.

Another important consideration is follower development. Again, after quality and acceptance have been considered using the decision tree, and if the leader has determined that time is not a critical element, she may wish to follow a decision process more apt to allow followers to develop their own decision-making skills. This can be achieved by using the decision tree and then selecting the alternative within the feasible set that is farthest to the *right*. As was the case above, the arrangement of processes from AI to GII provides an increasing amount of follower development by moving from autocratic to group decisions.

Finally, if neither time nor follower development is a concern and multiple options are available in the feasible set of alternatives, the leader may select a

FIGURE 15–2
Factors from the Normative Decision Model and the Interactional Framework


Leader
Decision process preferences
B. Does the leader have sufficient information?
Outcomes:
Decision quality
Decision acceptance
Subordinate development
D. Acceptance important for implementation?
E. If decision made solely by leader, will it be accepted by subordinates?
F. Do subordinates share organizational goals?
G. Is conflict over preferred solution likely?
A. Quality requirement?
C. Is problem structured?
Time criticality?
Followers
Situation

style that best meets his or her needs. This may be the process with which they are most comfortable ("I'm a CII kind of guy"), or it may be a process in which they would like to develop more skill.

Concluding Thoughts about the Normative Decision Model

Having looked at this model in some detail, we will now look at it from the perspective of the leader-follower-situation (L-F-S) framework. To do this, we have used the different decision processes and the questions from the decision tree to illustrate different components in the L-F-S model (see Figure 15–2). Several issues become apparent in this depiction. First, for ease of presentation we have placed each question or factor solely within one circle or another. Nevertheless, one could argue that some of the questions could or should be placed in another part of the model. For example, the question "Do I have sufficient information to make a high-quality decision?" is placed in the leader block. It might be argued, however, that no leader could answer this question without some knowledge of the situation. Strictly speaking, therefore, perhaps this question should be placed in the intersection between the leader and the situation. Nonetheless, in keeping with our theme that leadership involves interactions among all three elements, it seems sufficient at this point to illustrate them in their cleanest (if not purest) state.

A second issue also becomes apparent when the normative decision model is viewed through the L-F-S framework. Notice how the Vroom and Yetton (1973) model shifts focus away from the leader toward both the situation and, to an even greater degree, the followers. There are no questions about the leader's personality, motivations, values, or attitudes. In fact, the leader's preference is considered only after higher-priority factors have been considered. The only underlying assumption is that the leader is interested in implementing a high-quality decision (when quality is an issue) that is acceptable to followers (when acceptance is critical to implementation). Given that assumption and a willingness to consider aspects of the situation and aspects of the followers, the leader's behavior can be channeled into more effective decision-making processes.

A third issue is that the L-F-S framework organizes concepts in a familiar conceptual structure. This is an advantage even for a theory with as limited a focus as the normative decision model (i.e., decision making); it will be even more helpful later as we consider more complex theories.

Finally, because the normative decision model is a *leadership theory* rather than Vroom and Yetton's personal opinions, a number of empirical studies have investigated the model's efficacy. Research conducted by Field (1982) and Vroom and Jago (1974, 1988) provided strong support for the model, as these studies showed that leaders were much more likely to make effective or successful decisions when they followed its tenets than when they ignored them. Nevertheless, although leaders may be more apt to make more effective decisions when using the model, there is no evidence to show that these leaders are more effective overall than leaders not using the model (Miner, 1975). The latter findings again point out that both the leadership process and leadership effectiveness are complex phenomema; being a good decision maker is not enough to be a good leader (although it certainly helps). Other problems with the model are that it views decision making as taking place at a single point in time (Yukl, 1989); assumes that leaders are equally skilled at using all five decision procedures (Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992); and assumes that some of the prescriptions of the model may not be the best for a given situation. For example, the normative decision model prescribes that leaders use a GII decision process if conflict may occur over a decision, but leaders may be more effective if they instead make an AI decision and avoid intragroup conflict (Couch & Yetton, 1987). Despite these problems, the normative model is one of the best supported of the four major contingency theories of leadership, and leaders would be wise to consider using the model when making decisions.

THE SITUATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

It seems fairly obvious that leaders do not interact with all followers in the same manner. For example, a leader may give general guidelines or goals to her highly competent and motivated followers but spend considerable time coaching, directing, and training her unskilled and unmotivated followers. Or leaders may provide relatively little praise and assurances to followers with high self-confidence but high amounts of support to followers with low self-confidence. Although leaders often have different interactional styles when dealing with individual followers, is there an optimum way for leaders to adjust their behavior with different followers and thereby increase their likelihood of success? And if there is, then what factors should the leader base his behavior on—the follower's intelligence? Personality traits? Values? Preferences? Technical competence? Hersey and Blanchard (1969, 1977, 1982) developed **situational leadership theory** *(SLT)* to answer these two important leadership questions.

Leader Behaviors

Situational leadership theory has evolved over time. Its roots are in the Ohio State studies, in which the two broad categories of leader behaviors, initiating structure and consideration, were initially identified (see Chapter Nine). As SLT evolved, so did the labels (but not the content) for the two leadership behavior categories. Initiating structure changed to **task behaviors,** which were defined as the extent to which the leader spells out the responsibilities of an individual or group. Task behaviors include telling people what to do, how to do it, when to do it, and who is to do it. Similarly, consideration changed to **relationship behaviors,** or how much the leader engages in two-way communication. Relationship behaviors include listening, encouraging, facilitating, clarifying, and giving socioemotional support.

As noted in Chapter Nine, there was little evidence to show these two categories of leader behavior were consistently related to leadership success. As with traits, the relative effectiveness of these two behavior dimensions often depended on the situation. Hersey and Blanchard proposed (1969, 1977, 1982) a model to explain why leadership effectiveness varied across these two behavior dimensions and situations. First, they arrayed the two orthogonal dimensions as in the Ohio State studies and then divided each of them into high and low segments (see Figure 15-3). According to Hersey and Blanchard, depicting the two leadership dimensions this way indicated that certain combinations of task and relationship behaviors may be more effective in some situations than in others. For example, in some situations high levels of task but low levels of relationship behaviors were effective; in other situations, just the opposite was true. So far, however, we have not considered the key follower or situational characteristics with which these combinations of task and relationship behaviors were most effective. Hersey and Blanchard stated that these four combinations of task and relationship behaviors would increase leadership effectiveness if they were made contingent on the maturity level of the individual follower.

Maturity of the Follower

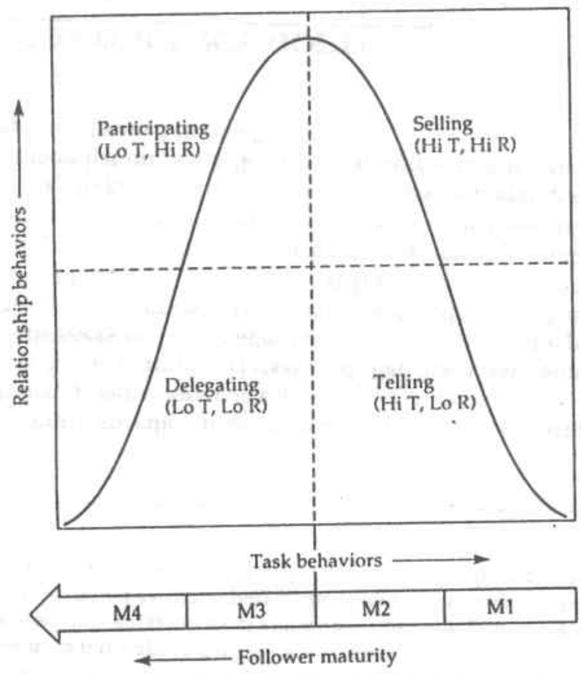
Follower maturity is comprised of two components: job maturity and psychological maturity. **Job maturity** is the amount of *task-relevant* knowledge, experience, skill, and ability that the follower possesses. In a sense, job maturity is much the same as technical expertise. **Psychological maturity** is the follower's self-confidence, commitment, motivation, and self-respect *relative to the task* at hand. Notice that both of these elements of maturity are meaningful only with regard to a particular task. Someone with a medical degree and years of experience as a surgeon might be rated as extremely mature at performing open-heart surgery. That same person might have virtually no job or psychological maturity for the tasks of designing and building a house, piloting a hot-air balloon, or counseling a suicidal patient. It is impossible to assess either job or psychological maturity if the task is unknown. Similarly, because most of us perform multiple tasks, there is no universal level of maturity. Both job and psychological maturity vary according to the task at hand.

Prescriptions of the Theory

Now that the key contingency factor, follower maturity, has been identified, let us move on to another aspect of the figure—combining follower maturity levels with the four combinations of leader behaviors described earlier. The horizontal bar or arrow in Figure 15-3 depicts follower maturity as increasing from *right to left* (not in the direction we are used to seeing). There are four segments along this continuum, ranging from M1 (the least mature) to M4 (the most mature). Along this continuum, however, the assessment of follower maturity can be fairly subjective. A follower who possesses high levels of both job and psychological maturity relative to the task would clearly fall in the M4 category, just as a follower with neither job nor psychological maturity would fall in M1. The discriminating factors for categories M2 and M3 are less clear, however.

FIGURE 15–3

The SLT Prescriptions for the Most Appropriate Leader Behaviors Based on Follower Maturity



Source: Hersey, P. & K. H. Blanchard. *Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources.* 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1982), p. 152. Adapted by permission of Prentice Hall.

To complete the model, Hersey and Blanchard (1982) added a curved line that represents the leadership behavior that will most likely be effective given a particular level of follower maturity. In order to use SLT, leaders should first assess the maturity level (M1–M4) of the follower relative to the task to be accomplished. Next, a vertical line should be drawn from the center of the maturity level up to the point where it intersects with the curved line in Figure 15-3. The quadrant in which this intersection occurs represents the level of task and relationship behavior that has the best chance of producing successful outcomes. For example, imagine you are a fire chief and have under your command a search-and-rescue team. One of the team members is needed to rescue a backpacker who has fallen in the mountains, and you have selected a particular follower to accomplish the task. What leadership behavior should you exhibit? Assuming this is a responsible and psychologically mature follower who has both substantial training and experience in this type of rescue, you would assess his maturity level as M4. A vertical line from M4 would intersect the curved line in the quadrant where both low task and low relationship behaviors by the leader are most apt to be successful. As the leader, you should exhibit a low level of task and relationship behaviors and delegate this task to the follower. On the other hand, you may have a brand-new member of the fire department who still has to learn the ins and outs of firefighting. Because this particular follower has low job and psychological maturity (M1), SLT maintains that the leader should use a high level of task and a low level of relationship behaviors when initially dealing with this follower.

Hersey and Blanchard suggest one further step leaders may wish to consider. The model described above helps the leader select the most appropriate behavior given the current level of follower maturity. However, there may be cases when the leader would like to see the followers increase their level of maturity. Because more mature followers are generally more effective than less mature followers, leaders may wish to implement a series of **developmental interventions** to help boost follower maturity levels. The process would begin by first assessing the follower's current level of maturity and then determining the leader behavior that best suits that follower in that task. Instead of using the behavior prescribed by SLT, however, the leader would select the next higher leadership behavior. Another way of thinking about this would be for the leader to select the behavior pattern that would fit the follower if that follower were one level higher in maturity. This intervention is designed to help followers in their maturity development, hence its name (see Highlight 15-2, on developmental interventions).

Concluding Thoughts about the Situational Leadership Theory

In Figure 15-4, we can see how the factors in SLT fit within the L-F-S framework. In comparison to the Vroom and Yetton model, there are fewer factors to be considered in each of the three elements. The only situational consideration is knowledge of the task, and the only two follower factors are job and psychological maturity. On the other hand, the theory goes well beyond decision making, which was the sole domain of the normative decision model. In fact, Hersey and Blanchard have suggested that their model can even be extended to other applications, such as parenting.

Situational leadership theory is usually appealing to students and practitioners because of its commonsense approach as well as its ease of understanding. Unfortunately, there is little research to support the predictions of SLT in the workplace (Vecchio, 1987; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992). Moreover, follower maturity is poorly defined (Graeff, 1983), and the model provides inadequate ra-

HIGHLIGHT 15–2

A Developmental Intervention Using SLT

Dianne is a resident assistant in charge of a number of students in a university dorm. One particular sophomore, Michael, has volunteered to work on projects in the past but never seems to take the initiative to get started on his own. Michael seems to wait until Dianne gives him explicit direction, approval, and encouragement before he will get started. Michael can do a good job, but he seems to be unwilling to start without some convincing that it is alright and making explicit the steps to be taken. Dianne has assessed Michael's maturity level as M2, but she would like to see him develop, both in task maturity and in psychological maturity. The behavior most likely to fit Michael's current maturity level is *selling* or high task, high relationship. But Dianne has decided to implement a developental intervention to help Michael raise his maturity level. Dianne can be most helpful in this intervention by moving up one level to *participating* or low task, high relationship. By reducing the amount of task instructions and direction while encouraging Michael to lay out a plan on his own and supporting his steps in the right direction, Dianne is most apt to help Michael become an M3 follower. This does not mean the work will get done most efficiently, however. Just as we saw in the Vroom and Yetton model earlier, if part of the leader's job is development of followers, then time may be a reasonable and necessary trade-off for short-term efficiency.

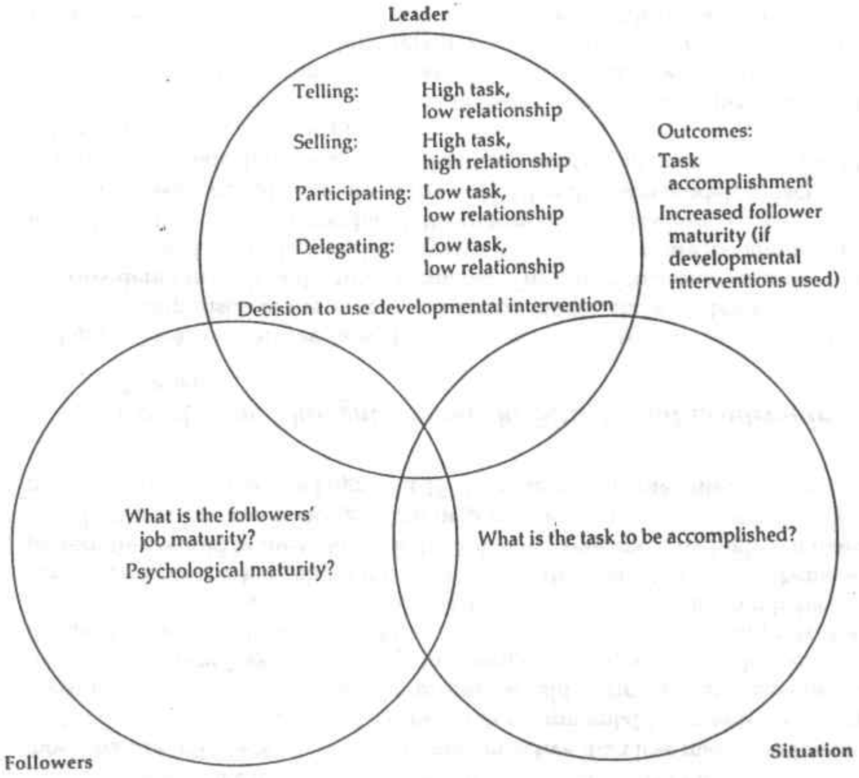
tionale or sufficiently specific guidance about *why* or *how* particular levels of task and relationship behaviors correspond to each of the follower maturity levels (Yukl, 1989). Furthermore, Hersey and Blanchard have simply defined leadership effectiveness as those leader behaviors that match the prescriptions of SLT. They have not presented any evidence that leaders who behave according to the model's prescriptions actually have higher unit performance indices, better performing or more satisfied subordinates, or a more favorable organizational climate (Vecchio, 1987). Nevertheless, even with these shortcomings, SLT is a useful way to get leaders to think about how leadership effectiveness may depend somewhat on being flexible with different subordinates, not on acting the same way toward them all.

THE CONTINGENCY MODEL

Although leaders may be able to change their behaviors toward individual subordinates, leaders also have dominant behavioral tendencies. Some leaders may be generally more supportive and relationship-oriented, whereas others

FIGURE 15–4

Factors from the Situational Leadership Theory and the Interactional Framework


Leader
Telling: High task, low relationship
Selling: High task, high relationship
Participating: Low task, low relationship
Delegating: Low task, low relationship
Decision to use developmental intervention
Outcomes:
Task accomplishment
Increased follower maturity (if developmental interventions used)
What is the followers' job maturity?
Psychological maturity?
What is the task to be accomplished?
Followers
Situation

may be more concerned with task or goal accomplishment. The contingency model (Fiedler, 1967) recognizes that leaders have these general behavioral tendencies and specifies situations where certain leaders (or behavioral dispositions) may be more effective than others.

Fiedler's (1967) **contingency model** of leadership is probably the earliest and most well-known contingency theory, and is often perceived by students to be almost the opposite of SLT. In comparing the contingency model to SLT, SLT emphasizes flexibility in leader behaviors, whereas the contingency model maintains that leaders are much more consistent (and consequently less flexible) in their behavior. Situational leadership theory maintains that leaders who *correctly base their behaviors* on follower maturity will be more effective, whereas the contingency model suggests that leader effectiveness is primarily determined by *selecting the right kind of leader for a certain situation or changing the situation* to fit the particular leader's style. Another way to say this is that leadership effectiveness depends on both the leader's style and the favorableness of the leadership situation. Some leaders are better than others in some situations but less effective in other situations. To understand contingency theory, therefore, we need to look first at the critical characteristics of the leader and then at the critical aspects of the situation.

The Least Preferred Co-Worker Scale

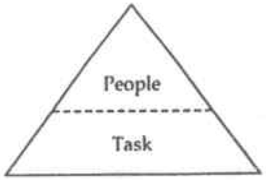
In order to determine a leader's general style or tendency, Fiedler developed an instrument called the **least preferred co-worker (LPC) scale**. The scale instructs a leader to think of the single individual with whom he has had the greatest difficulty working (i.e., the least preferred co-worker) and then to describe that individual in terms of a series of bipolar adjectives (e.g., friendly–unfriendly, boring–interesting, sincere–insincere). Those ratings are then converted into a numerical score.

In thinking about such a procedure, many people assume that the score is determined primarily by the characteristics of whatever particular individual the leader happened to identify as his least preferred co-worker. In the context of contingency theory, however, it is important to understand that the score is thought to *represent something about the leader, not the specific individual the leader evaluated.*

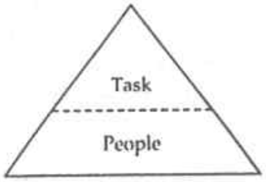
The current interpretation of these scores is that they identify a leader's motivation hierarchy (Fiedler, 1978). Based on their LPC scores, leaders are categorized into two groups: low LPC leaders and high LPC leaders. In terms of their motivation hierarchy, **low LPC leaders** are primarily motivated by the task, which means that these leaders primarily gain satisfaction from task accomplishment. Thus, their dominant behavioral tendencies are similar to the initiating structure behavior described in the Ohio State research or the task behavior of SLT. However, if tasks are being accomplished in an acceptable manner, then low LPC leaders will move to their secondary level of motivation, which is forming and maintaining relationships with followers. Thus, low LPC leaders will focus on improving their relationships with followers *after* they are assured that assigned tasks are being satisfactorily accomplished. As soon as tasks are no longer being accomplished in an acceptable manner, however, low LPC leaders will refocus their efforts on task accomplishment and persist with these efforts until task accomplishment is back on track.

In terms of motivation hierarchy, **high LPC leaders** are primarily motivated by relationships, which means that these leaders are primarily satisfied by establishing and maintaining close interpersonal relationships. Thus, their dominant behavioral tendencies are similar to the consideration behaviors described in the Ohio State research or the relationship behaviors in SLT. If high LPC leaders have established good relationships with their followers, then they will move to their secondary level of motivation, which is task accomplishment. As soon as leader-follower relations are jeopardized, however, high LPC leaders will cease working on tasks and refocus their efforts on improving relationships with followers.

FIGURE 15–5
Motivational Hierarchies for Low and High LPC Leaders



Low LPC Leader motivational hierarchy



High LPC Leader motivational hierarchy

It may help to think in terms of an analogy with a motivational theory we discussed in Chapter Eleven—Maslow's hierarchy of needs. You can think of the LPC scale as identifying two different sorts of leaders with their respective motivational hierarchies depicted in Figure 15–5. As with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, lower-level needs must be satisfied first. Low LPC leaders will move "up" to satisfying relationship needs when they are assured the task is being satisfactorily accomplished. High LPC leaders will move "up" to emphasizing task accomplishment when they have established good relationships with their followers.

Because all tests have some level of imprecision, Fiedler (1978) suggested that the LPC scale cannot accurately identify the motivation hierarchy for those individuals with certain intermediate scores. Research by Kennedy (1982) suggests an alternative view. Kennedy has shown that individuals within the intermediate range of LPC scale scores may more easily or readily switch between being task- or relationship-oriented leaders than those individuals with more extreme scale scores. They may be equally satisfied by working on the task or establishing relationships with followers.

Situational Favorability

The other critical variable in the contingency model is **situation favorability,** which is the amount of control the leader has over the followers. Presumably, the more control a leader has over followers, the more favorable the situation is, at least from the leader's perspective. Fiedler included three subelements in situation favorability. These were leader-member relations, task structure, and position power.

Leader-member relations is the most powerful of the three subelements in determining overall situation favorability. It involves the extent to which relationships between the leader and followers are generally cooperative and friendly or antagonistic and difficult. Leaders who rate leader-member relations as high would feel they had the support of their followers and could rely on their loyalty.

Task structure is second in potency in determining overall situation favorability and is similar to that described in Chapter Thirteen. Here the leader would objectively determine task structure by assessing whether there were detailed descriptions of work products, standard operating procedures, or objective indicators of how well the task is being accomplished. The more one could answer these questions affirmatively, the higher the structure of the task.

Position power is the weakest of the three elements of situation favorability. Position power is similar to legitimate power described in Chapter Six, and leaders who have titles of authority or rank, the authority to administer rewards and punishments, and the legitimacy to conduct follower performance appraisals have greater position power than leaders who lack them.

The relative weights of these three subelements, when added together, can be used to create a continuum of situational favorability. When using the contingency model, leaders are first asked to rate items that measure the strength of leader-member relations, the degree of task structure, and their level of position power. These ratings are then weighted and combined to determine an overall level of situational favorability facing the leader (Fiedler & Chemers, 1982). Any particular situation's favorability can then be plotted on a continuum Fiedler divided into octants representing distinctly different levels of situational favorability. The relative weighting scheme for the subelements and how they make up each of the eight octants can be seen in Figure 15-6.

You can see that the octants of situation favorability range from 1 (highly favorable) to 8 (very unfavorable). The highest levels of situational favorability occur when leader-member relations are good, the task is structured, and position power is high. The lowest levels of situational favorability occur when there are high levels of leader-member conflict, the task is unstructured or unclear, and the leader does not have the power to reward or punish subordinates. Moreover, the relative weighting of the three subelements can easily be seen by their order of precedence in Figure 15-6, with leader-member relations appearing first, followed by task structure and then position power. For example, because leader-member relations carries so much weight, it is impossible for leaders with good leader-member relations to have anything worse than moderate situational favorability, regardless of their task structure or position power. In other words, leaders with good leader-member relations will be in a situation that has situational favorability no worse than octant 4; leaders with poor leader-member relations will be facing a leadership situation with situational favorability being no better than octant 5.

FIGURE 15-6
Contingency Model Octant Structure for Determining Situation Favorability

High ← Overall situation favorability Low

Leader-member relations	Good				Poor			
Task structure	Structured		Unstructured		Structured		Unstructured	
Position power	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Octant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

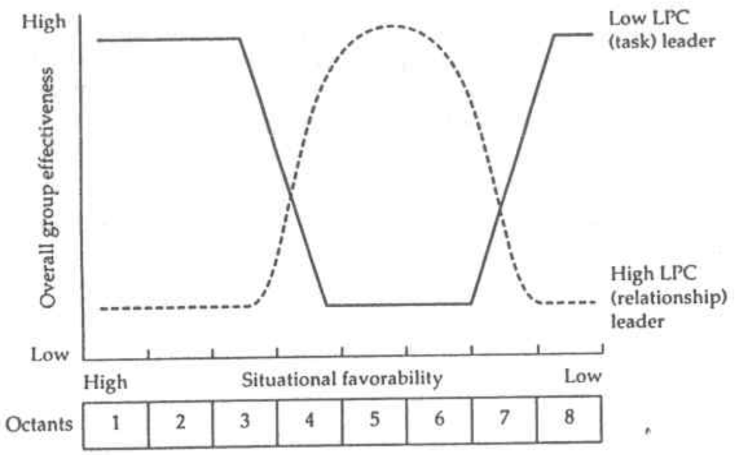
Prescriptions of the Model

Fiedler and his associates have conducted numerous studies to determine how different leaders (as described by their LPC scores) have performed in different situations (as described in terms of situational favorability). Figure 15-7 describes which type of leader (high or low LPC) Fiedler found to be most effective, given different levels of situation favorability. The solid dark line represents the relative effectiveness of a low LPC leader, and the dashed line represents the relative effectiveness of a high LPC leader. It is obvious from the way the two lines cross and recross that there is some interaction between the leader's style and the overall situation favorability. If the situation favorability is moderate (octants 4, 5, 6, or 7), then those groups led by leaders concerned with establishing and maintaining relationships (high LPC leaders) seem to do best. However, if the situation is either very unfavorable (octant 8) or highly favorable (octants 1, 2, or 3), then those groups led by the task-motivated (low LPC) leaders seem to do best.

Fiedler suggested that leaders will try to satisfy their primary motivation when faced with unfavorable or moderately favorable situations. This means

FIGURE 15–7

Leader Effectiveness Based on the Contingency between Leader LPC Score and Situation Favorability



that low LPC leaders will concentrate on the task and high LPC leaders will concentrate on relationships when faced with these two levels of situational favorability. Nevertheless, leaders facing highly favorable situations know that their primary motivations will be satisfied and thus will move to their secondary motivational state. This means that *leaders will behave according to their secondary motivational state only when faced with highly favorable situations* (see Highlight 15–3, High and Low LPC Leaders and the Contingency Model).

There are several interesting implications of Fiedler's (1967) model worthy of additional comment. Because leaders develop their distinctive motivation hierarchies and dominant behavior tendencies through a lifetime of experiences, Fiedler believed these hierarchies and tendencies would be difficult to change through training. Fiedler maintained it was naive to believe that sending someone to a relatively brief leadership training program could substantially alter any leader's personality or typical way of acting in leadership situations; after all, such tendencies had been developed over many years of experience. Instead of trying to change the leader, Fiedler concluded, training would be more effective if it showed leaders how to recognize and change key situational characteristics to better fit their personal motivational hierachies and behavioral tendencies. Thus, according to Fiedler, the content of leadership training should emphazise situational engineering rather than behavioral flexibility in leaders. Relatedly, organizations could become more effective if they matched the characteristics of

HIGHLIGHT 15–3

High and Low LPC Leaders and the Contingency Model

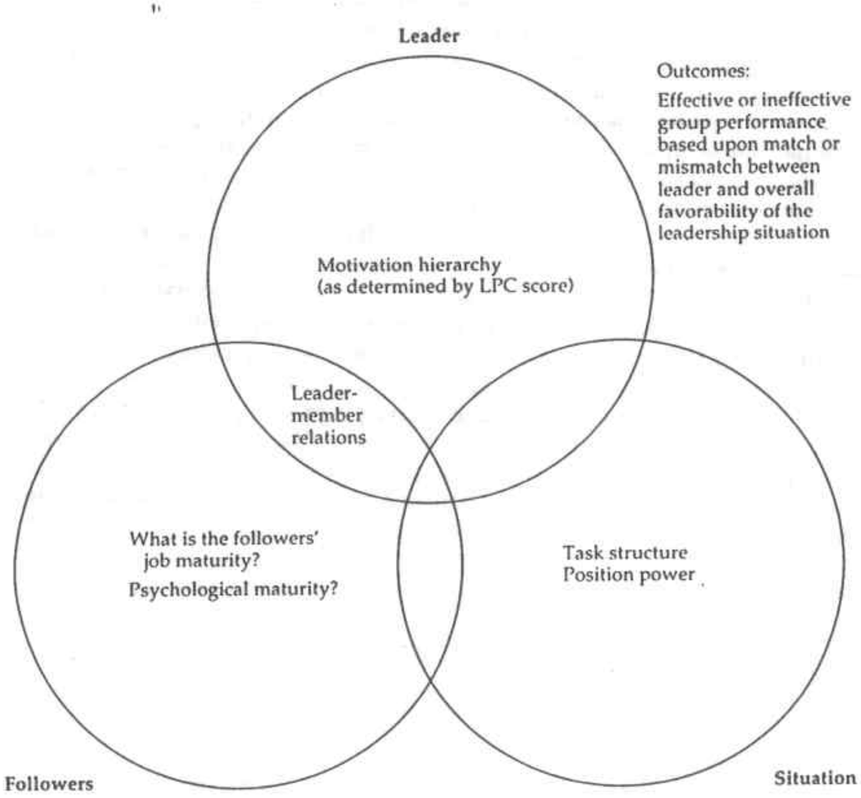
Suppose we had two leaders, Tom Low (a low LPC or task motivated leader) and Brenda High (a high LPC or relationship motivated leader). In unfavorable situations, Tom will be motivated by his primary level and will thus exhibit *task behaviors*. In similar situations, Brenda will also be motivated by her primary level and as a result will exhibit *relationship behaviors*. Fiedler found that in unfavorable situations, task behavior will help the group to be more effective, so Tom's behavior would better match the requirements of the situation. Group effectiveness would not be aided by Brenda's relationship behavior in this situation.

Moving to situations with moderate favorability, both Tom and Brenda are still motivated by their primary motivations, so their behaviors will be precisely the same as described: Tom will exhibit task behaviors and Brenda will exhibit reletionship behaviors. Because the situation has changed, however, group effectiveness no longer requires task behavior. Instead, the combination of situational variables leads to a condition where a leader's relationship behaviors will make the greatest contribution to group effectiveness. Hence, Brenda will be the most effective leader in situations of moderate favorability.

In highly favorable situations, the explanation provided by Fiedler gets more complex. When leaders find themselves in highly favorable situations, they no longer have to be concerned about their primary motivations being satisfied (they already are). *In highly favorable situations, leaders switch to satisfying their secondary motivations.* Because Tom's secondary motivation is to establish and maintain relationships, in highly favorable situations he will exhibit relationship behaviors. Similarly Brenda will also be motivated by her secondary motivation, so she would manifest task behaviors in highly favorable situations. Fiedler believed that leaders who manifested relationship behaviors in highly favorable situations helped groups to be more effective. In this case, Tom is giving the group what they need to be more effective.

the leader (in this case LPC scores) with the demands of the situation (i.e., situational favorability) than if they tried to change the leader to fit the situation. These suggestions imply that high or low LPC leaders in mismatched situations should either change the situation or move to jobs that better match their motivational hierachies and behavorial patterns. Although the idea of fitting the characteristics of the leader to the demands of the situation is very similar to earlier suggestions made about improving the usefulness of personality traits (Chapter Seven) in leadership selection, the suggestions for leadership training are almost the opposite of those put forth by the other theories in this chapter.

FIGURE 15–8
Factors from Fiedler's Contingency Theory and the Interactional Framework


Leader
Outcomes:
Effective or ineffective group performance based upon match or mismatch between leader and overall favorability of the leadership situation
Motivation hierarchy (as determined by LPC score)
Leader-member relations
What is the followers' job maturity?
Psychological maturity?
Task structure
Position power
Followers
Situation

Concluding Thoughts about the Contingency Model

Before reviewing the empirical evidence, perhaps a clearer understanding of the contingency model can be attained by examining it through the L-F-S framework. As seen in Figure 15-8, task structure is a function of the situation and LPC scores are a function of the leader. Because position power is not a characteristic of the leader but of the situation the leader finds him- or herself in, it is included in the situational circle. Leader-member relations is a joint function of the leader and the followers; thus, it best belongs in the overlapping intersection of the leader and follower circles.

As opposed to the dearth of evidence for Hersey and Blanchard's (1969, 1982) situational theory, Fiedler and his fellow researchers have provided

considerable evidence that the predictions of the model are empirically valid, particularly in laboratory settings (Fiedler, 1978; Fiedler & Chemers, 1982; Peters, Hartke, & Pohlmann, 1985; Strube & Garcia, 1981). However, a review of the studies conducted in field settings yielded only mixed support for the model (Peters, Hartke, & Pohlmann, 1985). Moreover, researchers have criticized the model for the uncertainties surrounding the meaning of LPC scores (Kennedy, 1982; Rice, 1978; Schriesheim & Kerr, 1977); the interpretation of situational favorability (Jago & Ragan, 1986a, 1986b); and the relationships between LPC scores and situational favorability (Jago & Ragan, 1986a, 1986b; Vecchio, 1983).

Recent research by Ayman and Chemers (1991) may provide a partial explanation for why some studies failed to support certain hypotheses of the contingency model. These researchers assessed leaders' motivational hierarchies (via LPC scores) and situational favorability levels as well as leaders' standing on the trait of self-monitoring (as described in Chapter Seven). Ayman and Chemers found that those leaders who were low in self-monitoring performed poorly when there was not a match between their LPC scores and situational favorability. However, in the same mismatches between LPC score and situation favorability, high self-monitors performed significantly better than the model predicted. Apparently, those leaders who were good at reading social cues from their followers and modifying their behavior according to those cues had higher-performing groups, even when the leaders' motivational hierarchies did not match the needs of the situation. Thus, Fiedler's explanation of behavior determinism may be less applicable to high self-monitors than it is to low self-monitors.

The latter finding by Ayman and Chemers (1991) makes an important point that concerns all four of the theories in this chapter. Even though the contingency theories are more comprehensive than any of the other leadership models or theories previously described in this text, even these four theories are still extremely limited with respect to the myriad of leader, follower, and situational factors that affect the leadership process. For example, none of the theories really consider the variety of leadership traits found to be related to leadership effectiveness (like self-monitoring); the leader's and followers' values, attitudes, and preferences; the cohesiveness, norms, or size of the group; or the task, organizational design and culture, or environmental factors that can affect the leadership process. Because many of the latter variables can and do vary in field settings (and often have a greater effect on the leadership process than the variables considered by the theories described in this chapter), finding any support for these theories outside controlled laboratory experiments is fairly remarkable. Thus, although many of the criticisms of Fiedler's contingency model remain unanswered, the theory has been thoroughly tested in laboratory settings and has found some degree of empirical support in field settings. Furthermore, like any good theory, the contingency model has stimulated considerable research, and even if this research did not always lend support to the model, the findings still contributed to our knowledge of the leadership process.

THE PATH–GOAL THEORY

Perhaps the most sophisticated (and comprehensive) of the four contingency models is **path-goal theory**. The underlying mechanism of path-goal theory is not particularly new or complicated. In fact, we discussed the "engine" of path-goal theory when we described expectancy theory in Chapter Eleven. You may recall that expectancy theory was a cognitive theory of motivation where people calculated effort-to-performance probabilities (If I study for 12 hours what is the probability I will get an A on the final exam?), performance-to-outcome probabilities (If I get an A on the final what is the probability of getting an A in the course?), and assigned valences or values to outcome (How much do I value a higher GPA?). Theoretically at least, people were assumed to make these calculations on a rational basis, and the theory could be used to predict what tasks people will put their energies into, given some finite number of options.

Path-goal theory uses the same basic assumptions of expectancy theory. At the most fundamental level, the effective leader will provide or ensure the availability of valued rewards for followers (the "goal") and then help them find the best way of getting there (the "path"). Along the way, the effective leader will help the followers identify and remove roadblocks, and avoid dead ends; the leader will also provide emotional support as needed. These "task" and "relationship" leadership actions essentially involve increasing followers' probability estimates for effort-to-performance and performance-to-reward expectancies. In other words, the leader's actions should strengthen followers' beliefs that if they exert a certain level of effort then they will be more likely to accomplish a task, and if they accomplish the task then they will be more likely to achieve some valued outcome.

Although not very complicated in its basic concept, the model added more variables and interactions over time. Evans (1970) is credited with the first version of path-goal theory, but we will focus on a later version developed by House and Dessler (1974). Their conceptual scheme is ideally suited to the L-F-S framework because they described three classes of vairables, which include leader behaviors, followers, and the situation. We will examine each of these in turn.

Leader Behaviors

The four types of leader behavior in path-goal theory can be seen in Table 15–2. Like SLT, path-goal theory assumes that leaders not only may use varying styles with different subordinates but might very well use differing styles with the same subordinates in different situations. Path-goal theory suggests that depending on the followers and the situation, these different leader behaviors can increase followers' acceptance of the leader, enhance their level of satisfaction, and raise their expectations that effort will result in effective performance, which in turn will lead to valued rewards.

TABLE 15–2

The Four Leader Behaviors of Path-Goal Theory

Directive Leadership. These leader behaviors are very similar to the task behaviors from SLT. They include telling the followers what they are expected to do, how to do it, when it is to be done, and how their work fits in with the work of others. This behavior would also include setting schedules, establishing norms, and providing expectations that followers will adhere to established procedure and regulations.

Supportive leadership. Supportive leadership behaviors include courteous and friendly interactions, expressing genuine concern for the followers' well-being and individual needs, and remaining open and approachable to followers. These behaviors, which are very similar to the relationship behaviors in SLT, also are marked by attention to the competing demands of treating followers equally while recognizing status differentials between the leader and the followers.

Participative leadership. Participative leaders engage in the behaviors that mark the consultative and group behaviors described by Vroom and Yetton (1973). As such, they tend to share work problems with followers; solicit their suggestions, concerns, and recommendations; and weigh these inputs in the decision-making process.

Achievement-oriented leadership. Leaders exhibiting these would be seen as both demanding and supporting in interactions with their followers. In the first place, they would set very challenging goals for group and follower behavior, continually seek ways to improve performance en route, and expect the followers to always perform at their highest levels. But they would support these behaviors by exhibiting a high degree of ongoing confidence that subordinates *can* put forth the necessary effort; *will* achieve the desired results; and, even further, *will* assume even more responsibility in the future.

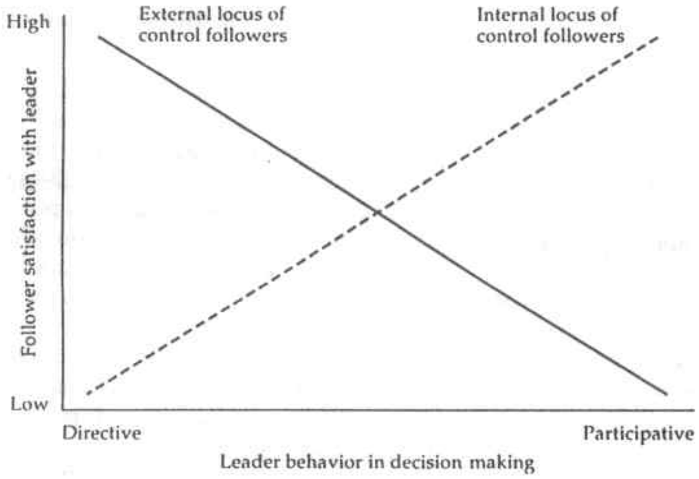
The Followers

Path-goal theory contains two groups of follower variables. The first relates to the *satisfaction of followers,* and the second relates to the *followers' perception of their own abilities* relative to the task to be accomplished. In terms of followers' satisfaction, path-goal theory suggests that leader behaviors will be acceptable to the followers to the degree followers see the leader's behavior as either an immediate source of satisfaction or as directly instrumental in achieving future satisfaction. In other words, followers will actively support a leader as long as they view the leader's actions as a means for increasing their own levels of satisfaction. However, there is only so much a leader can do to increase followers' satisfaction levels, as satisfaction also depends on characteristics of the followers themselves.

A frequently cited example of how followers' characteristics influence the impact of leader behaviors on followers' levels of satisfaction involves the trait of

FIGURE 15–9

Interaction between Followers' Locus of Control Scores and Leader Behavior in Decision Making



Source: Adapted from T. R. Mitchell, C. M. Smyser, and S. E. Weed, "Locus of Control: Supervision and Work Satisfaction," *Academy of Management Journal* 18 (1975), pp. 623–30.

locus of control (as described in Chapter Seven). Mitchell, Smyser, and Weed (1975) found that follower satisfaction was not directly related to the degree of participative behaviors manifest by the leader (i.e., followers with highly paritcipative leaders were not any more satisfied than followers with more autocratic leaders). However, when followers' locus of control scores were taken into account, a contingency relationship was discovered. As can be seen in Figure 15–9, internal-locus-of-control followers, who believed outcomes were a result of their own decisions, were much more satisfied with leaders who exhibited participative behaviors than they were with leaders who were directive. Conversely, external locus of control followers were more satisfied with directive leader behaviors than they were with participative leader behaviors.

Followers' perceptions of their own skills and abilities to perform particular tasks can also affect the impact of certain leader behaviors. Followers who believe they are perfectly capable of performing a task are not as apt to be motivated by, or as willing to accept, a directive leader as they would a leader who exhibits participative behaviors. Using the same rationale as for locus of control, one can predict the oposite relationship for followers who do not percieive thay have sufficient abilities to perform the task. Once again, the acceptability of the leader and the motivation to perform are in part determined by followers' characteristics. Thus, path-goal theory suggests that both leader behaviors and follower characteristics are important in determining outcomes.

The Situation

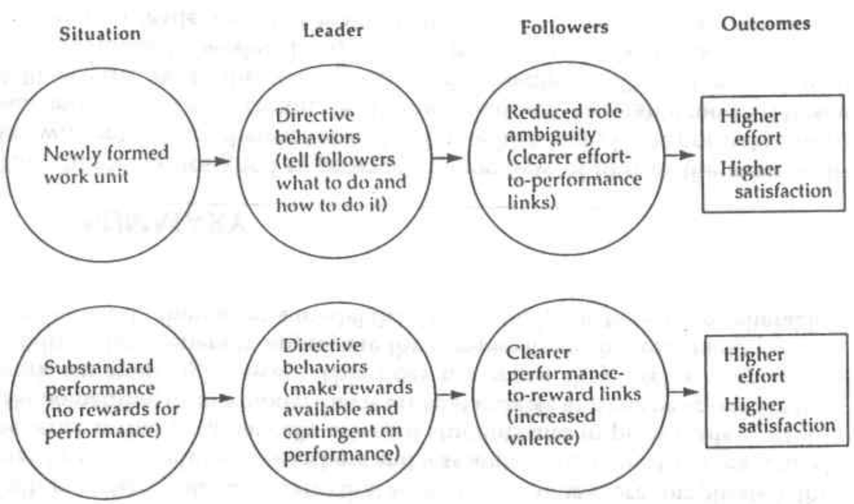
Path-goal theory considers three situational factors that impact or moderate the effects of leader behavior on follower attitudes and behaviors. These include *the task, the formal authority system,* and *the primary work group.* Each of these three factors has been described earlier in this text, and each can influence the leadership situation in one of three ways. These three factors can serve as an independent motivational factor, a constraint on the behavior of followers (which may be either positive or negative in outcome), or as a reward. For example, it may be recalled from Chapter Thirteen that the task itself could be motivational (if it involved a high level of skill variety and task significance), constraining (if it had a high level of task interdependence), or delegated as a reward (if it had a high level of autonomy).

However, it should also be increasingly apparent that these variables can often affect the impact of various leader behaviors. For example, if the task is very structured and routine, the formal authority system has constrained followers' behaviors, and the work group has established clear norms for performance, then leaders would be serving a redundant purpose by manifesting directive or achievement-oriented behaviors. These prescriptions are similar to some of those noted in substitutes for leadership theory (Kerr & Jermier, 1978), as everything the follower needs in order to understand the effort-to-performance and performance-to-reward links is provided by the situation. Thus, redundant leader behaviors might be interpreted by followers as either a complete lack of understanding or empathy by the leader, or an attempt by the leader to exert excessive control. Neither of these interpretations is likely to enhance the leader's acceptance by followers or increase their motivation.

Although we have already described how follower characteristics and situational characteristics can impact leader behaviors, path-goal theory also maintains that follower and situational variables can impact each other. In other words, situational variables, such as the task performed, can also impact the influence of followers' skills, abilities, or personality traits on folllowers' satisfaction. Although this seems to make perfect sense, hopefully you are beginning to see how complicated path-goal theory can be when one starts considering how situational variables, follower characteristics, and leader behaviors interact in the leadership process. Because these interactions can become extremely complicated and are beyond the scope of this text, readers who wish to learn more about the intricacies of path-goal theory are encouraged to read House and Dessler (1974).

FIGURE 15–10

Examples of Applying Path-Goal Theory

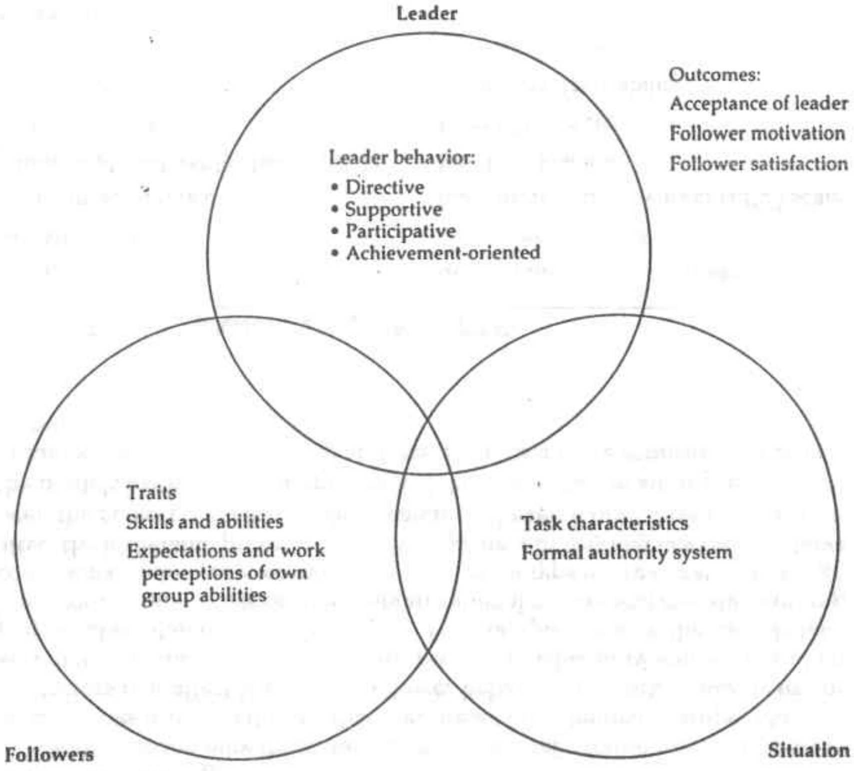

Situation
Leader
Followers
Outcomes
Newly formed work unit
Directive behaviors (tell followers what to do and how to do it)
Reduced role ambiguity (clearer effort-to-performance links)
Higher effort
Higher satisfaction
Substandard performance (no rewards for performance)
Directive behaviors (make rewards available and contingent on performance)
Clearer performance-to-reward links (increased valence)
Higher effort
Higher satisfaction

Prescriptions of the Theory

In general, path-goal theory maintains that leaders should first assess the situation and select a leadership behavior appropriate to situational demands. By manifesting the appropriate behaviors, leaders can increase followers' effort-to-performance expectancies, performance-to-reward expectancies, or valences of the outcomes. These increased expectancies and valences will improve subordinates' effort levels and the rewards attained, which in turn will increase subordinates' satisfaction and performance levels and the acceptance of their leaders. Perhaps the easiest way to explain this fairly complicated process is through the use of an example. Suppose we have a set of followers who are in a newly created work unit and do not have a clear understanding of the requirements of their positions. In other words, the followers have a reasonably high level of role ambiguity. According to path-goal theory, leaders should exhibit a high degree of directive behaviors in order to reduce the role ambiguity of their followers. The effort-to-performance link will become clearer when leaders tell followers what to do and how to do it in ambiguous situations, which in turn will cause followers to exert higher effort levels. Because role ambiguity is assumed to be unpleasant, these directive leader behaviors and higher effort levels should eventually result in higher satisfaction levels among followers. Figure 15–10 provides a graphic representation of this process. Similarly, leaders may look at the leadership situation and note that followers' performance levels are not acceptable. The leader may also conclude that the current situation offers few, if any, incentives for increased performance. In this case, the leader may use directive behaviors to increase the value of the rewards (or valence), which in turn will increase followers' effort levels and performance.

FIGURE 15–11

Factors from Path-Goal Theory and the Interactional Framework


Leader
Outcomes:
Acceptance of leader
Follower motivation
Follower satisfaction
Leader behavior:
• Directive
• Supportive
• Participative
• Achievement-oriented
Traits
Skills and abilities
Expectations and work perceptions of own group abilities
Task characteristics
Formal authority system
Followers
Situation

Concluding Thoughts about the Path-Goal Theory

Before getting into the research surrounding path-goal theory, it may be useful to examine the theory using the L-F-S framework. As seen in Figure 15–11, the components of path-goal theory fit quite nicely into the L-F-S model. The four leader behaviors fit squarely in the leader circle, the characteristics of the followers fit into the follower circle, and the task and formal authority system fit into the situation circle. Of all the components of path-goal theory, the only "mismatch" with the L-F-S model deals with the primary work group. The norms, cohesiveness, size, and stage of development of groups is considered to be part of the follower function in the L-F-S model but is part of the situation function in path-goal theory. In that regard, we hasten to note we use the L-F-S framework primarily for heuristic purposes. Ultimately, the concepts described in these four theories are sufficiently complex and ambiguous that there probably is no "right" answer to any single depiction.

In terms of research, the path-goal theory has received only mixed support to date (Schriesheim & DeNisi, 1981; Schriesheim & Kerr, 1977; Yukl, 1989). Although many of these mixed findings may be due to the fact that the path-goal theory excludes many of the variables found to impact the leadership process, thay may also be due to problems with the theory. Yukl (1989) maintained that most of these criticisms deal with the methodology used to study path-goal theory and the limitations of expectancy theory (as noted in Chapter Eleven). Moreover, the path-goal theory assumes that the only way to increase performance is to increase followers' motivation levels. The theory ignores the roles leaders play in selecting talented followers, building their skill levels through training, and redesigning their work (Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992).

Nonetheless, path-goal theory is useful for illustrating two points. First, as noted by Yukl (1989), "path-goal theory has already made a contribution to the study of leadership by providing a conceptual framework to guide researchers in identifying potentially relevant situational moderator variables" (p. 104). Path-goal theory also illustrates that as models become more complicated, they may be more useful to researchers and less appealing to practitioners. Our experience is that pragmatically oriented students and in-place leaders want to take something from a model that is understandable and can be applied in their work situation right away. This does not mean they prefer simplicity to validity—they generally appreciate the complexity of the leadership process. But neither do they want a model that is so complex as to be indecipherable.

SUMMARY

This chapter is designed to provide an overview of four of the more well-known contingency theories of leadership, which include the normative decision model (Vroom & Yetton, 1973), the situational leadership model (Hersey & Blanchard, 1984), the contingency model (Fiedler, 1967), and the path-goal theory (House & Dessler, 1974). All four models are fairly similar in that they specify that leaders should make their behaviors contingent on certain aspects of the followers or the situation in order to improve leadership effectiveness. In addition, all four theories implicitly assume that leaders can accurately assess key follower and situational factors. However, based on the material in Chapter Two about perception, it is entirely possible that two leaders in the same situation may reach very different conclusions about followers' level of knowledge, maturity, the strength of leader-follower relationships, the degree of task structure, or the level of role ambiguity being experienced by followers. These differences in perception could lead these two leaders to reach different conclusions about the situation, which may in turn cause them to take very different actions in response to the situation. Furthermore, these actions may be in accordance or in conflict with the prescriptions of any of these four theories, and leaders whose perceptions may have caused them to act in a manner not prescribed by a particular model may be an underlying reason why these four theories have reported conflicting findings, particularly in field settings.

Another reason why these theories have generally found mixed support in field settings concerns the fact that they are all fairly limited in scope. Many of the factors that affect leader and follower behaviors in work group, team, or volunteer committee settings are not present in laboratory studies but often play a substantial role in field studies. For example, none of the models take into acoount how levels of stress, organizational culture and climate, working conditions, technology, economic conditions, or type of organizational design affect the leadership process. Nevertheless, the four contingency theories have been the subject of considerable research, and even if only mixed support for the models has been found, this research has succeeded in adding to our body of knowledge about leadership and has given us a more sophisticated understanding of the leadership process.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

normative decision model
decision quality
decision acceptance
situational leadership theory (SLT)
task behaviors
relationship behaviors
job maturity
psychological maturity
developmental interventions
contingency model
least preferred co-worker (LPC) scale
low LPC leaders
high LPC leaders
situational favorability
path-goal theory

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Given the description of the leadership situation facing the airplane crash survivors described in Chapter One, how would the Vroom-Yetton model, situational leadership theory, the contingency model, and path-goal theory prescribe how a leader should act?
2. Given the leadership situation in the social services agency described in Chapter Five, how would situational leadership theory, the contingency model, and path-goal theory prescribe how the leader should act?
3. Can leaders be flexible in how they interact with others? Is this a function of any of the traits described in Chapter Seven?
4. What perspectives do the theories in this chapter offer concerning the question of whether leadership develops through experience?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Fiedler, F. E., and M. M. Chemers. *Improving Leadership Effectiveness: The Leader Match Concept*. 2nd ed. New York: Wiley, 1982.

Hersey, P., and K. H. Blanchard. *The Management of Organizational Behavior*. 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1984.

Chapter Sixteen

Current Topics in Leadership Research

Introduction
The Group Effectiveness Model
  Outputs
  Process
  Inputs
  Prescriptions of the Model
  Concluding Thoughts about the Group Effectiveness Model
Transformational or Charismatic Leadership
  Charismatic Leadership: A Historical Review
  What Are the Characteristics of Charismatic Leadership?
  Bass's (1985) Theory of Transformational and Transactional Leadership
  Are Charismatic Leaders Always Good?
  Training and Selecting Charismatic Leaders
  Concluding Thoughts about Transformational or Charismatic Leadership
Summary

INTRODUCTION

If you think about all of the research reviewed in the first 15 chapters in this text, then you will probabably agree that we know quite a bit about the leadership process. Nevertheless, what we do not know about the leadership process far outweighs what we do know. Because much about the leadership process remains to be discovered, and because of the intrinsic interest of the topic, there has been an explosion of leadership research over the past 20 years. For example, the first comprehensive listing of leadership research cited approximately 3,500 leadership studies (Stogdill, 1974), but the most recent edition listed over 8,000 references (Bass, 1990). Some of this more recent research has

HIGHLIGHT 16–1

Leadership Quotes, Chapter Sixteen

Setting an example is not the main means of influencing another, it is the only means.

Albert Einstein

A prime function of a leader is to keep hope alive.

John W. Gardner

Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

I am tired of dealing with a lot of prima donnas. By God, you tell that bunch that if they can't get together and stop quarreling like children, I will tell the Prime Minister to get someone else to run this damn war.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower

The beatings will continue until morale improves.

Sign on an executive's desk

tried to answer the questions raised by some of the earliest leadership researchers, such as what roles individual difference variables play in leadership effectiveness, how leaders and followers influence each other, or how situational variables affect the leadership process. However, other research has focused on answering a number of new leadership questions, and this chapter reviews the research surrounding two of these newer questions (also see Highlight 16–1 for other kinds of ideas about leadership).

More specifically, given the recent interest in self-managed work groups and teams (Hackman, 1990; Manz, 1986; Wall, Kemp, Jackson, & Clegg, 1986; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992), the first section in this chapter details a model of group effectiveness developed by Hackman (1990) and Ginnett (1992). Although many of the components of this model have been described earlier in this text, the specific hypotheses about how these components affect group effectiveness make this model quite unique. The second section reviews what we currently know about transformational or charismatic leadership. This section provides a brief historical review of the research on charismatic leadership, details the unique characteristics of charismatic leadership, and describes one of the more well-known theories of charismatic or transformational leadership. It is important to note the two leadership topics reviewed in this chapter are fairly

comprehensive, as they generally take into account a far greater number of leader, follower, and situational factors than any of the other leadership theories described in this text.

THE GROUP EFFECTIVENESS MODEL

Since we have emphasized that leadership is a group function and have suggested that one measure of leadership effectiveness may be whether the group achieves its objectives, it is reasonable to examine a model specifically designed to help groups perform more effectively: the **group effectiveness model.** Another way to think of this model is as a mechanism to first identify what a group needs to be effective, and then point the leader either toward the roadblocks that are hindering the group or toward ways to make the group even more effective than it already is. This approach is similar to McGrath's (1964) description of leadership, which suggested that the leader's main job was to determine what needs the group was faced with and then take care of them.

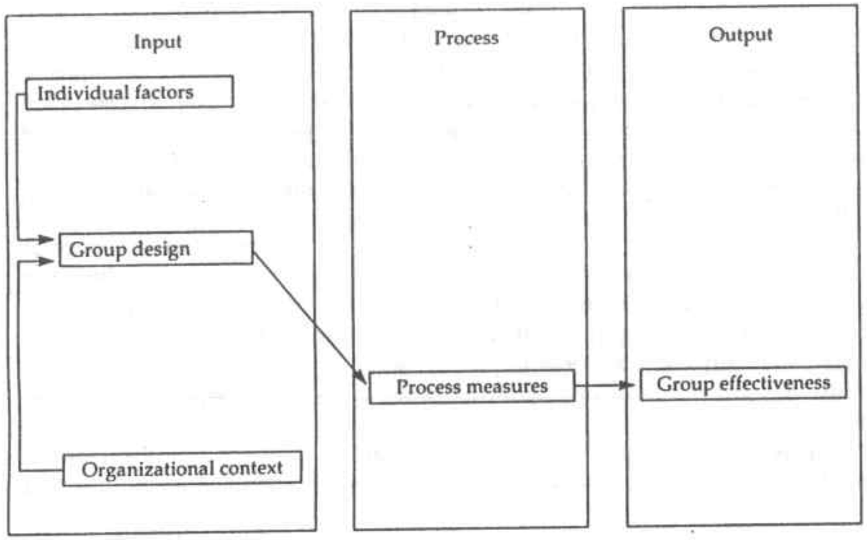
We have mentioned this model of group effectiveness briefly before, but now we will explore it in greater detail. The original model was developed by Hackman and has been the basis for much research on groups and teams over the last 20 years (Hackman, 1990). The model presented here includes modifications by Ginnett and represents an example of a leadership model that is guiding ongoing research. A complete illustration of the model will be shown later. Because of its complexity, it is easier to understand by starting with a few simpler illustrations.

At the most basic level, this model (see Figure 16–1) resembles a systems theory approach with inputs on the left (i.e., individual, group, and organizational factors), processes or throughputs in the center (i.e., what one can tell about the group by actually observing group members at work), and outputs on the right (i.e., how well the group did in accomplishing its objectives). We will examine each of these stages. However, we will proceed through the model in reverse order—looking at outputs first, then the process stage, then inputs.

Outputs

What do we mean by **outputs**? Quite simply, outputs are the results of the group's work. For example, a football team scores 24 points. A production team produces 24 valves in a day. A tank crew hits 24 targets on an artillery range. Such raw data, however, are insufficient for assessing group effectiveness. How do we know if a group's output is good? How do we know if a group is effective? Even though it was possible for the three different teams mentioned above to measure some aspect of their work, these measurements are not very helpful in determining their effectiveness, either in an absolute sense

FIGURE 16–1
Systems View of Group Leadership Model



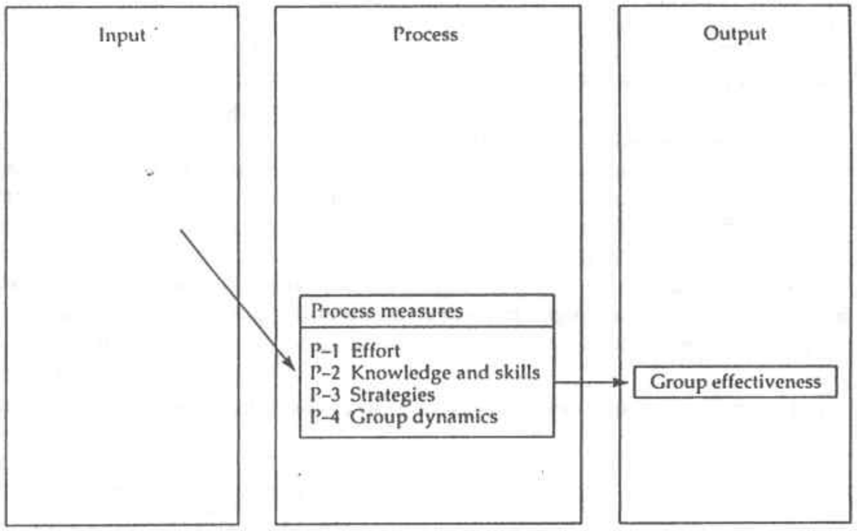
or in a relative sense. For comparison and research purposes, it is desirable to have some measures of group effectiveness that can be applied across groups and tasks. Hackman (1990) argued that a group is effective if (*a*) the team's productive output (goods, services, decisions) meets the standards of quantity, quality, and timeliness of the people who use it; (*b*) the group process that occurs while the group is performing its task enhances the ability of the members to work together as a team in the future; and (*c*) the group experience enhances the growth and personal well-being of the individuals who comprise the team.

Process

It should be obvious why leaders should be concerned with the outputs listed in the preceding section. After all, if a group does not "produce" (output), then it could not be considered effective. But what is *process*? And why should a leader care about it? Actually, there are several reasons a leader might want to pay attention to the group's process—how it goes about its work.

Some groups may have such a limited number of products that the leader can ill afford to wait until the product is delivered to assess its acceptability to the client. For example, a team whose task is to build one (and only one) satellite to be launched into orbit will have no second chances. There will be no opportunity to correct any problem once the satellite is launched. Therefore, it may be desirable for the leader of such a team to assess his team's work *while it is working* rather than after the satellite is launched. Other kinds of teams have such high standards for routine work that there simply are not enough critical indicators in the end product to determine effectiveness from outcome measures. As an example of this situation, a team operating a nuclear power plant is surrounded by so many technical backup systems that it may be difficult to determine team effectiveness by looking at "safe operation" as a measurement criterion. But we have evidence that all teams in nuclear power plants do not operate equally well (Chernobyl and Three Mile Island are but two examples). It would seem helpful to be able to assess real teams "in process" rather than learn of group problems only following disastrous outcomes. Even leaders of noncritical teams might like to be able to routinely monitor their teams for evidence of effective or ineffective processes. The way groups go about their work can provide some very useful information to the leader.

FIGURE 16–2
Process Measures of Effectiveness



Let us focus for a moment on the block containing the four **process measures** of effectiveness in Figure 16-2. These four process measures of effectiveness provide criteria by which we can examine the ways in which groups work. If a team is to perform effectively, it must (*a*) work hard enough; (*b*) have sufficient knowledge and skills to perform the task; (*c*) have an appropriate strategy to accomplish its work (or ways to approach the task at hand); and (*d*) have constructive and positive group dynamics among its members. (The phrase *group dynamics* refers to interactions among group members, including such aspects as how they communicate with other, express feelings toward each other, and deal with conflict with each other.) These are identified by the labels *P-1* through *P-4* (*P* stands for process) in Figure 16-2.

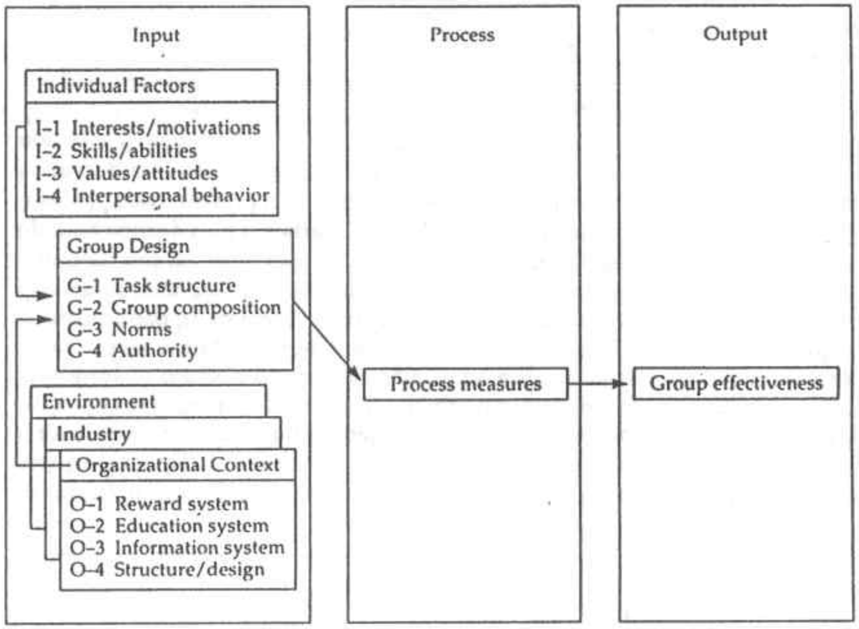
What should the leader do if she discovers a problem with one of these four process measures? Paradoxically, the answer is *not* to focus her attention on that process per se. While the four process measures are fairly good *diagnostic* measures for a group's ultimate effectiveness, they are, unfortunately, not particularly good leverage points for *fixing* the problem. An analogy from medicine would be a doctor who diagnoses the symptoms of an infection (a fever) but who then treats the symptoms rather than attacking the true underlying cause (a nail in the patient's foot). Similarly at the group level, rather than trying to correct a lack of effort being applied to the task at hand (perhaps a motivation problem), the team leader would be better advised to discover the underlying problem and fix that than to assume that a motivational speech to the group will do the job. This is not to imply that groups cannot benefit from process help. It merely suggests that the leader should ensure that there are not underlying problems (at the input level) that should be fixed first.

Inputs

In a manufacturing plant, inputs are the raw materials that are processed into products for sale. Similarly in group situations, inputs are what is available for groups as they go about their work. There is a variety of levels of inputs, ranging from the individual level to the environmental level. Some of the inputs provide little opportunity for the leader to influence or alter—they are merely givens. Leaders are often put in charge of teams with little or no control over the environment, industry, or even the organizational conditions. There are other inputs, however, that the leader can impact to create the conditions for effective group work.

Figure 16-3 shows the multiple levels in the **input stage** of the model. Note that there are input factors at the individual and organizational levels and that both of these levels affect the group design level. Also note that there is a **leverage point** [*I*(ndividual) *1-4*, *G*(roup) *1-4*, and *O*(rganization) *1-4*] corresponding to each of the four process measures of effectiveness (*P-1* through *P-4*). The meaning and importance of these leverage points will be clearer if we look at a few specific examples. As described earlier, let us assume we have observed a group and discovered that its members are just not working very hard. They seem to be uninterested in the task, frequently wandering off or not even showing up for work. We would diagnose this at the process level as a problem of effort (*P-1*). Rather than just encouraging them to work harder (or threatening them), we should first look at the input level to see if there is some underlying problem.

FIGURE 16-3
Input Stage for the Group Leadership Model



The individual level (*I-1*, corresponding to a *P-1* **diagnosis**) suggests that we look at the interests and motivations of the individual team members. These are referred to as **individual factors** in the model. If we have built a team to perform a mechanical assembly task but the individuals assigned have little or no interest in mechanical work, and instead prefer the performing arts, they may have little interest in contributing much effort to the team task. Here, selection of personnel using instruments such as the Cambell Interest and Skills Survey may help our team's effort level from an individual perspective (D. P. Campbell, Hyne, & Nilsen, 1992).

Next let us look at inputs in the **organizational context.** While it may seem logical to move to the group-level inputs next, it may be useful to point out again that this model emphasizes the way groups are influenced by both individual and organizational level inputs (note the direction of the arrows "leading into" the group design stage in Figure 16-3). Therefore, we will look at the organizational level next. At the organizational level (*0-1*), the model suggests that we should examine the reward system that may be impacting the team. If the individuals have no incentive provided by the organization for putting forth effort, they might not be very inclined to work hard, or at all. Similarly, the reward system may be solely structured to reward individual performance. Such a reward structure would be inconsistent with designs for a team task where interdependence and cooperation among members is often an underlying premise. If a professional basketball organization provides rewards for players based only on individual points scored, with no bonuses for team performance (games won or making the playoffs), you can expect little passing, setting picks for teammates, and so on.

Both the individual and organizational level variables contribute to the group's ability to perform the task. But there can also be problems at the **group design** level. Here (*G-1*), a poorly designed task is hypothesized to be unmotivating. (The job characteristics model for designing intrinsically rewarding work was discussed in a previous chapter.) If a job is meaningless, lacks sufficient autonomy, or provides no knowledge of results, we would not expect to see followers putting forth much effort.

Using the model, we found key leverage points at various levels of the input stage that would impact the way the group went about its work (group process). In the example cited, we diagnosed a process-level problem with effort (*P-1*), so we examined the *1*-level variables at the individual, organizational, and group levels for input stage problems. By the way, the concept of leverage point does not imply that *only* factors at corresponding "numbers" should be considered. For example, a group's effort might be affected by other variables such as group norms (*G-3*), values, attitudes (*I-3*), and so on. The model predicts *most likely* problem areas.

Before moving to the leadership component, let us examine a recent addition to the model: the process measure of group dynamics (*G-4*). Consider the following two examples:

> *Surgical team*
>
> A surgical team comprised of highly experienced members is involved in a surgical procedure that each member has participated in numerous times before. During one portion of the procedure, the surgeon asks for a particular instrument. The scrub nurse looks across the table at the assistant with a questioning gaze and then hands the surgeon the instrument he requested. Recognizing the instrument he has been handed (and asked for) is not correct for the current procedure, he throws it down on the table and curses at the scrub nurse. All members of the surgical team take a half-step back from the table and all casual conversation stops. No one offers any further voluntary assistance to the surgeon.
>
> *Commercial airline crew*
>
> A commercial airline crew is making a routine approach into an uncrowded airport on a clear day. The captain is flying and has declared a visual approach. His final approach to the runway is not good, which greatly complicates the plane's landing, and the landing is poor. After taxiing to the gate, the captain and his entire crew debrief (discuss) the poor approach, and the team members talk about what they could have done individually and collectively to help the captain avoid or improve a poor approach in the future. The captain thanks the members for their help and encourages them to consider how they could implement their suggestions in other situations.

Obviously, the group dynamics are very different in these two cases. In the first example, the surgeon's behavior, coupled with his status, created a condition inappropriate for effective teamwork. The airline captain in the second example, even though not performing the task well, created a group environment where the team was much more likely to perform well in the future. In both of these cases, we would have observed unusual (one negative and one positive) group dynamics while the group was at work. These are examples of the authority dynamics at the *G-4* level.

Again returning to the model for determining points of leverage, we would check the *I-4* variable at the individual level to determine if the group members involved had adequate interpersonal skills to interact appropriately. At the organizational level, the *0-4* variable would suggest we check organizational components to determine if the design or structure inhibits effective group work. Finally, at the group design level, the *G-4* variable would have us examine authority dynamics created between the leader and the followers. Authority dynamics describe the various ways the group members relate and respond to authority. It is at the group level that the followers have opportunities to relate directly with the team's authority figure, the team leader. The intricacies of how these various authority dynamics can play themselves out in a group's life are more complex than this chapter warrants. Suffice it to say that there is a range of authority relationships that can be created, ranging from autocratic to laissez-faire.

It would be simple if leaders could identify and specify in advance the ideal type of authority for them and their groups, and then work toward that objective. However, groups seldom can operate effectively under one fixed type of authority over time. The leader might prefer to use his or her favorite style, and the followers might also have an inherent preference for one type of authority or another; but if the group is to be effective, then the authority dynamics they are operating with should complement the demands of the situation. Since situations often change over time, so should the authority dynamics of the team. This idea is very similar to a point made earlier in the book—that effective leaders tend to use all five sources of leader power.

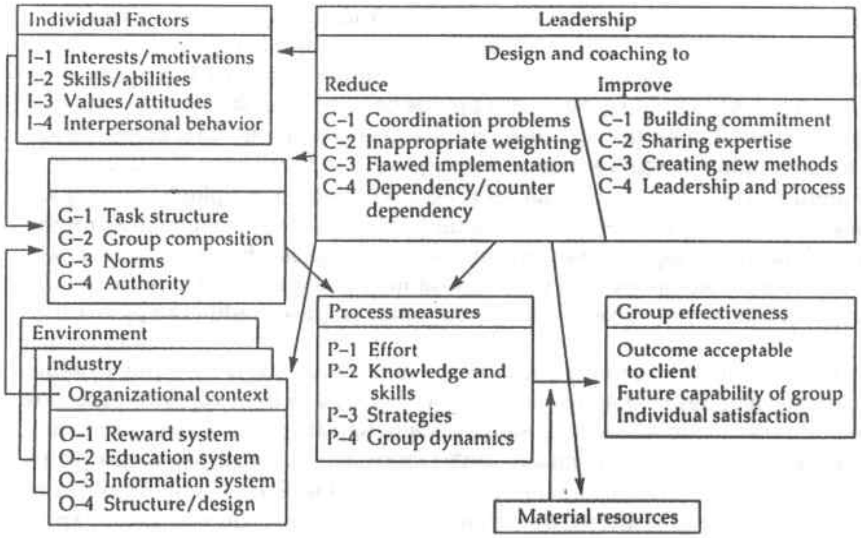
In research on the behavior of leaders in forming their teams, Ginnett (in press) found that highly effective leaders used a variety of authority dynamics in the first few minutes of the group's life. This does not mean that each highly effective leader used a single style that was different from the others (i.e., other leaders). It does mean that each one of the effective leaders used a variety of authority styles. At one point in the first meeting of the group, the leader would behave directively, which enabled him to establish his competence and hence his legitimate authority. At another time, he would engage the group in a very participative activity and actively seek participation from each member of the team. By modeling a range of authority behaviors in the early stages of the group's life, the effective leaders laid the groundwork for continuing expectations of shifting authority as the situational demands changed.

Prescriptions of the Model

Having examined two examples of how this model uses group process measures to guide the search for critical input variables (or key leverage points) at the individual, organizational, and group design levels, we are ready to move on to the job of the leader. Following McGrath's (1964) view of the leader's role (the leader's main job is to identify and help satisfy group needs), and using the group effectiveness model, it is possible to identify constructive approaches for the leader to pursue. As described in Chapter Ten, what leaders do depends on where a group is in its development. Ideally, leaders will have the opportunity to assume their leadership role at the very beginning of a group's life. Understanding the model and working at both the individual and organizational levels first, the leader is then in the best position to design the team for effective work. This is a luxury few leaders get, however. If a leader takes over the reins of an in-place group, then she should (*1*) examine the group at work to determine if the process measures indicate potential problems, (2) back up to the appropriate level in the input stage to identify problems that may need to be corrected or redesigned, and (3) take appropriate action.

If the leader finds that the input variables at the individual, organizational, and group levels are contributing positively to group effectiveness (i.e., the design portion of the leader's job has been taken care of), then she can turn her attention to the coaching level. Coaching is the ongoing work done with the team at the process level to continue to find ways to improve an already well-designed team. Given our individualistic culture, we have identified many teams in organizations that are apparently well designed and supported at the input level, but that have had no training or experience in the concept of teamwork. There are times when effective teamwork is based on very different concepts than effective individual work. For example, for a *team* to do well, the individuals comprising the team must sometimes *not* maximize their *individual* effort. Referred to as subsystem nonoptimization, this concept is at first not intuitively obvious to many people. Nevertheless, consider the example of a high school football team that has an extremely fast running back and some very good (but considerably slower) blocking linemen. Often, team members are told they all need to do their absolute best if the team is going to do well. If our running back does his absolute best on a sweep around the end, then he will run as fast as he can. By doing so, he will leave his blocking linemen behind. The team is not likely to gain much yardage on such a play, and the linemen and the back, who have done their individual best, are apt to learn an important experiential lesson about teamwork. Most important, after several such disastrous plays, all of the team members may be inclined to demonstrate poor team process (lower effort, poor strategy, poor use of knowledge, and poor group dynamics represented by intrateam strife). Assuming that all the input stage variables are satisfactorily in place, ongoing coaching may now be appropriate. The coach would get better results if he worked out a better coordination plan between the back and the linemen. In this case, the fast running back needs to slow down (i.e., not perform maximally) to give the slower but excellent blockers a chance to do their work. After they have been given a chance to contribute to the play, the back will have a much better chance to then excel individually, and so will the team as a whole.

FIGURE 16–4
A Model for Leadership and Group Effectiveness


Individual Factors
I–1 Interests/motivations
I–2 Skills/abilities
I–3 Values/attitudes
I–4 Interpersonal behavior
Leadership
Design and coaching to
Reduce
Improve
C–1 Coordination problems
C–2 Inappropriate weighting
C–3 Flawed implementation
C–4 Dependency/counter dependency
C–1 Building commitment
C–2 Sharing expertise
C–3 Creating new methods
C–4 Leadership and process
G–1 Task structure
G–2 Group composition
G–3 Norms
G–4 Authority
Environment
Industry
Organizational context
O–1 Reward system
O–2 Education system
O–3 Information system
O–4 Structure/design
Process measures
P–1 Effort
P–2 Knowledge and skills
P–3 Strategies
P–4 Group dynamics
Group effectiveness
Outcome acceptable to client
Future capability of group
Individual satisfaction
Material resources

We are now in a position to add leadership to the model (see Figure 16–4). It has been shown that leaders can influence group effectiveness by designing or redesigning input stage variables at the individual, organizational, and group design levels. They can also improve group performance through ongoing coaching at various stages, but particularly while the group is actually performing its task. These "midcourse corrections" should not only improve the group outcomes but should also help to avoid many of the group-generated problems that can cause less-than-optimal group performance (Steiner, 1972).

Concluding Thoughts about the Group Effectiveness Model

It is important to point out the one remaining box for **material resources.** Note that this is a physical requirement, not an issue for the design or coaching of the team itself. But even if a group is well designed and has access to superior-quality ongoing coaching, without adequate physical resources it is not likely to do well on the output level.

Also, this model has been presented as if it were a machine (e.g., if *P*-2 breaks, check *I*-2, *O*-2, and *G*-2). As with other models of leadership or other human systems, however, nothing is that simple. There are obviously other variables that impact team and group effectiveness. There are also complex interactions between the variables described even in this model. But we have considerable evidence that the model can be useful for understanding groups (Hackman, 1990) and, in light of the relationship between groups and leadership, we are now using it as a model guiding further leadership research (Ginnett & Austin, 1992). One strength of the model clearly is the number of specific, testable hypotheses it suggests. The model has also been adopted by several organizations attempting to improve their leadership effectiveness, but insufficient time has passed and insufficient data collected to determine its ultimate utility to leaders.

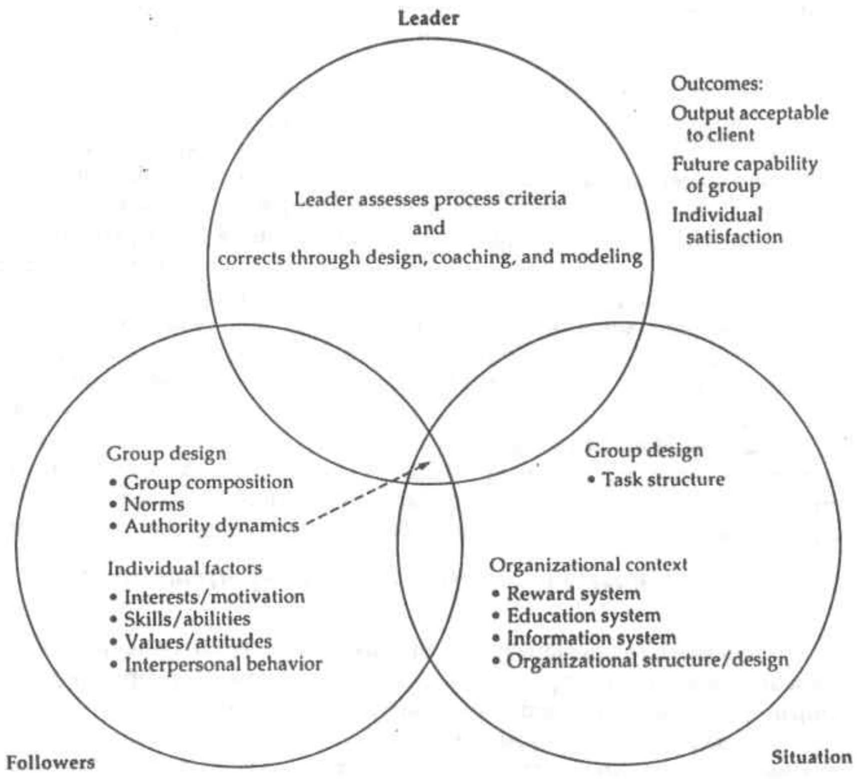
Let us integrate the variables from this model into our L-F-S framework (see Figure 16–5). Clearly, the variables of importance fall into the arenas of the followers and of the situation. Notice that the characteristics of the leader play little role because the leader's job is to work on what is *not* being provided for the group in order for it to perform its task.

TRANSFORMATIONAL OR CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Hopefully, after reading this far in the text you will have a better appreciation of the myriad of leader, follower, and situational factors that affect the leadership process. Still, when most people are asked to think about leadership, they often think about those political, religious, military, and business leaders whose personal magnetism, spellbinding powers, and heroic qualities have unusually strong effects on followers, societies, or organizations. These leaders might include Alexander the Great, Jesus Christ, Joan of Arc, Mahatma Gandhi, Adolph Hitler, Winston Churchill, the Ayatollah Khomeini, John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Lee Iacocca, or Norman Schwartzkopf (see Highlight 16–2). Although these leaders differ in a number of important ways, one distinct characteristic or quality they all share is charisma. Charismatic leaders are able to build particularly strong emotional attachments with followers, and in turn followers put fourth greater effort to meet organizational or societal challenges.

Even though many people conjure up images of charismatic leaders when thinking about leadership, oddly enough the systematic investigation of charismatic leadership is relatively new. This section reviews the findings of both the past and the more recent charismatic leadership research efforts. As an

FIGURE 16–5
Factors from the Normative Model of Group Effectiveness and the Interactional Framework


Leader
Outcomes:
Output acceptable to client
Future capability of group
Individual satisfaction
Leader assesses process criteria
and
corrects through design, coaching, and modeling
Group design
• Group composition
• Norms
• Authority dynamics
Individual factors
• Interests/motivation
• Skills/abilities
• Values/attitudes
• Interpersonal behavior
Group design
• Task structure
Organizational context
• Reward system
• Education system
• Information system
• Organizational structure/design
Followers
Situation

HIGHLIGHT 16–2

The Humility of Gandhi

Ghandi was one of the great leaders in world history. No less an intellect than Albert Einstein wrote this of him: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth." Viscount Louis Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, compared him to the Buddha and to Christ. As a young journalist, William L. Shirer chronicled Gandhi's rebellion against British colonialism in India and described his first meeting with Gandhi. In reading it, think about what aspects of Gandhi's personality, behavior, and vision made him so charismatic a leader.

> Gandhi was squatting on the floor in the corner of the verandah, spinning. He greeted me warmly, with a smile that lit up his face and made his lively eyes twinkle. The welcome was so disarming, his manner so friendly and radiant, that my nervousness evaporated before I could say a word. . . .
>
> As our talk began I tried to take in not only what Gandi was saying but how he looked. I had seen many photographs of him but I was nevertheless somewhat surprised at his actual appearance. His face at first glance did not convey at all the stature of the man, his obvious greatness. It was not one you would have especially noticed in a crowd. It struck me as not ugly, as some had said—indeed it radiated a certain beauty—but it was not uncommon either. Age—he was 61—and fasting, and Indian sun and the strain of years in prison, of long, hard, nervous work, had obviously taken their toll, turned the nose down, widened it at the nostrils, sunk in his mouth just a little so that the lower lip protruded, and teeth were missing—I could see only two. His hair was closely cropped, giving an effect of baldness. His large ears spread out, rabbit-like. His gray eyes lit up and sharpened when they peered at you through his steel-rimmed spectacles and then they softened when he lapsed, as he frequently did, into a mood of almost puckish humor. I was almost taken back by the gaiety in them. This was a man inwardly secure, who, despite the burdens he carried, the hardships he had endured, could chuckle at man's foibles, including his own.
>
> He seemed terribly frail, all skin and bones, though I knew that this appearance was deceptive, for he kept to a frugal but carefully planned diet that kept him fit, and for exercise he walked four or five miles each morning at a pace so brisk, as I would learn later when he invited me to accompany him, that I, at 27 and in fair shape from skiing and hiking in the alps below Vienna, could scarcely keep up. Over his skin and bones was a loosely wrapped dhoti, and in the chilliness of a north Indian winter he draped a coarsely spun white shawl over his bony shoulders. His skinny legs were bare, his feet in wooden sandals.
>
> As he began to talk, his voice seemed high-pitched, but his words were spoken slowly and deliberately and with emphasis when he seemed intent on stressing a point, and gradually, as he warmed up, the tone lowered. His slightly accented English flowed rhythmically, like a poet's at times, and always, except for an occasional homespun cliché, it was concise, homely, forceful.
>
> For so towering a figure, his humble manner at first almost disconcerted me. Most of the political greats I had brushed up against in Europe and at home had seemed intent on impressing you with the forcefulness of their personalities and the boldness of their minds, not being bashful at all in hiding their immense egos. But here was the most gentle and unassuming of men, speaking softly and kindly, without egotism, without the slightest pretense of trying to impress his rather awed listener.

HIGHLIGHT 16–2 *(concluded)*

> How could so humble a man, I wondered, spinning away with his nimble fingers on a crude wheel as he talked, have begun almost single-handedly to rock the foundations of the British Empire, aroused a third of a billion people to rebellion against foreign rule, and taught them the technique of a new revolutionary method—nonviolent civil disobedience—against which Western guns and Eastern lathis were proving of not much worth. That was what I had come to India to find out.

Source: W. L. Shirer, *Gandi* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), pp. 27–29. Reprinted with permission.

overview, this section (*a*) provides a brief historical review of the charismatic leadership research; (*b*) describes the distinguishing characteristics of charismatic leadership; (*c*) reviews one of the more popular charismatic or transformational leadership theories; and (*d*) asks whether charismatic leadership is always good, and whether it is possible to train leaders to be charismatic.

Charismatic Leadership: A Historical Review

Although psychologists played a major role in the development of all of the leadership theories described in this text, they did not play a role in charismatic leadership research until only 15 years ago. Instead, most of the charismatic leadership research from the 1920s to the 1970s was accomplished by historians, political scientists, and sociologists. Of this early research, probably the single most important work was written by Weber (1947). Weber was a sociologist primarily interested in the forces of authority in society and how these forces changed over time. Weber maintained that societies could be identified in terms of one of three types of authority systems: traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic.

In the **traditional authority system,** the traditions and unwritten laws of the society dictate who has authority and how this authority can be used. The transfer of authority in such systems is based on traditions such as the passing of power to the firstborn son of a king after a king dies. Although fairly uncommon today, historically the traditional authority system has been quite widespread. A more prevalent authority system today is the **legal-rational authority system.** Authority in the legal-rational system derives from society's belief in the laws that govern it. In this system, a person possesses authority not because of tradition or his or her special qualties, but because of the laws that govern the position occupied. A distinctive characteristic of legal-rational system is the bureaucracy, which exists solely to enforce existing laws and to maintain stability in society.

The basis of authority in the **charismatic authority system** comes from society's belief in the exemplary characteristics of the leader. Charismatic leaders are thought to possess "superhuman" qualties or powers of divine origin, which set them apart from ordinary men. The locus of authority in this system rests with the individual possessing these unusual qualities; it is not associated with the traditions, beliefs, or laws of a society.

According to Weber, charismatic individuals come from the margins of society and emerge as leaders during times of great social crisis. These leaders serve to focus society on both the problems it faces and on the revolutionary solutions proposed by the leader. Thus, charismatic authority systems are usually the result of a revolution against traditional or legal-rational authority systems. Although these revolutions are associated with a high degree of identification, attachment, and emotional appeal for the charismatic leader, charismatic authority systems tend to be short-lived. Charismatic leaders must project the image of success in order for followers to continue believing they possess superhuman qualities. Any failures to accomplish the proposed changes to society will cause followers to question the divine qualities of the leader and, in turn, seriously erode the leader's authority.

A number of historians, political scientists, and sociologists have commented on various aspects of Weber's conceptualization of charismatic authority systems. Of all of these comments, however, probably the biggest controversy surrounding Weber's theory concerns the locus of charismatic leadership. Is charisma primarily the result of the situation or social context facing the leader, the leader's extraordinary qualities, or the strong relationships between charismatic leaders and followers? A number of authors argued that charismatic movements could not take place unless the society was in a crisis (Blau, 1963; Chinoy, 1961; Wolpe, 1968). Along these lines, Friedland (1964), Gerth and Mills (1946), and Kanter (1972) argued that before a leader with extraordinary qualities would be perceived as charismatic, the social situation must be such that followers recognize the relevance of the leader's qualities.

Other authors have argued that charismatic leadership is primarily a function of the leader's extraordinary qualities, not the situation. According to Tucker (1968), these qualities include having extraordinary powers of vision, the rhetorical skills to communicate this vision, a sense of mission, high self-confidence and intelligence, and high expectations for followers. Dow's (1969) review of a number of historical crises lends support to this argument, as he reported that a number of crises were resolved using noncharismatic solutions. Thus, according to Dow's findings, a leader's qualities were the key to charismatic leadership, as a crisis alone was not enough for charismatic leader emergence.

Finally, several authors have argued that the litmus test for charismatic leadership does not depend on the leader's qualities or the presence of a crisis, but rather on followers' reactions to their leader (Clark, 1972; Deveraux, 1955; Downton, 1973; Marcus, 1961; Shils, 1965). According to this argument, charisma is attributed only to those leaders who can develop particularly strong emotional attachments with followers. Leaders with extraordinary qualities who fail to develop these strong emotional bonds are not charismatic leaders.

As you will see shortly, many of these early questions and arguments have strong parallels to the questions currently being raised about charismatic leadership. Researchers are still studying how much charismatic leadership is a function of the situation, the qualities of the leader, the relationships certain leaders have with followers, or some combination of these three perspectives.

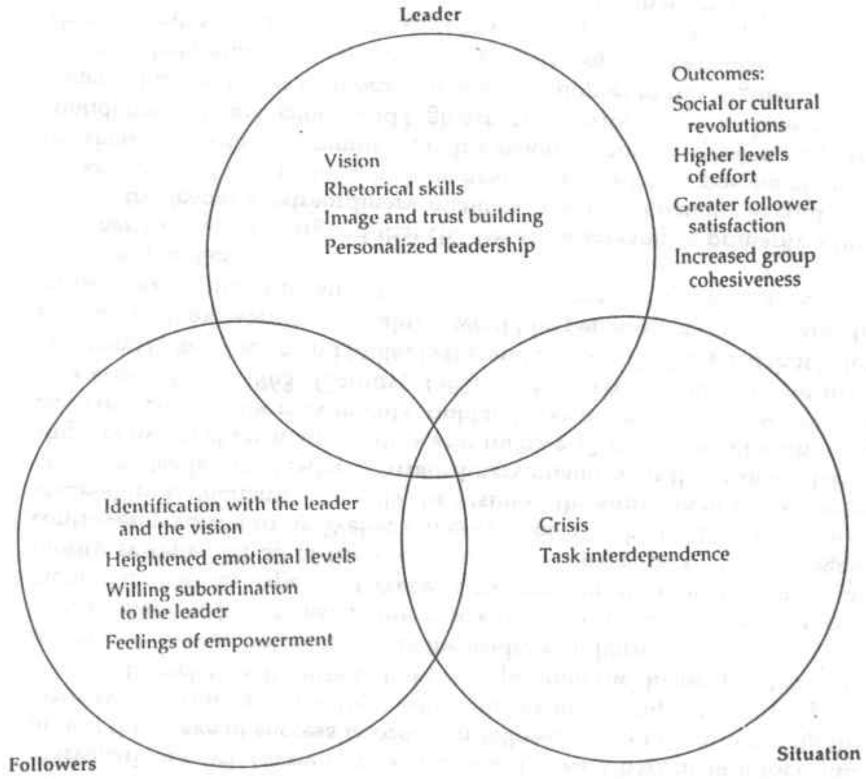
What Are the Characteristics of Charismatic Leadership?

Many of the political scientists, historians, and sociologists conducting the early charismatic leadership research identified a number of characteristics that differentiated world, society, cultural, and religious charismatic and noncharismatic leaders. More recently, these characteristics were elaborated on by a number of leadership researchers, including Berlew (1974), House (1977), Bass (1985), and Conger and Kanungo (1988). The following is a synthesis of these more recent ideas concerning the characteristics of charismatic leadership. As seen in Figure 16-6, the unique characteristics of charismatic leadership fit in nicely with the leader-follower-situation framework used throughout this text.

Leader characteristics. Like their earlier counterparts, some researchers have recently argued that the leader's personal qualities are the key to charismatic leadership (Boal & Bryson, 1987; C. W. Hill, 1984, Kets de Vries, 1977; Sashkin, 1988; Zeleznik, 1974). Although we do not believe the leader's qualities are the key to charismatic leadership, we do acknowledge several common threads in the behavior and style of charismatic leaders. We believe charismatic leaders are distinguished by their vision, their rhetorical skills, their ability to build a particular kind of image in the hearts and minds of their followers, and their personalized style of leadership.

Vision. Leadership is inherently future-oriented. It involves helping a group move from here to there. Leaders differ, however, in how they define or perceive the *here* and *there*. For some, the voyage between here and there is relatively routine, like driving on a familiar road. Others, however, see the need to chart a new course toward unexplored territory. Such leaders perceive fundamental discrepancies between the ways things are and the way things can (or should) be. They recognize the shortcomings of a present order and offer an imaginative vision to overcome them. In Conger's (1989) words, they "see beyond current realities" (see Highlight 16-3).

FIGURE 16–6
Factors Pertaining to Charismatic Leadership and the Interactional Framework


Leader
Outcomes:
Social or cultural revolutions
Higher levels of effort
Greater follower satisfaction
Increased group cohesiveness
Vision
Rhetorical skills
Image and trust building
Personalized leadership
Identification with the leader and the vision
Heightened emotional levels
Willing subordination to the leader
Feelings of empowerment
Crisis
Task interdependence
Followers
Situation

Several additional aspects of vision are worth elaborating on. First, both Bennis and Nanus (1985) and Tichy and Devanna (1986) reported that the leader's vision of the future is often a collaborative effort; the genius of the leader is his or her ability to synthesize seemingly disparate issues and problems and develop a vision that ties all of these concerns together. Second, Berlew (1974, 1992) maintained that the charismatic leader's vision had both a stimulating and a unifying effect on followers' efforts. As seen in Figure 16–7, these two effects often result in higher performance levels on the part of followers. Third, Berlew (1974) also maintained that for a charismatic leader's vision to arouse followers' emotions, the vision should be articulated verbally only. Visions often lose their emotional appeal (and consequently result in lower follower commitment to the vision) when they are written or posted.

HIGHLIGHT 16–3

The Visions of Walt Disney and Mary Kay Ash

Walt Disney's motivation to create what eventually became Disneyland grew from visits to amusement parks with his own daughters. He observed the parks' run-down squalor, litter, and unfriendly employees, and the boredom of the parents. Furthermore, he sensed a need among tourists for something to *see* when they visited Hollywood. In a 1948 memo, he sketched out plans for what he tentatively called Mickey Mouse Park:

> The Main Village, which includes the Railroad Station, is built around a village green or informal park. In the park will be benches, a bandstand, drinking fountain, trees and shrubs. It will be a place for people to sit and rest; mothers and grandmothers can watch over small children at play. I want it to be very relaxing, cool and inviting. (Thomas, 1976, p. 218)

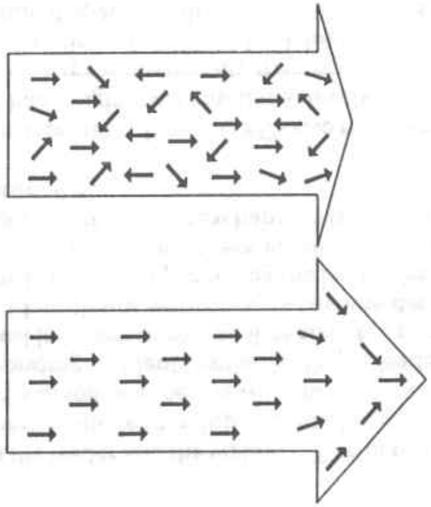
Mary Kay Ash, the founder of Mary Kay cosmetics, had a vision based on the emerging needs of women in the 1960s and 1970s. Women's liberation had begun, and new opportunities for women were needed. Mary Kay offered women an appealing career (beauty consultant, not salesperson!) they could pursue in their homes.

Source: J. A. Conger, *The Charismatic Leader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989), and B. Thomas, *Walt Disney* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976).

Rhetorical skills. Charismatic leaders have vision, but they are also especially gifted in sharing their vision. As discussed earlier, charismatic leaders have superb rhetorical skills that heighten followers' emotional levels and inspire them to embrace the vision. Charismatic leaders stir dissatisfaction with the present while they build support for their picture of a new future. It should be no surprise, then, that rhetorical skills are one of the most important tools in charismatic leadership. Although the leader's message is important, so is the way it is communicated.

Conger (1989) described some of the rhetorical techniques used by charismatic leaders. Charismatic leaders make extensive use of metaphors, analogies, and stories rather than abstract and colorless rational discourse to make their points. Moreover, these stories and metaphors can be particularly effective when they invoke potent cultural symbols and elicit strong emotions. Charismatic leaders are adept at tailoring their language to particular groups, thereby better engaging them mentally and emotionally. Many charismatic religious and political leaders effectively use speech techniques like repetition, rhythm, balance, and alliteration to strengthen the impact of their messages. Adolph Hitler mastered techniques so well that his speeches can have a hypno-

FIGURE 16–7
A Leader's Vision of the Future Can Help Groups Accomplish More



Source: Adapted from P. M. Serge, *The Fifth Discipline* (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

tizing power even to people who do not understand German (Willner, 1984). Similarly, many people consider Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech one of the most moving speeches they have ever heard. Note his use of different speech techniques and his masterful evocation of patriotic and cultural themes in the excerpt presented in Highlight 16–4.

Image and trust-building. Charismatic leaders build trust in their leadership and the attainability of their goals through seemingly unshakable self-confidence, strength of moral conviction, personal example and sacrifice, and unconventional tactics or behavior (House, 1977; Conger, 1989). They are perceived to have unusual insight and ability, typically are more experienced and knowledgeable than their followers, and act in a manner consistent with their vision. Creating an *appearance* of success, however, can be as important as the factual record (House, 1977). Whereas charismatic leaders build support by showing commitment to followers' needs over self-interest, some are not beyond taking credit for others' accomplishments or exaggerating their expertise (Conger, 1989). Some charismatic political leaders have conveyed an impression of profound intellect merely by using a good memory to impress others (Willner, 1984).

HIGHLIGHT 16–4

"I Have a Dream"

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning—"my country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing; land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride; from every mountain side, let freedom ring"—and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado. Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that. Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring. And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream."

Personalized leadership. One of the most important aspects of charismatic leadership is the personal nature of the leader's power. It is intensely relational, even when the leader occupies a formal organizational role. Charismatic leadership involves emotionalized relationships with followers. This does not mean that charismatic leaders are necessarily friendly with their followers, just that followers of charismatic leaders become relatively dependent on the leader's personal approval for their own self-worth. Thus, doing well in the eyes of a charismatic leader can be tremendously uplifting, but letting a charismatic leader down can be psychologically devastating (Conger, 1989).

It is this personalized style that seems to be responsible for the feelings of empowerment notable among followers of charismatic leaders, and it has two important components. First, charismatic leaders tend to be emotionally expressive, especially through such nonverbal channels as their eye contact, posture, movement, gestures, tone of voice, and facial expressions (Bass, 1990). It is partly through their nonverbal behaviors that some people are perceived to have a "magnetic" personality. Second, charismatic leaders empower followers by building their self-efficacy. They can do this by giving followers tasks that lead to successively greater success experiences and heightened self-confidence, by persuading followers of their capabilities, by creating an environment of heightened excitement and positive emotions, and by their own role modeling as a visible symbol of the group's purpose (Conger, 1989).

Follower characteristics. If charismatic leadership were defined solely by individual characteristics, then it would be relatively easy to identify those individuals with good visioning, rhetorical, and impression management skills and place them in leadership positions. Although these three leadership skills may help an individual to be seen as charismatic, charismatic leadership is probably more a function of the followers' reactions to a leader than of the leader's personal characteristics. For example, a leader may possess a vision of the future, have good rhetorical skills, and engage in impression management, but if a follower does not buy in to the leader's vision or become emotionally attached to the leader, then the leader will not be perceived to be charismatic. Nevertheless, followers who believe in the leader's vision and respond with heightened emotional levels will perceive the leader to be charismatic. *Thus,* **charisma** *is in the eyes and heart of the beholder—it is a particularly strong emotional reaction to, identification with, and belief in some leaders by some followers.* It is important to note that many of the more popular conceptualizations of charisma and charismatic leadership also define charisma in a similar fashion (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; House, 1977; Howell, 1988; Willner, 1984). By defining charisma as a reaction followers have toward leaders, it seems reasonable to turn our attention to the four unique characteristics of these reactions.

Identification with the leader and the vision. Two of the effects House (1977) associated with charismatic leadership included a strong affection for the leader and a similarity of follower beliefs with those of the leader. These effects describe a sort of bonding or identification with the leader personally, and a parallel psychological investment to a goal or activity (a ''cause'') bigger than oneself. Followers' identities or self-concepts become defined in terms of the leader. Being like the leader, or approved by the leader, becomes an important part of one's self-worth. Effects like these go well beyond what might be expected from the typical contractual or exchange relationships between most supervisors and subordinates.

Heightened emotional levels. House (1977) also maintained that followers of charismatic leaders had heightened emotional levels. Charismatic leaders stir followers' feelings, perhaps more literally than many people suppose; experimental studies have confirmed greater physiological arousal among subjects listening to inspirational speeches than to travel lectures (Steele, 1977; A. J. Stewart & Winger, 1976). Moreover, House (1977) and Bass (1985) have maintained that this heightened emotional state resulted in increased efforts being devoted to accomplishing the vision, which in turn resulted in increased performance levels.

Willing subordination to the leader. Three other effects of charismatic leadership identified by House (1977) included unquestioning acceptance of the leader by followers; willing obedience to the leader; and trust in the correctness of the leader's beliefs. Whereas the preceding factor dealt with followers' emotional and psychological closeness to the leader, this factor involves their deference to his or her authority. Charismatic leaders are often imbued with superhuman qualities, and as a result followers seem to naturally and willingly submit to what appears to be the leader's natural authority and superiority. Because followers volitionally submit to a charismatic leader's authority, Willner (1984) used the term **spellbinders** to describe the group of charismatic political leaders she studied who were larger than life in the minds of their followers.

Feelings of empowerment. The final effect of charismatic leadership noted by House (1977) included heightened expectations by followers of themselves. Followers of charismatic leaders are moved to expect more of themselves, and they work harder to achieve these higher goals. Somewhat paradoxically, then, followers feel stronger and more powerful at the very same time they willingly subordinate themselves to the charismatic leader. Charismatic leaders are able to make their followers feel more powerful without any diminution or threat to their own status. These feelings of empowerment, when combined with heightened emotional levels and a leader's vision of the future, may result in increases in organizational, group, or team performance or significant social change.

Situational characteristics. Some authors have recently asserted that certain leader skills and behaviors are a necessary but not sufficient condition for charismatic leadership. Instead, Bradley (1987), Roberts and Bradley (1988), and Westley and Mintzberg (1988) have argued that situational factors, not personal qualities, determine whether a leader will be perceived to be charismatic. These authors have shown that individuals possessing the qualities of charismatic leaders were perceived to be charismatic only when facing certain types of situations. Because the situation may play an important role in the attribution of charisma, the following is a brief description of two of the situational factors believed to affect charismatic leadership.

Crises. Although a number of situational characteristics may affect whether or not a leader is perceived to be charismatic, probably the most important of these factors is the presence or absence of a crisis. Followers who are content with the status quo will not be ready or willing to devote a great amount of effort to change an organization or a society. On the other hand, if enough followers are discontented with the rules, values, or laws of their society or are concerned whether or not their company will survive the next fiscal year, then the society or organization will be facing a crisis. Generally, followers in these situations are "charisma hungry"—they are looking for a leader to alleviate or resolve these crises (Madsen & Snow, 1983; Trice & Beyer, 1986). Because the presence of a crisis has such a facilitating effect on charismatic leader emergence, Avolio and Bass (1988), Boal and Bryson (1987), and Kets de Vries (1977) all maintained that some leaders may purposely create crises in order to be perceived as charismatic.

Task interdependence. One other situational characteristic that may affect followers' perceptions of charisma is the level of interdependent effort required to accomplish committee, team, or work-group tasks. It may be easier for individuals to be seen as charismatic leaders when the tasks performed require a high level of interdependent effort. Because team sports such as soccer, basketball, football, and hockey often require self-sacrifice, extra effort, and cooperation among team members for success, coaches of these teams may be more likely to be perceived as charismatic than coaches of sports with low levels of interdependent effort.

Concluding Thoughts about the Characteristics of Charismatic Leadership. Several final points about the characteristics of charismatic leadership need to be made before we discuss Bass's (1985) theory of transformational and transactional leadership. First, although we defined charisma as a quality attributed to certain leaders based on the relationships they share with followers, charismatic leadership is most fully understood when we also consider how leader and situational factors affect this attribution process. The special relationships charismatic leaders share with followers do not happen by accident; rather, they are often the result of interaction between followers' needs, leader qualities, and the presence of a crisis. Second, it seems unlikely that all the characteristics of charismatic leadership need to be present before charisma is attributed to a leader. For example, some leaders may have the ability to develop particularly strong relationships with followers in the absence of a vision or a crisis. Relatedly, if high task and high relationship leaders (a 9,9 leader) also develop strong emotional bonds with followers, then is charisma nothing more than being a 9,9 leader (see Figure 9-1)? The bottom line for charisma seems to be the relationships certain leaders share with followers, and there may be a variety of ways in which these relationships can develop.

Third, given that there are a number of ways to develop strong emotional attachments with followers, one important question is whether it is possible to attribute charisma to an individual based solely on her position or celebrity status (Etzioni, 1961; Hollander, 1978; Bass, 1990). Some individuals in positions of high public visibility and esteem—such as film stars, musicians, athletes, television evangelists, and politicians—can develop (even cultivate) charismatic images among their fans and admirers. In these cases, it is helpful to recognize that charismatic leadership is a two-way street. Not only do followers develop strong emotional bonds with leaders, but leaders also develop strong emotional bonds with followers and are concerned with follower development (Burns, 1978). It is difficult to see how the one-way communication channels of radio and television can foster these two-way relationships or enhance follower growth. Thus, although we sometimes view certain individuals as charismatic based on media manipulation and hype, this is not charismatic leadership in the truest sense.

Fourth, it is important to remember that charismatic leadership does not happen overnight; it takes time for the strong emotional bonds between charismatic leaders and followers to develop. Relatedly, these bonds do not only form on the world stage, but they can also be seen on the smaller stages of leadership. For example, charismatic leaders exist in such commonplace environments as college campuses and military training squadrons. Students identify some professors as more charismatic than others (Labak, 1973), and cadets identify certain military superiors as more inspirational than others (Adams, Prince, Instone, & Rice, 1984; Clover, 1990; Curphy, 1991a). Thus, charismatic leadership is not the exclusive charter of world, societal, or religious leaders but can occur in any type of group, team, or organizational setting (see Highlight 16-5).

Bass's (1985) Theory of Transformational and Transactional Leadership

Although the previous section described a number of the more recent conceptualizations of charismatic leadership, probably the most well-known and researched is Bass's (1985) **theory of transformational and transactional leadership.** Bass believed that transformational leaders possessed those charismatic leader characteristics described earlier; he used subordinates' perceptions or reactions to determine whether or not a leader was transformational. Thus, transformational leaders possess good visioning, rhetorical, and impression management skills, and they use these skills to develop strong emotional bonds with followers. According to Bass, transactional leaders do not possess these leader characteristics, nor are they able to develop strong emotional bonds with followers or inspire followers to do more than they thought they could. Instead, transactional leaders were believed to motivate followers by setting goals and promising rewards for desired performance.

HIGHLIGHT 16–5

Women in Leadership, VII: Charisma on the "Small" Stage

Dr. Jodi Kassover-Taylor is the director of the Colorado Springs branch of the Center for Creative Leadership (CCL). She has been extremely successful in that role and is regarded by most who know her as a charismatic leader. We asked her to reflect on her own development as a leader, her feelings about how she is perceived by others, and her vision for her organization.

Charisma and leadership are words that describe a person's impact on others: describing results of behavior rather than motivation or intent. I doubt if anyone plans to grow up to become a charismatic leader. One is a charismatic leader as a result of who one is and what one is about. So I am always surprised when people refer to me as a charismatic leader. Since I feel rather ordinary myself, I am left with the question "What is it about me, or anyone for that matter, that causes them to appear to others as a charismatic leader?"

Growing up in a small West Texas town in the middle of oil and wheat country, life was very stable for me. Both my parents worked, so expectations of achievement and hard work seemed perfectly normal. Additionally, people have always described me as a person with restless energy and focus. By the age of nine, I was reading a book a day. By the age of 14, I had my first job working in a factory. As a senior in high school I worked two after-school jobs while continuing to be an honor student and a student body officer, wrote a column for the school newspaper, served on both the annual and school magazine staffs. Again, that all seemed quite ordinary to me.

A fascination with people was another theme in my early life. My grandmother always drove my handicapped aunt downtown each Saturday afternoon to park on the main street and watch the people shopping. I often joined them and developed a lifelong curiosity about the differences among people.

Always propelled by a strong future orientation, by the age of 13 I was worried about what I would be when I grew up, so I read the encyclopedia of occupations. When I discovered "psychologist," it immediately connected with my interest in people and I began focusing on that career, completing my Ph.D. by the age of 24. My background in psychology, with its emphasis on people, combined with my strong need to create, has led me to organizational settings. By combining focus, energy, interest in people, and the need to create, I have been able to facilitate an organizational structure that enables people to grow and allows us collectively to make the world a better place. This sense of mission, personal growth, and commitment to the team, in turn gives us new energy, focus, and vision to be more creative so that the end result is an upward spiral. It's that upward spiral that leadership is all about.

Perhaps *upward spiral* is the best term to describe what has happened at CCL Colorado Springs over the last five years. When I became director (part-time) in 1987, we had no full-time employees and were conducting only 13 courses a year. We did, however, have a solid basis formed by CCL's reputation and a viable product. My mission for the branch was to build on that basis so we could leverage our impact on organizations. We wanted to "really make a difference" in organizations by working with a "critical mass" of people in the organization, not just one or two people at a time as we do in our public courses. At the same time, we also focused our energies on working with senior executives. I wanted the image of CCL, Colorado Springs, and the mountains to be inextricably linked whenever people from anywhere in the world thought of senior leadership. To achieve that vision, I set out to hire the best people I could find in the area of leadership training and build them into a team and an intellectual community. We could achieve our vision only if we practiced what we preached—by being a high-functioning team, constantly searching for new ideas about leadership and looking for ways to share them.

HIGHLIGHT 16–5 *(concluded)*

So far, we are succeeding (although you are never complete when trying to achieve a vision). Our revenues have increased 825 percent over the last five years (which means we can help support some of the Center's research since we are a not-for-profit organization), our staff has grown from 0 to 32 in five years, and we have embarked on an ambitious building project to create our own training campus. This building will then enable us to fulfill our mission even better, as we can offer more courses, have more space for research, and then impact more people. We are in that delicious stage of the life cycle of an organization when we believe anything is possible.

Again, it is that upward spiral. Today, with a strong high-functioning team, we have even more leverage to build toward that vision of using our knowledge and research to make the world a better place by tapping the leadership potential in everyone we work with.

The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire. Like the "initiating structure" and "consideration" behaviors described in Chapter Nine, Bass hypothesized that transformational and transactional leadership comprised two independent leadership dimensions. Thus, individuals could be high transformational but low transactional leaders, low transformational and low transactional leaders, and so on. Bass developed a questionnaire, known as the **Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ)**, to assess the extent to which leaders exhibited transformational or transactional leadership and the extent to which followers were satisfied with their leader and believed their leader was effective. Before going into the research findings, however, we will describe the various factors comprising transformational and transactional leadership assessed by the MLQ.

Although the original version of MLQ has undergone a number of modifications over the past eight years, the MLQ basically assesses three transformational and two transactional leadership factors (Curphy, 1991a). The three factors in transformational leadership are charisma, individualized consideration, and intellectual stimulation. The charisma factor on the MLQ assesses followers' emotional reactions toward their leader. For example, items on the charisma factor ask subordinates to indicate the extent to which they are proud to be associated with their leader, the extent to which their leader generates enthusiasm, and the extent to which their leader is seen as a symbol of success. These follower reactions were believed to be the result of the leader's vision of the future, high self-confidence, use of impression management techniques, and rhetorical skills. The individualized consideration factor concerns the extent to which leaders treat followers as individuals and how much of a mentoring orientation leaders have for followers. Items on this factor ask followers to indicate how much their leader gives them personal attention, coaching, personal advice, and opportunities to develop. The last transformational leadership factor is intellectual stimulation. Intellectual stimulation concerns the leader's vision and those behaviors that increase followers' understanding of the problems they face. Transformational leaders use intellectual stimulation to point out the problems in the current situation and to contrast them with their vision of the future.

The MLQ also assesses two transactional leadership factors: contingent reward and management-by-exception. The contingent reward factor concerns the extent to which leaders set goals, make rewards contingent on performance, obtain necessary resources, and provide rewards when performance goals have been met. Avolio and Bass (1987, 1988) maintained that contingent reward behaviors could have positive effects on follower satisfaction and performance levels, but they also stated that these behaviors were often underutilized because of time constraints, a lack of leader skills, and a disbelief among leaders that rewards could boost performance. Management-by-exception makes up the other component of transactional leadership, and this factor occurs when a leader interacts with followers only when standards for performance are not being met. Moreover, because these leaders interact with followers only during times of substandard performance, these interventions often consist of negative feedback or punishment.

Research results using the MLQ. As stated earlier, Bass's theory of transformational and transactional leadership has generated a considerable amount of research. Curphy's (1991a) comprehensive review of this literature showed that most of these studies consisted of administering the MLQ to followers and examining the relationships among the MLQ factors or the relationships between the MLQ factors and followers' satisfaction and leader effectiveness ratings, leaders' promotion rates, or leaders' performance appraisal ratings. In general, Curphy reported that these studies showed the two dimensions of the MLQ, transformational and transactional leadership, were not independent dimensions of leadership. Instead, these two dimensions were highly related; leaders getting high ratings on one dimension tended to get high ratings on the other dimension and vice versa. These research studies also showed that both the transformational factors and the contingent reward factor of transactional leadership were strongly related to followers' satisfaction and leader effectiveness ratings. The relationships between these leadership factors and leaders' promotion rates and performance appraisal ratings were much lower, however.

In addition to reviewing the previous research, Curphy (1991a, 1992a) also conducted several studies at the U.S. Air Force Academy that helped to shed additional light on Bass's theory. Curphy's studies were conducted over a two-year period; used much bigger sample sizes than previously reported (over 11,500 cadets rated 160 officer leaders); and used unit performance indices, attrition rates, and organizational climate ratings for leadership effectiveness criteria. Like the previous researchers, Curphy also reported that transformational and transactional leadership were not independent but rather were highly interrelated. He also reported both the transformational leadership and contingent reward factors had strong positive correlations with organizational climate ratings.

Curphy's findings regarding unit performance indices are especially interesting. Curphy found that transformational and contingent reward leadership had no effect on unit performance indices requiring *independent effort* but had strong positive effects on those unit performance indices requiring *interdependent effort*. Moreover, the relationships between those unit performance indices requiring interdependent effort and these leadership factors got stronger over time. Thus, there may be a time lag before one can see the effects of transformational and contingent reward leadership and performance. Leaders may first have to concentrate on selling their vision, setting goals, developing strong attachments with followers, and administering rewards before they will see any differences in the performance of their work group or team.

In summary, the theory of transformational and transactional leadership has helped to advance our leadership knowledge well beyond the mere listing of the leader, follower, and situational charateristics of charismatic leadership presented in the previous section. Bass has provided researchers with a number of empirically testable hypotheses about transformational or charismatic leadership and developed an instrument for collecting data to verify or refute these hypotheses. His theory has generated a considerable amount of research over the past eight years. Based on this research, we now know that tranformational leaders may also use a number of contingent reward behaviors to motivate followers. Additionally, we know that leaders getting high transformational and contingent reward ratings have more satisfied followers and have work groups or teams with better organizational climates. Nevertheless, we also know that transformational leaders may be well liked by their subordinates but may not rise in their organizations any faster than nontransformational leaders. The latter findings may be due to the fact that unit performance indices requiring independent effort may be relatively insensitive to a leader's actions (Curphy, 1991a, 1992a) or that superiors may base promotion recommendations and performance appraisals more on technical expertise than on the relationships leaders have with followers (J. Hogan, 1992b). Nevertheless, transformational leaders whose performance appraisal ratings or promotion recommendations are based on how well their groups accomplish interdependent tasks may be promoted more quickly, given Curphy's research results. Although Curphy (1991, 1992); Yukl (1989); and Yukl and Van Fleet (1992) have described a number of methodological concerns with Bass's theory that have yet to be resolved, the theory has been very successful in advancing what we know about charismatic or transformational leadership and the effects this type of leadership has on various leadership effectiveness criteria.

Are Charismatic Leaders Always Good?

Just as charismatic leaders can be seductive, the very topic of charismatic leadership can be seductive, too. It is all too easy in reading about the personal magnetism, vision, and empowering style of charismatics to conclude that they are the "best" leaders and that theirs is a style all leaders should emulate. It is worth reminding ourselves, therefore, that not all charismatic leaders are necessarily good leaders. Precisely because charismatic leaders' effects can be more emotional than rational, many observers have warned of the dangers charismastic leaders can pose.

Followers of charismatic leaders can be so zealous as to be blind, a bit like the children who followed the Pied Piper of Hamelin (Newman, 1983) (also see Highlights 16-6 and 16-7). At their best, charismatic leaders can positively transform and empower their followers, and researchers have reported that some charismatic U.S. presidents, social leaders, and organizational leaders were the underlying cause of many positive social and organizational changes (House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991; House, Woycke, & Fodor, 1988; Tichy & Devanna, 1986; Westley & Mintzberg, 1988; Willner, 1984). However, at their worst, charismatic leaders emotionally manipulate followers and create dysfunctional dependencies for their own self-aggrandizement; they can even wreak havoc on the rest of the world (e.g., Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Attila the Hun, or Adolph Hitler). A tragic example of the negative aspects of charismatic leadership was the Jim Jones cult that self-exterminated in the Jonestown massacre (Conway & Siegelman, 1979). Virtually all of the 912 who died there voluntarily drank from large vats of a flavored drink containing cyanide after Jones said they all must commit "mass suicide for the glory of socialism." As described in Chapter Six, part of that seemingly bizarre behavior probably had been conditioned by Jones' extensive use of punishment as a control technique, but there seems to be little question that he also had a charismatic impact on the group.

Several researchers have offered explanations for why some charismatic leaders have either tremendously positive or negative effects on followers, organizations, societies, or the world order. Both Kets de Vries (1977) and Zaleznik (1974) maintained that there are two types of charismatic leaders, one type being psychologically "healthy" and the other type being psychologically "unhealthy." Zaleznik (1974) posited that healthy charismatic leaders have well-developed inner lives and had healthy and significant relationships with their mothers. Because unhealthy leaders are typically overattached to their mothers, they have not resolved their inner conflicts and foster similar overdependent relationships in their followers. Kets de Vries added that unhealthy charismatic leaders are particularly dangerous, as such leaders often have the ability to turn their internal fantasies of power and control into social and physical reality.

HIGHLIGHT 16–6

The Seduction of Charisma

Susceptibility to influence by a charismatic leader can pose its own dangers, as the following story by James Thurber illustrates.

The Owl Who Was God

> Once upon a starless midnight there was an owl who sat on the branch of an oak tree. Two ground moles tried to slip quietly by, unnoticed. "You!" said the owl. "Who?" they quavered in fear and astonishment, for they could not believe it was possible for anyone to see them in that thick darkness. "You two!" said the owl. The moles hurried away and told the other creatures of the field and forest that the owl was the greatest and wisest of all animals because he could see in the dark and because he could answer any question. "I'll see about that," said a secretary bird, and he called on the owl one night when it was again very dark. "How many claws am I holding up?" said the secretary bird. "Two," said the owl, and that was right. "Can you give me another expression for 'that is to say' or 'namely'?" asked the secretary bird. "To wit," said the owl. "Why does a lover call on his love?" asked the secretary bird. "To woo," said the owl.
>
> The secretary bird hastened back to the other creatures and reported that the owl was indeed the greatest and wisest animal in the world because he could see in the dark and because he could answer any question. "Can he see in the daytime, too?" asked a red fox. "Yes," echoed a dormouse and a French poodle. "Can he see in the daytime, too?" All the other creatures laughed loudly at this silly question, and they set upon the red fox and his friends and drove them out of the region. Then they sent a messenger to the owl and asked him to be their leader.
>
> When the owl appeared among the animals it was high noon and the sun was shining brightly. He walked very slowly, which gave him an appearance of great dignity, and he peered about him with large staring eyes, which gave him an air of tremendous importance. "He's God!" screamed a Plymouth Rock hen. And the others took up the cry "He's God!" So they followed him wherever he went and when he began to bump into things they began to bump into things, too. Finally he came to a concrete highway and he started up the middle of it and all the other creatures followed him. Presently a hawk, who was acting as outrider, observed a truck coming toward them at fifty miles an hour, and he reported to the secretary bird and the secretary bird reported to the owl. "There's danger ahead," said the secretary bird. "To wit?" said the owl. The secretary bird told him. "Aren't you afraid?" he asked. "Who?" said the owl calmly, for he could not see the truck. "He's God!" cried all the creatures again, and they were still crying "He's God!" when the truck hit them and ran them down. Some of the animals were merely injured, but most of them, including the owl, were killed.
>
> *Moral: You can fool too many of the people too much of the time.*

Source: J. Thurber, *Fables for Our Time* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940), p. 35. Reprinted with permission of Rosemary Thurber.

HIGHLIGHT 16–7

Marjoe Gortner

At the age of 4, Marjoe Gortner preached at tent revival meetings, billed as "The World's Youngest Ordained Minister." He was well prepared for it, having been coached in dramatic techniques including the right way to shout "Glory" into a microphone. His sermons (with titles such as "Heading for the Last Roundup") were memorized down to each pause and gesture. Gortner's role, in his own view, was to be a sort of conductor, orchestrating and engineering the group frenzy. Cynically recalling his manipulations, Gortner said, "It's the same as at a rock and roll concert . . . You have an opening number with a strong entrance; then you go through a lot of the old standards, building up to your hit song at the end" (Conway & Siegelman, 1979, p.48). Was Marjoe a charismatic leader? In one sense, because he was able to get followers to form strong emotional bonds with him and to trust in the correctness of his religious beliefs, Marjoe would probably be considered a charismatic leader using our definition of charisma. However, in another sense, Marjoe would not be considered a charismatic leader. According to Burns (1978), charismatic or transformational leaders also develop strong emotional bonds and are concerned with the development of their followers. Because Marjoe was interested only in developing relationships with followers for his own personal gain and self-aggrandizement, he would not be considered a transformational leader according to Burns's definition.

Source: F. Conway and J. Siegelman, *Snapping* (New York: Delta, 1979).

More recently, Howell (1988) maintained that there are both socialized and personalized charismatic leaders. Socialized charismastic leaders express goals that are follower driven and work to develop followers into leaders. Personalized charismatic leaders pursue leader-driven goals and promote feelings of obedience, dependency, and submission in followers. The differences between these two types of leaders, however, may be due to their values, not their personalities. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Adolph Hitler may have shared certain similarities in ability and personality, and these similarities may have played a major role in allowing them to develop strong emotional bonds with followers and to articulate their visions of the future. However, no one would argue that these two leaders shared the same value systems. Thus, the differences between positive and negative charismatic leaders may be due to differences in value systems; negative charismatic leaders only may be interested in their own self-aggrandizement and power, whereas positive charismatic leaders are primarily motivated to improve their followers, organizations, or societies (see Highlight 16–8).

Training and Selecting Charismatic Leaders

Given the potential positive benefits of transformational or charismatic leadership, two important questions that remain to be answered concern whether it is possible to train or select charismatic leaders. Although little research has been done in either of these areas, Howell and Frost (1988) have conducted a laboratory experiment that sheds some light on this question. Howell and Frost trained several actresses to exhibit charismatic, directive, or relationship-oriented behaviors as leaders of four-person work groups. For example, actresses exhibiting charismatic behaviors acted confidently and dynamically, expressed high confidence in followers, set high performance expectations, and empathized with the needs of followers. The four-person work groups of charismatic leaders performed at higher levels and had greater levels of satisfaction than the four-person work groups having a directive or relationship-oriented leader. Although some have used these findings to argue that it is possible to train leaders to be more charismatic (Avolio & Gibbons, 1988; Bass, 1988; Conger & Kanungo, 1988), this conclusion seems somewhat premature. Because Howell and Frost did not train a leader to exhibit *both* high task and high relationship behaviors, it is uncertain whether the followers of charismatic leaders would have any higher performance or satisfaction levels than followers of 9,9 leaders (Curphy, 1991a; Yukl, 1989).

Perhaps the best way to think about whether it is possible to train leaders to be more charismatic is to go back and review the leader, follower, and situational characteristics of charismastic leadership. Certainly, one could train leaders to recognize and restructure those situational factors facilitating charismatic leader emergence. However, it may be relatively difficult to train leaders to improve the follower factors, as the strong emotional attachments followers develop with charismatic leaders will depend as much on followers' needs and expectations as on the leader's visioning, rhetorical, and impression management skills (though some leaders—unscrupulous ones in particular—probably select certain causes to champion precisely because they sense particularly strong needs on the part of potential followers). Furthermore, while it may be possible to train leaders to improve their visioning, impression management, and rhetorical skills, leaders who have lower intelligence, creativity, dominance, and achievement-oriented scores—and who are low self-monitors and unsociable—may not obtain much benefit from this training. The idea that anyone can become more charismatic through appropriate training may be a bit naive and certainly remains to be demonstrated.

A final comment concerning charismatic leadership involves personnel selection, often thought of as the flip side of training. Some people may argue that if leaders cannot be trained to be more charismatic, then we should focus effort toward selecting leaders with the individual difference characteristics associated with charismatic leadership and placing them in leadership positions.

HIGHLIGHT 16–8

The Destruction of Alexander the Great

Just as some charismatic leaders can have significant positive changes on an organization, society, or nation, so can others have an equally strong negative effect on organizations or societies. The story of Alexander the Great provides an excellent example of a famous charismatic leader whose actions and activities were focused solely on his own self-aggrandizement. The following are some of the distinctive accomplishments and characteristics of Alexander the Great.

- *His accomplishments:* Alexander the Great was born in 356 B.C., and 35 years later he had managed to conquer most of the known world. Based in Macedonia (in the southern peninsula of Greece), Alexander's campaigns allowed him to rule lands in Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India.
- *His vision:* Quite simply, Alexander's vision was to rule the world. He viewed his campaign as a Homerian epic and wanted to guarantee himself a place in history.
- *His intellect:* Alexander was an incisive strategist and a brilliant tactician. For example, because the massive Persian fleet was powered by rowers (who needed food and water to power the ships), Alexander correctly assumed that the Persian fleet would be rendered useless if their home ports were captured. Moreover, he learned from his battles and sieges, and applied this knowledge in future battles.
- *His concern for his followers and personal example:* Alexander was a man of tireless energy and an absolutely fearless warrior. He showed a complete disregard for danger in battle—he was often at the front lines leading his troops into the thick of the battle. Because of his leadership style, Alexander had been wounded by swords, spears, darts, stones, clubs, and catapult missles over the course of his campaigning. Nevertheless, he showed a great deal of compassion toward his troops. He granted many of his troops leave and canceled all of their debts. He made sure they had enough food, visited the wounded after each battle, and conducted elaborate military funerals for his fallen comrades.
- *His excellent rhetorical and dramatic skills:* Alexander was formally schooled in debate and epic poetry by Aristotle. He spoke in a forceful, dramatic style and had the gift of being able to tailor his messages to the situation at hand. Alexander was also very theatrical; he feigned sleep immediately before the battle of Gaugamela. Similarly, when rumors about his wounding and death began circulating among his troops after a particularly fierce battle, he stayed within his tent for three days, allowing the rumors to reach a fever pitch. He waited until he was the subject of concern of all of his troops before he assuaged their fears.
- *He understood the importance of success:* He constantly excelled at war, as he knew failures would cause his troops to question his "supernatural" powers.

HIGHLIGHT 16–8 *(concluded)*

- *The destruction:* Although Alexander conquered much of the known world at the time, to what end did this destruction serve? He did not formally develop his troops, nor did he advance Greek society beyond supplying it with the spoils of his campaigns. The destruction of Alexander's campaigns served only to secure his own place in history—he did not create a new and better society for the Macedonians or for the people whose lands he conquered.

Source: J. Keegan, *The Mask of Command* (New York: Penguin Press, 1988).

Unfortunately, there are two difficulties with this strategy. First, we know very little about the personality traits that differentiate charismatic from noncharismatic leaders. Although House, Spangler, and Woycke (1991); House, Woycke, and Fodor (1988); and Ross and Offermann (1991) have done some preliminary work in this regard, much more research needs to be accomplished before we can say we have identified those traits consistently associated with charismatic leadership. Second, the selection of charismatic leaders is particularly difficult because charisma exists in the eyes of the beholders. In most cases, this means charisma is in the eyes of the followers, yet followers hardly ever play a role in the selection process (in organizations, at least). Again, much more research is needed before we can say with any confidence that we can select or train charismatic leaders.

Concluding Thoughts about Transformational or Charismastic Leadership

Certainly the early research conducted by historians, sociologists, and political scientists provided the springboard for many of the questions currently being asked about transformational leadership in organizational settings. Although there is considerable work yet to be accomplished, we know a lot more about charismatic leadership today than we knew about the topic 15 years ago. For example, we have a pretty good idea of the distinguishing leader, follower, and situational characteristics of charismatic leadership, and we know that charismatic leadership can occur in any team, group, or organizational setting. We also know that charismatic leaders can have stronger effects on some leadership effectiveness criteria than others and that values may play a key role determining whether charismatic leaders have positive or disruptive effects on a group or organization. We also suspect that training and selecting charismatic leaders may be very difficult. Future research efforts must better identify the individual difference variables related to charismatic leadership and determine whether or not charismatic leadership behaviors are amenable to training.

SUMMARY

Although there is considerable research currently being conducted on a variety of leadership topics, this chapter reviews research concerning only the group effectiveness model of leadership and the literature pertaining to transformational or charismatic leadership. By encompassing a wide variety of leader, follower, and situational factors, these two perspectives on leadership are among the most comprehensive of any discussed in this book.

The group effectiveness model posited that group effectiveness can best be understood in terms of inputs, processes, and outcomes. The input level consists of the intelligence, skills, personality traits, and values of the followers; the design of the group; and various organizational and environmental factors. The process level concerns the way in which groups get tasks accomplished, and the output level concerns whether or not customers are satisfied with the group's product and whether followers are satisfied to be members of the group. By identifying certain process problems in groups, leaders can use the model to diagnose appropriate "leverage points" for action at the individual, group design, or organizational levels, or for coaching at the process level. Although this model is relatively new, the research that has been accomplished has shown initial support for this conceptualization of factors affecting group effectiveness.

Although the topic of transformational or charismatic leadership has been of interest to sociologists, historians, and political scientists over the years, it has only recently been investigated by organizational researchers. In the past 15 years, organizational researchers have been able to identify distinctive leader, follower, and situational characteristics of charismatic leadership. Moreover, researchers using Bass's MLQ have shown that there are many transformational leaders in organizational settings who often have very positive effects on their followers. These effects include more positive attitudes toward work and their organizations, and on unit performance indices requiring interdependent effort. Nevertheless, some charismatic or transformational leaders can be disruptive to organizations, particularly if the leader's vision is in conflict with the goals of the organization or if the leader is only developing strong emotional bonds with followers for their own (i.e., the leader's) selfish ends. Finally, because charisma is an attribution followers confer to certain leaders, it may be difficult to select or train leaders to be charismatic. We may be able to "improve the odds" somewhat by providing appropriate training to individuals with the requisite individual difference characteristics, but whether followers will perceive these individuals as charismatic will depend to a large extent on their own needs and expectations. Therefore, considerably more research is needed before we fully understand the charismatic leadership process and can accurately predict who will be perceived as charismatic in group, team, or organizational settings.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

group effectiveness model
outputs
process measures
inputs
leverage point
individual factors
organizational context
group design
material resources
traditional authority system
legal-rational authority system
charismatic authority system
charisma
spellbinders
theory of transformational and transactional leadership
Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do the tenets of the group effectiveness model compare with the components of team performance described in Chapter Ten?
2. How do the tenets of the group effectiveness model compare to the model of performance provided in Chapter Fourteen? What differences do you see between these two models?
3. Would the model of group effectiveness be equally applicable to groups led by charismatic versus noncharismatic leaders? What components of the model would be most affected by these two types of leaders?
4. Who, to you, are the most charismatic leaders in the United States today? In the world? How do they differ from noncharismatic national or world leaders?
5. President Bush had some of the highest and lowest presidential approval ratings ever reported for modern U.S. presidents. Do you think most people percieved President Bush to be a charismatic leader during his times of highest ratings (i.e., during Operation Desert Storm)? If so, what role do you think the situation played in people's perceptions of President Bush as a charismatic or noncharismatic leader?

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27

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

HBR CLASSIC

Business leaders have much more in common with artists than they do with managers.

Managers and Leaders: Are They Different?

#92211

by Abraham Zaleznik

What it takes to develop managers may inhibit developing leaders.

What is the ideal way to develop leadership? Every society provides its own answer to this question, and each, in groping for answers, defines its deepest concerns about the purposes, distributions, and uses of power. Business has contributed its answer to the leadership question by evolving a new breed called the manager. Simultaneously, business has established a new power ethic that favors collective over individual leadership, the cult of the group over that of personality. While ensuring the competence, control, and the balance of power among groups with the potential for rivalry, managerial leadership unfortunately does not necessarily ensure imagination, creativity, or ethical behavior in guiding the destinies of corporate enterprises.

Leadership inevitably requires using power to influence the thoughts and actions of other people. Power in the hands of an individual entails human risks: first, the risk of equating power with the ability to get immediate results; second, the risk of ignoring the many different ways people can legitimately accumulate power; and third, the risk of losing self-control in the desire for power. The need to hedge these risks accounts in part for the development of collective leadership and the managerial ethic. Consequently, an inherent conservatism dominates the culture of large organizations. In *The Second American Revolution*, John D. Rockefeller III describes the conservatism of organizations:

> "An organization is a system, with a logic of its own, and all the weight of tradition and inertia. The deck is stacked in favor of the tried and proven way of doing things and against the taking of risks and striking out in new directions."[1]

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Out of this conservatism and inertia, organizations provide succession to power through the development of managers rather than individual leaders. Ironically, this ethic fosters a bureaucratic culture in business, supposedly the last bastion protecting us from the encroachments and controls of bureaucracy in government and education.

Manager vs. Leader Personality

A managerial culture emphasizes rationality and control. Whether his or her energies are directed toward goals, resources, organization structures, or people, a manager is a problem solver. The manager asks: "What problems have to be solved, and what are the best ways to achieve results so that people will continue to contribute to this organization?" From this perspective, leadership is simply a practical effort to direct affairs; and to fulfill his or her task, a manager requires that many people operate efficiently at different levels of status and responsibility. It takes neither genius nor heroism to be a manager, but rather persistence, tough-mindedness, hard work, intelligence, analytical ability, and perhaps most important, tolerance and goodwill.

Another conception of leadership, however, attaches almost mystical beliefs to what a leader is and assumes that only great people are worthy of the drama of power and politics. Here leadership is a psychodrama in which a brilliant, lonely person must gain control of himself or herself as a precondition for controlling others. Such an expectation of leadership contrasts sharply with the mundane, practical, and yet important conception that leadership is really managing work that other people do.

Two questions come to mind. Is this leadership mystique merely a holdover from our childhood – from a sense of dependency and a longing for good and heroic parents? Or is it true that no matter how competent managers are, their leadership stagnates because of their limitations in visualizing purposes and generating value in work? Driven by narrow purposes, without an imaginative capacity and the ability to communicate, do managers then perpetuate group conflicts instead of reforming them into broader desires and goals?

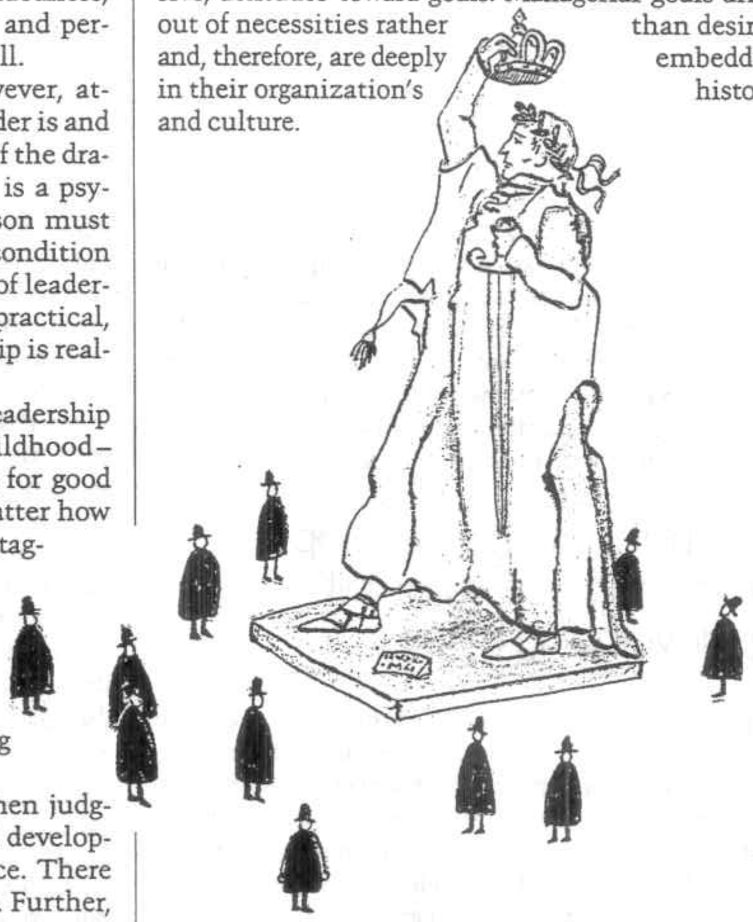
If indeed problems demand greatness, then judging by past performance, the selection and development of leaders leave a great deal to chance. There are no known ways to train "great" leaders. Further, beyond what we leave to chance, there is a deeper issue in the relationship between the need for competent managers and the longing for great leaders.

What it takes to ensure a supply of people who will assume practical responsibility may inhibit the development of great leaders. On the other hand, the presence of great leaders may undermine the development of managers who typically become very anxious in the relative disorder that leaders seem to generate.

It is easy enough to dismiss the dilemma of training managers, though we may need new leaders or leaders at the expense of managers, by saying that the need is for people who can be both. But just as a managerial culture differs from the entrepreneurial culture that develops when leaders appear in organizations, managers and leaders are very different kinds of people. They differ in motivation, personal history, and in how they think and act.

Attitudes Toward Goals

Managers tend to adopt impersonal, if not passive, attitudes toward goals. Managerial goals arise out of necessities rather than desires and, therefore, are deeply embedded in their organization's history and culture.



Another conception of leadership attaches mystical beliefs to what a leader is.

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1. New York: Harper-Row, 1973, p. 72.

DRAWING BY SOLANGE LADENIUS-CLARK

Frederic G. Donner, chairman and chief executive officer of General Motors from 1958 to 1967, expressed this kind of attitude toward goals in defining GM's position on product development:

"To meet the challenge of the marketplace, we must recognize changes in customer needs and desires far enough ahead to have the right products in the right places at the right time and in the right quantity.

"We must balance trends in preference against the many compromises that are necessary to make a final product that is both reliable and good looking, that performs well and that sells at a competitive price in the necessary volume. We must design not just the cars we would like to build but, more important, the cars that our customers want to buy."[2]

Nowhere in this statement is there a notion that consumer tastes and preferences arise in part as a result of what manufacturers do. In reality, through product design, advertising, and promotion, consumers learn to like what they then say they need. Few would argue that people who enjoy taking snapshots need a camera that also develops pictures. But in response to a need for novelty, convenience, and a shorter interval between acting (snapping the picture) and gaining pleasure (seeing the shot), the Polaroid camera succeeded in the marketplace. It is inconceivable that Edwin Land responded to impressions of consumer need. Instead, he translated a technology (polarization of light) into a product, which proliferated and stimulated consumers' desires.

The example of Polaroid and Land suggests how leaders think about goals. They are active instead of reactive, shaping ideas instead of responding to them. Leaders adopt a personal and active attitude toward goals. The influence a leader exerts in altering moods, evoking images and expectations, and in establishing specific desires and objectives determines the direction a business takes. The net result of this influence changes the way people think about what is desirable, possible, and necessary.

Conceptions of Work

Managers tend to view work as an enabling process involving some combination of people and ideas interacting to establish strategies and make decisions. They help the process along by calculating the interests in opposition, planning when controversial issues should surface, and reducing tensions. In this enabling process, managers' tactics appear flexible: on one hand, they negotiate and bargain; on the other, they use rewards, punishments, and other forms of coercion.

Alfred P. Sloan's actions at General Motors illustrate how this process works in situations of conflict. The time was the early 1920s when Ford Motor Company still dominated the automobile industry using, as did General Motors, the conventional water-cooled engine. With the full backing of Pierre du Pont, Charles Kettering dedicated himself to the design of an air-cooled copper engine, which, if successful, would be a great technical and marketing coup for GM. Kettering believed in his product, but the manufacturing division heads opposed the new design on two grounds: first, it was technically unreliable, and second, the corporation was putting all its eggs in one basket by investing in a new product instead of attending to the current marketing situation.

Edwin Land didn't just respond to consumer needs. He stimulated consumer desires.

In the summer of 1923, after a series of false starts and after its decision to recall the copper engine Chevrolets from dealers and customers, GM management scrapped the project. When it dawned on Kettering that the company had rejected the engine, he was deeply discouraged and wrote to Sloan that, without the "organized resistance" against the project, it would have succeeded and that, unless the project were saved, he would leave the company.

Alfred Sloan was all too aware that Kettering was unhappy and indeed intended to leave General Motors. Sloan was also aware that, while the manufacturing divisions strongly opposed the new engine, Pierre du Pont supported Kettering. Further, Sloan had himself gone on record in a letter to Kettering less than two years earlier expressing full confidence in him. The problem Sloan had was how to make his decision stick, keep Kettering in the organization (he was much too valuable to lose), avoid alienating du Pont, and encourage the division heads to continue developing product lines using conventional water-cooled engines.

Sloan's actions in the face of this conflict reveal much about how managers work. First, he tried to reassure Kettering by presenting the problem in a very ambiguous fashion, suggesting that he and the executive committee sided with Kettering, but that it would not be practical to force the divisions to do what they were opposed to. He presented the problem as being a question of the people, not the product. Second, he proposed to reorganize around the problem by consolidating all functions in a new division that would be responsible for the design, production, and marketing of the new engine. This solution appeared as ambiguous as his efforts to placate Kettering. Sloan wrote: "My plan was to create an independent pilot operation under the sole jurisdiction of Mr. Kettering, a kind of copper-cooled car division. Mr. Kettering would designate his own chief engineer and his production staff to solve the technical problems of manufacture."[3]

Sloan did not discuss the practical value of this solution, which included saddling an inventor with management responsibility, but in effect, he used this plan to limit his conflict with Pierre du Pont.

Essentially, the managerial solution that Sloan arranged limited the options available to others. The structural solution narrowed choices, even limiting emotional reactions to the point where the key people could do nothing but go along. It allowed Sloan to say in his memorandum to du Pont, "We have discussed the matter with Mr. Kettering at some length this morning, and he agrees with us absolutely on every point we made. He appears to receive the suggestion enthusiastically and has every confidence that it can be put across along these lines."[4]

Sloan placated people who opposed his views by developing a structural solution that appeared to give something but in reality only limited options. He could then authorize the car division's general manager, with whom he basically agreed, to move quickly in designing water-cooled cars for the immediate market demand.

Years later, Sloan wrote, evidently with tongue in cheek, "The copper-cooled car never came up again in a big way. It just died out; I don't know why."[5]

To get people to accept solutions to problems, managers continually need to coordinate and balance opposing views. Interestingly enough, this type of work has much in common with what diplomats and mediators do, with Henry Kissinger apparently an outstanding practitioner. Managers aim to shift balances of power toward solutions acceptable as compromises among conflicting values.

Leaders work in the opposite direction. Where managers act to limit choices, leaders develop fresh approaches to long-standing problems and open issues to new options. To be effective, leaders must project their ideas onto images that excite people and only then develop choices that give those images substance.

John F. Kennedy's brief presidency shows both the strengths and weaknesses connected with the excitement leaders generate in their work. In his inaugural address he said, "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

This much-quoted statement forced people to react beyond immediate concerns and to identify with Kennedy and with important shared ideals. On closer scrutiny, however, the statement is absurd because it promises a position, which, if adopted, as in the Vietnam War, could produce disastrous results. Yet unless expectations are aroused and mobilized, with all the dangers of frustration inherent in heightened desire, new thinking and new choice can never come to light.

Leaders work from high-risk positions; indeed, they are often temperamentally disposed to seek out risk and danger, especially where the chance of opportunity and reward appears promising. From my observations, the reason one individual seeks risks while another approaches problems conservatively depends more on his or her personality and less on conscious choice. For those who become managers, a survival instinct dominates the need for risk, and with that instinct comes an ability to tolerate mundane, practical work. Leaders sometimes react to mundane work as to an affliction.

Relations with Others

Managers prefer to work with people; they avoid solitary activity because it makes them anxious. Several years ago, I directed studies on the psychological aspects of careers. The need to seek out others with whom to work and collaborate seemed to stand out as an important characteristic of managers. When asked, for example, to write imaginative stories in response to a picture showing a single figure (a boy contemplating a violin or a man silhouetted in a state of reflection), managers populated their stories with people. The following is an example of a manager's imaginative story about the young boy contemplating a violin:

"Mom and Dad insisted that their son take music lessons so that someday he can become a concert musician. His instrument was ordered and had just arrived. The boy is weighing the alternatives of playing football with the other kids or playing with the squeak box. He can't understand how his parents could think a violin is better than a touchdown.

"After four months of practicing the violin, the boy has had more than enough, Dad is going out of

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2. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., *My Years with General Motors* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), p. 440.
3. Ibid, p. 91.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, p. 93.

Retrospective Commentary

It was not so long ago that Bert Lance, President Jimmy Carter's budget director and confidant, declared, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." This piece of advice fits with how managers think. Leaders understand a different truth: "When it ain't broke may be the only time you can fix it."

In the splendid discipline of the marketplace, past formulas for success today contain the seeds of decay. The U.S. automobile industry has been cited so often as the prime example of the suicidal effect of continuing to do what one has been doing in the wake of success that its story borders on the banal. But it's true. Top executives in the automobile industry, along with managers in many other industries in the United States, have failed to understand the misleading lessons of success, revealing the chronic fault of the managerial mystique.

As a consequence of placing such reliance on the practical measure of continuing to do today and tomorrow what had proven successful yesterday, we face the chilling fact that the United States's largest export during the last decade or more has been jobs. We live with the grim reality that the storehouse of expertise called know-how has diminished. Perhaps most dismal of all, our children and our children's children may not be able to enjoy the same standard of living we worked so hard to achieve, let alone enjoy a higher standard of living as a legacy of the generations.

When "Managers and Leaders: Are They Different?" first appeared in HBR, practicing managers and academics, including many of my colleagues at the Harvard Business School, thought I had taken leave of my senses. Don't ordinary people in an organization with superior structure and process outperform superior people operating in an ordinary organization? To those indoctrinated in the "managerial mystique," talent is ephemeral while organization structure and process are real. The possibility that it takes talent to make a company hum counts for less than acting on those variables managers feel they understand and can control.

Talent is critical to continued success in the marketplace. Yet most organizations today persist in perpetuating the development of managers over leaders. Fortunately, however, there may be an awakening. The chairman of IBM, John Akers, startled the business community with his announcement that IBM intended to abandon its long-held course of running its business as one large corporation. Akers intends to break IBM up into a number of corporations. And while "Big Blue" will continue to be big by most standards, the businesses will run under a leadership and not a managerial mentality. The corporation will no longer rest on the false comforts of economy of scale. Nor will executives be preoccupied with coordination and control, with decentralized operations and centralized financial controls. Process will take a backseat to substance, and the power will flow to executives who are creative and, above all, aggressive.

If other large companies follow this lead, corporate America may recharge, and its ability to compete may rebound. But if left to professional management, U.S. corporations will continue to stagnate.

Since "Managers and Leaders: Are They Different?" was first published, strategy has catapulted itself into the number one position on the managerial hit parade. No aspect of corporate life is indifferent to strategy. Every problem leads to strategic solutions, ranging from how to position products to how to compensate executives. We have a plethora of marketing strategies, employee benefit strategies, and executive development strategies. Strategy, it seems, has replaced business pol-

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his mind, and Mom is willing to give in reluctantly to their wishes. Football season is now over, but a good third baseman will take the field next spring."

This story illustrates two themes that clarify managerial attitudes toward human relations. The first, as I have suggested, is to seek out activity with other people (that is, the football team), and the second is to maintain a low level of emotional involvement in those relationships. Low emotional involvement appears in the writer's use of conventional metaphors, even clichés, and in the depiction of the ready transformation of potential conflict into harmonious decisions. In this case, the boy, Mom, and Dad agree to give up the violin for sports.

These two themes may seem paradoxical, but their coexistence supports what a manager does, including reconciling differences, seeking compromises, and establishing a balance of power. The story further demonstrates that managers may lack empathy, or the capacity to sense intuitively the thoughts and feelings of others. Consider another story written to the same stimulus picture by someone thought of as a leader by his peers:

"This little boy has the appearance of being a sincere artist, one who is deeply affected by the violin, and has an intense desire to master the instrument.

"He seems to have just completed his normal practice session and appears to be somewhat crestfallen at his inability to produce the sounds that he is sure lie within the violin.

"He appears to be in the process of making a vow to himself to expend the necessary time and effort to icy as the conceptual handle for establishing a corporation's directives.

In relying on strategy, organizations have largely overlooked results. Strategy is an offspring of the branch of economics called industrial organization; it builds models of competition and attempts to position products in competitive markets through analytic techniques. The aggregation of these product positions establishes mission statements and direction for businesses. With the ascendancy of industrial organization in the 1980s, management consultants prospered and faith in the managerial mystique was strengthened, despite the poor performance in the U.S. economy.

To me, the most influential development in management in the last 10 or 15 years has been Lotus 1-2-3. This popular software program makes it possible to create spreadsheets rapidly and repetitively, and that has given form and language to strategic planning. With this methodology, technicians can play with the question, "What if?" Best of all, everyone with access to a computer and the appropriate software can join in the "what if" game.

Alas, while everyone can become a strategist, few can become, and sustain, the position of creator. Vision, the hallmark of leadership, is less a derivative of spreadsheets and more a product of the mind called imagination.

And vision is needed at least as much as strategy to succeed. Business leaders bring to bear a variety of imaginations on the growth of corporations. These imaginations – the marketing imagination, the manufacturing imagination, and others – originate in perceptual capacities we recognize as talent. Talented leaders grasp the significance of anomalies, such as unfulfilled customer needs, manufacturing operations that can be improved significantly, and the potential of technological applications in product development.

Business imaginations are substantive. A leader's imagination impels others to act in ways that are truly, to use James MacGregor Burns's felicitous term, "transformational." But leaders often experience their talent as restlessness, as a desire to upset other people's applecarts, an impelling need to "do things better." As a consequence, a leader may not create a stable working environment; rather, he or she may create a chaotic workplace, with highly charged emotional peaks and valleys.

In "Managers and Leaders: Are They Different?", I argued that a crucial difference between managers and leaders lies in the conceptions they hold, deep in their psyches, of chaos and order. Leaders tolerate chaos and lack of structure and are thus prepared to keep answers in suspense, avoiding premature closure on important issues. Managers seek order and control and are almost compulsively addicted to disposing of problems even before they understand their potential significance. In my experience, seldom do the uncertainties of potential chaos cause problems. Instead, it is the instinctive move to impose order on potential chaos that makes trouble for organizations.

It seems to me that business leaders have much more in common with artists, scientists, and other creative thinkers than they do with managers. For business schools to exploit this commonality of dispositions and interests, the curriculum should worry less about the logics of strategy and imposing the constraints of computer exercises and more about thought experiments in the play of creativity and imagination. If they are successful, they would then do a better job of preparing exceptional men and women for positions of leadership.

– Abraham Zaleznik

play this instrument until he satisfies himself that he is able to bring forth the qualities of music that he feels within himself.

"With this type of determination and carry-through, this boy became one of the great violinists of his day."

Empathy is not simply a matter of paying attention to other people. It is also the capacity to take in emotional signals and make them meaningful in a relationship. People who describe another person as "deeply affected," with "intense desire," "crestfallen," and as one who can "vow to himself" would seem to have an inner perceptiveness that they can use in their relationships with others.

Managers relate to people according to the role they play in a sequence of events or in a decision-making process, while leaders, who are concerned with ideas, relate in more intuitive and empathetic ways. The distinction is simply between a manager's attention to *how* things get done and a leader's to *what* the events and decisions mean to participants.

In recent years, managers have adopted from game theory the notion that decision-making events can be one of two types: the win-lose situation (or zero-sum game) or the win-win situation in which everybody in the action comes out ahead. Managers strive to convert win-lose into win-win situations as part of the process of reconciling differences among people and maintaining balances of power.

As an illustration, take the decision of how to allocate capital resources among operating divisions in a large, decentralized organization. On the surface, the dollars available for distribution are limited at any given time. Presumably, therefore, the more one division gets, the less is available for other divisions.

Managers tend to view this situation (as it affects human relations) as a conversion issue: how to make what seems like a win-lose problem into a win-win problem. From that perspective, several solutions come to mind. First, the manager focuses others' attention on procedure and not on substance. Here the players become engrossed in the bigger problem of *how* to make decisions, not *what* decisions to make. Once committed to the bigger problem, these people have to support the outcome since they were involved in formulating the decision-making rules. Because they believe in the rules they formulated, they will accept present losses, believing that next time they will win.

Second, the manager communicates to subordinates indirectly, using "signals" instead of "messages." A signal holds a number of implicit positions, while a message clearly states a position. Signals are inconclusive and subject to reinterpretation should people become upset and angry; messages involve the direct consequence that some people will indeed not like what they hear. The nature of messages heightens emotional response and makes managers anxious. With signals, the question of who wins and who loses often becomes obscured.

Third, the manager plays for time. Managers seem to recognize that with the passage of time and the delay of major decisions, compromises emerge that take the sting out of win-lose situations, and the original "game" will be superseded by additional situations. Compromises mean that one may win and lose simultaneously, depending on which of the games one evaluates.

There are undoubtedly many other tactical moves managers use to change human situations from win-lose to win-win. But the point is that such tactics focus on the decision-making process itself, and that process interests managers rather than leaders. Tactical interests involve costs as well as benefits; they make organizations fatter in bureaucratic and political intrigue and leaner in direct, hard activity and warm human relationships. Consequently, one often hears subordinates characterize managers as inscrutable, detached, and manipulative. These adjectives arise from the subordinates' perception that they are linked together in a process whose purpose is to maintain a controlled as well as rational and equitable structure.

In contrast, one often hears leaders referred to with adjectives rich in emotional content. Leaders attract strong feelings of identity and difference or of love and hate. Human relations in leader-dominated structures often appear turbulent, intense, and at times even disorganized. Such an atmosphere intensifies individual motivation and often produces unanticipated outcomes.

Senses of Self

In *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, William James describes two basic personality types, "once-born" and "twice-born." People of the former personality type are those for whom adjustments to life have been straightforward and whose lives have been more or less a peaceful flow since birth. Twice-borns, on the other hand, have not had an easy time of it. Their lives are marked by a continual struggle to attain some sense of order. Unlike once-borns, they cannot take things for granted. According to James, these personalities have equally different worldviews. For a once-born personality, the sense of self as a guide to conduct and attitude derives from a feeling of being at home and in harmony with one's environment. For a twice-born, the sense of self derives from a feeling of profound separateness.

A sense of belonging or of being separate has a practical significance for the kinds of investments managers and leaders make in their careers. Managers see themselves as conservators and regulators of an existing order of affairs with which they personally identify and from which they gain rewards. A manager's sense of self-worth is enhanced by perpetuating and strengthening existing institutions: he or she is performing in a role that harmonizes with ideals of duty and responsibility. William James had this harmony in mind – this sense of self as flowing easily to and from the outer world – in defining a once-born personality.

> Leaders' lives are marked by a continual struggle to attain some sense of order.

Leaders tend to be twice-born personalities, people who feel separate from their environment. They may work in organizations, but they never belong to them. Their sense of who they are does not depend on memberships, work roles, or other social indicators of identity. And that perception of identity may form the theoretical basis for explaining why certain individuals seek opportunities for change. The methods to bring about change may be technological, political, or ideological, but the object is the same: to profoundly alter human, economic, and political relationships.

In considering the development of leadership, we have to examine two different courses of life history: (1) development through socialization, which prepares the individual to guide institutions and to maintain the existing balance of social relations; and (2) development through personal mastery, which impels an individual to struggle for psychological and social change. Society produces its managerial talent through the first line of development; leaders emerge through the second.

Development of Leadership

Every person's development begins with family. Each person experiences the traumas associated with separating from his or her parents, as well as the pain that follows such a wrench. In the same vein, all individuals face the difficulties of achieving self-regulation and self-control. But for some, perhaps a majority, the fortunes of childhood provide adequate gratifications and sufficient opportunities to find substitutes for rewards no longer available. Such individuals, the "once-borns," make moderate identifications with parents and find a harmony between what they expect and what they are able to realize from life.

But suppose the pains of separation are amplified by a combination of parental demands and individual needs to the degree that a sense of isolation, of being special, or of wariness disrupts the bonds that attach children to parents and other authority figures? Given a special aptitude under such conditions, the person becomes deeply involved in his or her inner world at the expense of interest in the outer world. For such a person, self-esteem no longer depends solely on positive attachments and real rewards. A form of self-reliance takes hold along with expectations of performance and achievement, and perhaps even the desire to do great works.

Such self-perceptions can come to nothing if the individual's talents are negligible. Even with strong talents, there are no guarantees that achievement will follow, let alone that the end result will be for good rather than evil. Other factors enter into development as well. For one, leaders are like artists and other gifted people who often struggle with neuroses; their ability to function varies considerably even over the short run, and some potential leaders lose the struggle altogether. Also, beyond early childhood, the development patterns that affect managers and leaders involve the selective influence of particular people. Managerial personalities form moderate and widely distributed attachments. Leaders, on the other hand, establish, and also break off, intensive one-to-one relationships.

It is a common observation that people with great talents are often indifferent students. No one, for example, could have predicted Einstein's great achievements on the basis of his mediocre record in school. The reason for mediocrity is obviously not the absence of ability. It may result, instead, from self-absorption and the inability to pay attention to the ordinary tasks at hand. The only sure way an individual can interrupt reverie-like preoccupation and self-absorption is to form a deep attachment to a great teacher or other person who understands and has the ability to communicate with the gifted individual.

Whether gifted individuals find what they need in one-to-one relationships depends on the availability of teachers, possibly parental surrogates, whose strengths lie in cultivating talent. Fortunately, when generations meet and the self-selections occur, we learn more about how to develop leaders and how talented people of different generations influence each other.

While apparently destined for mediocre careers, people who form important one-to-one apprenticeship relationships often are able to accelerate and intensify their development. The psychological readiness of an individual to benefit from such a relationship depends on some experience in life that forces that person to turn inward.

Consider Dwight Eisenhower, whose early career in the army foreshadowed very little about his future development. During World War I, while some of his West Point classmates were already experiencing the war firsthand in France, Eisenhower felt "embedded in the monotony and unsought safety of the Zone of the Interior...that was intolerable punishment."[6]

Shortly after World War I, Eisenhower, then a young officer somewhat pessimistic about his career chances, asked for a transfer to Panama to work under General Fox Connor, a senior officer whom he admired. The army turned down his request. This setback was very much on Eisenhower's mind when Ikey, his first born son, succumbed to influenza. Through some sense of responsibility for its own, the army then transferred Eisenhower to Panama, where he took up his duties under General Connor with the shadow of his lost son very much upon him.

In a relationship with the kind of father he would have wanted to be, Eisenhower reverted to being the son he had lost. And in this highly charged situation, he began to learn from his teacher. General Connor offered, and Eisenhower gladly took, a magnificent tutorial on the military. The effects of this relationship on Eisenhower cannot be measured quantitatively, but in examining his career path from that point, one cannot overestimate its significance.

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[6] Dwight D. Eisenhower, *At Ease: Stories I Tell To Friends* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 136.

As Eisenhower wrote later about Connor, "Life with General Connor was a sort of graduate school in military affairs and the humanities, leavened by a man who was experienced in his knowledge of men and their conduct. I can never adequately express my gratitude to this one gentleman....In a lifetime of association with great and good men, he is the one more or less invisible figure to whom I owe an incalculable debt."[7]

Some time after his tour of duty with General Connor, Eisenhower's breakthrough occurred. He received orders to attend the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, one of the most competitive schools in the army. It was a coveted appointment, and Eisenhower took advantage of the opportunity. Unlike his performance in high school and West Point, his work at the Command School was excellent; he was graduated first in his class.

Psychological biographies of gifted people repeatedly demonstrate the important part a teacher plays in developing an individual. Andrew Carnegie owed much to his senior, Thomas A. Scott. As head of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Scott recognized talent and the desire to learn in the young telegrapher assigned to him. By giving Carnegie increasing responsibility and by providing him with the opportunity to learn through close personal observation, Scott added to Carnegie's self-confidence and sense of achievement. Because of his own personal strength and achievement, Scott did not fear Carnegie's aggressiveness. Rather, he gave it full play in encouraging Carnegie's initiative.

Great teachers take risks. They bet initially on talent they perceive in younger people. And they risk emotional involvement in working closely with their juniors. The risks do not always pay off, but the willingness to take them appears to be crucial in developing leaders.

Can Organizations Develop Leaders?

A myth about how people learn and develop that seems to have taken hold in American culture also dominates thinking in business. The myth is that people learn best from their peers. Supposedly, the threat of evaluation and even humiliation recedes in peer relations because of the tendency for mutual identification and the social restraints on authoritarian behavior among equals. Peer training in organizations occurs in various forms. The use, for example, of task forces made up of peers from several interested occupational groups (sales, production, research, and finance) supposedly removes the restraints of authority on the individual's willingness to assert and exchange ideas. As a result, so the theory goes, people interact more freely, listen more objectively to criticism and other points of view, and, finally, learn from this healthy interchange.

Another application of peer training exists in some large corporations, such as Philips N.V. in Holland, where organizational structure is built on the principle of joint responsibility of two peers, one representing the commercial end of the business and the other the technical. Formally, both hold equal responsibility for geographic operations or product groups, as the case may be. As a practical matter, it may turn out that one or the other of the peers dominates the management. Nevertheless, the main interaction is between two or more equals.

The principal question I raise about such arrangements is whether they perpetuate the managerial orientation and preclude the formation of one-to-one relationships between senior people and potential leaders.

Aware of the possible stifling effects of peer relationships on aggressiveness and individual initiative, another company, much smaller than Philips, utilizes joint responsibility of peers for operating units, with one important difference. The chief executive of this company encourages competition and rivalry among peers, ultimately rewarding the one who comes out on top with increased responsibility. These hybrid arrangements produce some unintended consequences that can be disastrous. There is no easy way to limit rivalry. Instead, it permeates all levels of the operation and opens the way for the formation of cliques in an atmosphere of intrigue.

One large, integrated oil company has accepted the importance of developing leaders through the direct influence of senior on junior executives. The chairman and chief executive officer regularly selects one talented university graduate whom he appoints his special assistant, and with whom he will work closely for a year. At the end of the year, the junior executive becomes available for assignment to one of the operating divisions, where he or she will be assigned to a responsible post rather than a training position. This apprenticeship acquaints the junior executive firsthand with the use of power and with the important antidotes to the power disease called *hubris* – performance and integrity.

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[7] Ibid, p. 187.

[8] "Jack Hanley Got There by Selling Harder," *Fortune*, November 1976.

Working in one-to-one relationships, where there is a formal and recognized difference in the power of the players, takes a great deal of tolerance for emotional interchange. This interchange, inevitable in close working arrangements, probably accounts for the reluctance of many executives to become involved in such relationships. *Fortune* carried an interesting story on the departure of a key executive, John W. Hanley, from the top management of Procter & Gamble to the chief executive officer position at Monsanto.[8] According to this account, the chief executive and chairman of P&G passed over Hanley for appointment to the presidency, instead naming another executive vice president to this post.

> Gifted people need one-to-one relationships. Eisenhower had General Connor, Carnegie had Thomas Scott.

The chairman evidently felt he could not work well with Hanley who, by his own acknowledgment, was aggressive, eager to experiment and change practices, and constantly challenged his superior. A chief executive officer naturally has the right to select people with whom he feels congenial. But I wonder whether a greater capacity on the part of senior officers to tolerate the competitive impulses and behavior of their subordinates might not be healthy for corporations. At least a greater tolerance for interchange would not favor the managerial team player at the expense of the individual who might become a leader.

I am constantly surprised at the frequency with which chief executives feel threatened by open challenges to their ideas, as though the source of their authority, rather than their specific ideas, was at issue. In one case, a chief executive officer, who was troubled by the aggressiveness and sometimes outright rudeness of one of his talented vice presidents, used various indirect methods such as group meetings and hints from outside directors to avoid dealing with his subordinate. I advised the executive to deal head-on with what irritated him. I suggested that by direct, face-to-face confrontation, both he and his subordinate would learn to validate the distinction between the authority to be preserved and the issues to be debated.

The ability to confront is also the ability to tolerate aggressive interchange. And that skill not only has the net effect of stripping away the veils of ambiguity and signaling so characteristic of managerial cultures, but also it encourages the emotional relationships leaders need if they are to survive.

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Transformational leaders inspire, energize, and intellectually stimulate their employees. The author argues that through training, managers can learn the techniques and obtain the qualities they need to become transformational leaders.

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From Transactional to Transformational Leadership: Learning to Share the Vision

BERNARD M. BASS

Sir Edmund Hillary of Mount Everest fame liked to tell a story about one of Captain Robert Falcon Scott's earlier attempts, from 1901 to 1904, to reach the South Pole. Scott led an expedition made up of men from the Royal Navy and the merchant marine, as well as a group of scientists. Scott had considerable trouble dealing with the merchant marine personnel, who were unaccustomed to the rigid discipline of Scott's Royal Navy. Scott wanted to send one seaman home because he would not take orders, but the seaman refused, arguing that he had signed a contract and knew his rights. Since the seaman was not subject to Royal Navy disciplinary action, Scott did not know what to do. Then Ernest Shackleton, a merchant navy officer in Scott's party, calmly informed the seaman that he, the seaman, was returning to Britain. Again the seaman refused—and Shackleton knocked him to the ship's deck. After another refusal, followed by a second flooring, the seaman decided he would return home. Scott later became one of the victims of his own inadequacies as a leader in his 1911 race to the South Pole. Shackleton went on to lead many memorable expeditions; once, seeking help for the rest of his party, who were stranded on the Antarctic Coast, he journeyed with a small crew in a small open boat from the edge of Antarctica to South Georgia Island.

LEADERSHIP TODAY

Most relationships between supervisors and their employees are quite different today. Few managers depend mainly on their legitimate power, as Scott did, or on their coercive power, as Shackleton did, to persuade people to do as they're told. Rather, managers engage in a transaction with their employees: They explain what is required of

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them and what compensation they will receive if they fulfill these requirements.

A shift in management style at Xerox's Reprographic Business Group (RBG) provides a good example. In the first step toward establishing management in which managers take the initiative and show consideration for others, 44 specific, effective management behaviors were identified. Two factors that characterize modern leadership were found in many of these behaviors. One factor – initialing and organizing work – concentrates on accomplishing the tasks at hand. The second factor – showing consideration for employees – focuses on satisfying the self-interest of those who do good work. The leader gets things done by making, and fulfilling, promises of recognition, pay increases, and advancement for employees who perform well. By contrast, employees who do not do good work are penalized. This transaction or exchange – this promise and reward for good performance, or threat and discipline for poor performance – characterizes effective leadership. These kinds of transactions took place in most of the effective 44 leadership behaviors identified at Xerox's RBG. This kind of leadership, which is based on transactions between manager and employees, is called "transactional leadership."

In many instances, however, such transactional leadership is a prescription for mediocrity. This is particularly true if the leader relies heavily on passive management-by-exception, intervening with his or her group only when procedures and standards for accomplishing tasks are not being met. My colleagues and I have arrived at this surprising but consistent finding in a number of research analyses. Such a manager espouses the popular adage, "If it ain't broken, don't fix it." He or she stands in back of the caboose of a moving freight train and says, "Now I know where we are going." This kind of manager may use disciplinary threats to bring a group's performance up to standards—a technique that is ineffective and, in the long run, likely to be counterproductive.

Moreover, whether the promise of rewards or the avoidance of penalties motivates the employees depends on whether the leader has control of the rewards or penalties, and on whether the employees want the rewards or fear the penalties. In many organizations, pay increases depend mainly on seniority, and promotions depend on qualifications and policies about which the leader has little to say. The breaking of regulations may be the main cause of penalties. Many an executive has found his or her hands tied by contract provisions, organizational politics, and inadequate resources.

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Superior leadership performance—transformational leadership—occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir their employees to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group. Transformational leaders achieve these results in one or more ways: They may be charismatic to their followers and thus inspire them; they may meet the emotional needs of each employee; and/or they may intellectually stimulate employees. Exhibit 1 lists the characteristics of transformational and transactional leadership; these listings are based on the findings of a series of surveys and on clinical and case evidence.

Attaining charisma in the eyes of one's employees is central to succeeding as a transformational leader. Charismatic leaders have great power and influence. Employees want to identify with them, and they have a high degree of trust and confidence in them. Charismatic leaders inspire and excite their employees with the idea that they may be able to accomplish great things with extra effort. Further, transformational leaders are individually considerate, that is, they pay close attention to differences among their employees; they act as mentors to those who need help to grow and develop. Intellectual stimulation of employees is a third factor in transformational leadership. Intellectually stimulating leaders are willing and able to show their employees new ways of looking at old problems, to teach them to see difficulties as problems to be solved, and to emphasize rational solutions. Such a leader was Lorenz Iversen, a former president of the Mesta Machine Company, who said to his employees, "We got this job because you're the best mechanics in the world!" He practiced management-by-walking-around and stimulated the development of many of Mesta's patented inventions. He is remembered for instilling pride and commitment in his employees.

THE BIG PAYOFF

Managers who behave like transformational leaders are more likely to be seen by their colleagues and employees as satisfying and effective leaders than are those who behave like transactional leaders, according to their colleagues', supervisors', and employees' responses on the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ). Similar results have been found in various organizational settings. Leaders studied have come from an extremely broad variety of organizations: chief executive officers and senior and middle level managers in business and industrial firms in the United States, Canada, Japan, and India; research and development project leaders; American, Canadian, and British Army field grade offi-

Exhibit 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSFORMATIONAL AND TRANSACTIONAL LEADERS

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER

Charisma: Provides vision and sense of mission, instills pride, gains respect and trust.

Inspiration: Communicates high expectations, uses symbols to focus efforts, expresses important purposes in simple ways.

Intellectual Stimulation: Promotes intelligence, rationality, and careful problem solving.

Individualized Consideration: Gives personal attention, treats each employee individually, coaches, advises.

TRANSACTIONAL LEADER

Contingent Reward: Contracts exchange of rewards for effort, promises rewards for good performance, recognizes accomplishments.

Management by Exception (active): Watches and searches for deviations from rules and standards, takes corrective action.

Management by Exception (passive): Intervenes only if standards are not met.

Laissez-Faire: Abdicates responsibilities, avoids making decisions.

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cers; United States Navy senior officers and junior surface fleet officers; Annapolis midshipmen; educational administrators; and religious leaders.

Moreover, various types of evaluations – including performance ratings by both supervisors and direct reports, as well as standard financial measures – have produced a similar correlation between transformational behavior and high ratings. Managers tagged as high performers by their supervisors were also rated, in a separate evaluation by their followers, as more transformational than transactional. Their organizations do better financially. The same pattern emerged between followers' descriptions of shipboard Naval officers and those officers' supervisors' performance appraisals and recommendations for early promotion. And among Methodist ministers, transformational – not transactional – leadership behavior was positively related to high church attendance among congregants and growth in church membership.

Results were the same for evaluation of team performance in complex business simulations. Considerable credit for Boeing's turnaround since its 1969 crisis can be given to its chief executive, T.A. Wilson, who has emphasized technological progress, aggressive marketing, and a willingness to take calculated business risks. The confidence that Boeing employees have in Wilson, and their respect for him as a brilliant engineer and an outstanding leader, have instilled in them great pride in the company and its products.

EXTRA EFFORT FROM BELOW

Transformational leaders have better relationships with their supervisors and make more of a contribution to the organization than do those who are only transactional. Moreover, employees say that they themselves exert a lot of extra effort on behalf of managers who are transformational leaders. Organizations whose leaders are transactional are less effective than those whose leaders are transformational – particularly if much of the transactional leadership is passive management-by-exception (intervening only when standards are not being met). Employees say they exert little effort for such leaders. Nevertheless, leader-follower transactions dependent on contingent reward may also work reasonably well if the leaders can provide rewards that are valued by the followers.

Exhibit 2 illustrates the effect that transformational, as compared with transactional, leadership has on employee effort. The data were collected from 228 employees of 58 managers in a large engineering firm. The managers were ranked according to their leadership factor scores, which were based on descriptions of leaders by their employees and colleagues on the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire. "Four-star" leaders were those who ranked in the top 25% on a leadership factor score; "one-star" leaders were among the bottom 25% of managers on the leadership factor score. From 75% to 82% of the "four-star" transformational managers had employees who indicated they frequently exerted extra effort on their jobs. Of the "one-star" transformational managers, only 22% to 24% had employees who said they frequently exerted extra effort.

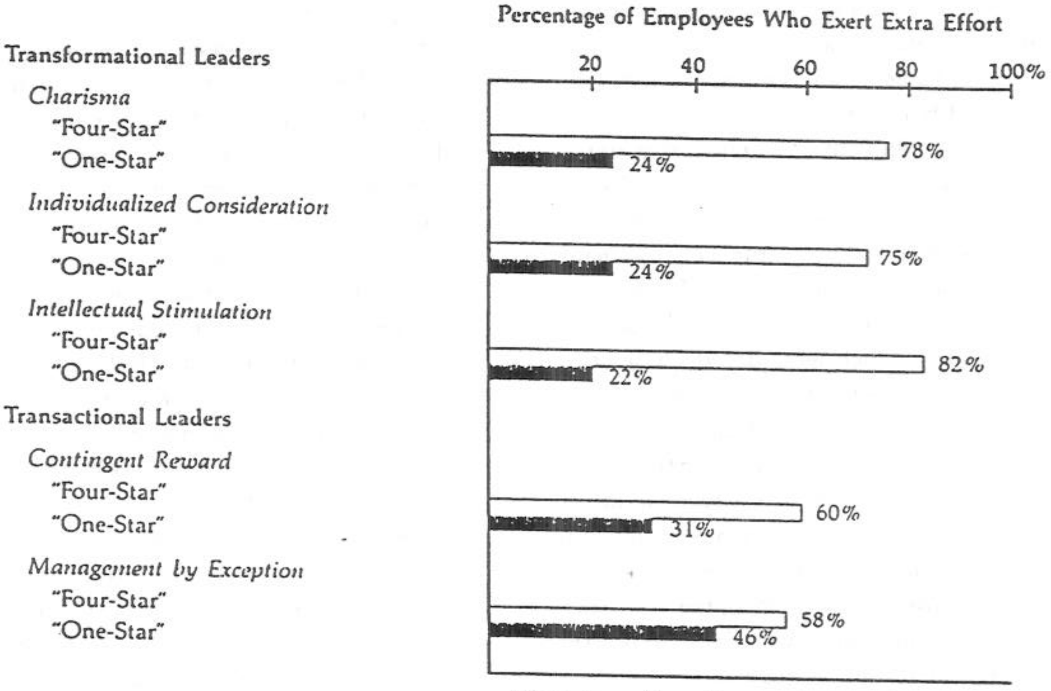
It is interesting to note that, as Exhibit 2 illustrates, being rated as "four-star" rather than "one-star" in *transactional* leadership did not have the same impact on employees' extra effort as a high rating had for the transformational leaders. Similar findings have emerged from studies of leaders and their immediate employees at a diverse range of organizations, including Digital Equipment Corporation and Federal Express.

DIFFERENT STYLES OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

As noted earlier, certain types of behavior characterize the transformational leader. Yet transformational leaders vary widely in their personal styles. H. Ross Perot is self-effacing: "I don't look impressive," he says. "To a lot of guys I don't look like I could afford a car." But Perot created the $2.5 billion EDS organization from his vision, initiative, emphasis on hard work, and a special organizational culture with strict codes of morality and dress and quasi-military management. His personal involvement in the rescue of two of his employees trapped as hostages in Iran in 1979 is an extreme example of individualized consideration, a transformational factor. Leslie Wexner of The Limited, Inc. enjoys a more flamboyant lifestyle. But like Perot, Wexner converted his vision of a nationwide chain of women's sportswear stores into a reality through his own hard work. He stimulates employee participation in discussions and decisions and encourages them to share his vision of the company's future.

Many on *Fortune*'s list of the ten toughest bosses would not live up to modern behavioral science's prescriptions for the good leader: one who initiates the structure for interaction among his colleagues, and who does so with consideration for their welfare. Nevertheless, these tough bosses are highly successful as a consequence of the transformational qualities they display; Boeing's Wilson is a case in point. Although they do initiate structure and may be considerate of their employees, these leaders succeed through such transformational factors as charisma and the ability and willingness to treat different subordinates differently, as well as by providing intellectual stimulation for the employees. They frequently raise standards, take calculated risks, and get others to join them in their vision of the future. Rather than work within the organizational culture, they challenge and change that culture, as Roger Smith of General Motors Corporation did. Self-determination and self-confidence are characteristic of them. They succeed because of these transfor-

Exhibit 2
EMPLOYEES' EFFORTS UNDER VARIOUS LEADERS



(Percentage of employees who rate themselves 3 or 4 on a 0-4 scale of extra effort.)

mational elements – even if they, like Wilson, have authoritarian tendencies.

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Fighting with far fewer men and tanks than his enemy had, against superior equipment, Ernst Rommel, the Desert Fox, won a series of victories in 1941 and 1942 against the British in North Africa, until he was overwhelmed at El Alamein. Because he was up front at the scene of the action, he could make more rapid assessments and decisions than could his British counterparts, who stayed 20 miles back in headquarters. This, and his willingness to accept calculated risks, contributed to his legendary speed, surprise, and boldness, as well as to the continuing high morale of his troops.

Napoleon declared that an army of rabbits commanded by a lion could do better than an army of lions commanded by a rabbit. He was not far from the truth. With all due respect to social, economic, political, and market forces, and to human resources policies that affect an organization's health, having a lion – or, in Rommel's case, a fox – in command rather than a rabbit frequently means success for the organization. Lee Iacocca of Chrysler Corporation and John Welch of General Electric, who have become folk heroes (or folk devils, to some), are contemporary examples of the importance of transformational leaders to their organizations.

Leadership makes its presence felt throughout the organization and its activities. We have found that employees not only do a better job when they believe their supervisors are transformational leaders, but they also are much more satisfied with the company's performance appraisal system. Likewise, mass communications directed toward individual employees are much more likely to have an impact if the messages are reinforced face-to-face by their supervisors at all organizational levels.

Transformational leadership should be encouraged, for it can make a big difference in the firm's performance at all levels. Managers need to do more than focus on the exchange of material, social, and personal benefits for services satisfactorily rendered. The charismatic leader, like the flamboyant Ted Turner of Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. can instill a sense of mission; the individually considerate leader, like the shy and self-effacing Roberto Goizueta of the Coca Cola Corporation, can lead employees to take an interest in higher-level concerns; the intellectually stimulating leader, like the innovative Roger Smith at General Motors Corporation, can articulate a shared vision of jointly acceptable possibilities. This is not to say that transformational leaders are always prosocial in their efforts, for some fulfill grandiose dreams at the expense of their followers.

Despite the many successes with management development programs and the leadership development programs in our military academies, many executives still feel that leadership is like the weather — something to talk about, but about which not much can be done. Others say leadership ability is mystical -- one needs to be born with it.

In fact, much can be done to improve leadership in an organization and to change the presiding style from transactional to transformational. The overall amount of transformational leadership in an organization can be increased substantially by suitable organizational and human resources policies. The new model of transformational leadership presents opportunities for enhancing a corporation's image and for improving its success in recruitment, selection, and promotion. This model also has implications for the organization's training and development activities and for the design of its jobs and organizational structure.

Implications for Corporate Image

It is no accident that many of the firms identified in Tom Peters and Robert Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (Warner Books, 1982) as excellently managed have large numbers of transformational leaders. Conversely, the poorly managed "dinosaurs" among the firms they describe need to implement a lot more transformational leadership. A firm that is permeated with transformational leadership from top to bottom conveys to its own personnel as well as to customers, suppliers, financial backers, and the community at large that it has its eyes on the future; is confident; has personnel who are pulling together for the common good; and places a premium on its intellectual resources and flexibility and on the development of its people.

Implications for Recruiting

Increasing transformational leadership within the organization may help in recruitment. Candidates are likely to be attracted to an organization whose CEO is charismatic and enjoys a public image as a confident, successful, optimistic, dynamic leader. In addition, prospects are likely to be attracted by interview experiences with other members of management who exhibit individualized consideration. More intelligent prospects will be particularly impressed with intellectually stimulating contacts they make during the recruiting and hiring process.

Implications for Selection, Promotion, and Transfer

Since we can identify and measure the factors associated with transformational leadership, these factors should be incorporated into managerial assessment, selection, placement, and guidance programs — along with related assessments of relevant personal dimensions and individual differences. Somewhat more transformational leadership is generally expected and found as managers move to successively higher levels in the organization, but it is reasonable to expect that an individual's performance at one level will be similar to his or her performance at the next. Direct reports, peers, and/or supervisors can be asked to describe the manager's current leadership with the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire; their responses should be considered when decisions are made regarding a manager's promotion or transfer into a position of greater supervisory responsibility. Feedback from these results can also be used for counseling, coaching, and mentoring.

Further, the organization can tap the personal characteristics and strengths that underlie the manager's transformational behavior. Charismatic leaders are characterized by energy, self-confidence, determination, intellect, verbal skills, and strong ego ideals. Each of these traits can be assessed in individual managers. Similarly, we can assess some of the traits underlying individualized consideration, such as coaching skills; preference for two-way, face-to-face communication; and willingness to delegate. Again, in the area of intellectual stimulation, candidates for promotion could be assessed with an eye toward the type of intellectual stimulation — general, creative, or mathematical — that would be most effective at the higher level of management. Appropriate intelligence tests may be used to select intellectually stimulating candidates.

Research findings indicate that when employees rate their managers on the MLQ, they describe new business leaders as significantly more transformational than established business leaders. Thus MLQ scores can be used profitably to identify executives to head new ventures.

Implications for Development

A management trainee's first supervisor can make a big difference in his or her subsequent career success. For example, six years after they joined Exxon, many managers who were highly rated by their supervisors reported that they had been given challenging assignments by their initial supervisor (i.e., they had received individualized consideration). Many had been assigned to supervisors with good reputations in the firm. It is important to note that managers tend to model their own leadership style after that of their immediate supervisors. Thus if more higher-ups are transformational, more lower-level employees will emulate transformational behavior — and will be likely to act as transformational leaders as they rise in the organization.

Organizational policy needs to support an understanding and appreciation of the maverick who is willing to take unpopular positions, who knows when to reject the conventional wisdom, and who takes reasonable risks. For example, when R. Gordon McGovern took over as president of Campbell Soup, he introduced the "right to fail" policy, which shook up the stodgy organization. On the other hand, the fine line between self-confidence and obstinacy needs to be drawn. The determined Winston Churchill who contributed so much to the survival of Britain in 1940 was the same Churchill whose obstinacy contributed to the mistakes in 1941 of failing to prepare Singapore adequately and of committing British troops to unnecessary disaster in Crete and Greece.

Intellectual stimulation also needs to be nurtured and cultivated as a way of life in the organization. The "best and the brightest" people should be hired, nourished, and encouraged. Innovation and creativity should be fostered at all levels in the firm.

Implications for Training

Despite conventional wisdom to the contrary, transformational leadership is a widespread phenomenon. True, more of it occurs at the top than at the bottom of an organization; but it has also been observed by many employees in their first-level supervisors. Transformational leadership can be learned, and it can – and should – be the subject of management training and development. Research has shown that leaders at all levels can be trained to be charismatic in both verbal and nonverbal performance. Successful programs have been conducted for first-level project leaders in hi-tech computer firms as well as for senior executives of insurance firms.

That transformational leadership can be increased through training was verified in an experiment when Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire scores were obtained on shop supervisors from their trainees, who were inmates in minimum, medium, and maximum security prisons. The supervisors worked directly with the inmates in industrial shops to produce various products for sale within and outside the prison system. The experiment compared four groups of supervisors on their pre- and post-training effectiveness in various industrial and vocational shops in the prison. One group was trained in transformational leadership, one group was trained in transactional leadership, one was untrained but measured "before and after," and one was untrained and measured only "after." The performances of both trained groups improved, but in comparison to the three other groups of supervisors, those who were trained in transformational leadership did as well or better at improving productivity, absenteeism, and "citizenship" behavior among the inmates; they also won more respect from the inmates.

> *"Transformational leadership can be learned, and it can—and should—be the subject of management training and development. Research has shown that leaders at all levels can be trained to be charismatic. . . ."*

TRAINING MANAGERS

Practical training that teaches people how to be transformational is similar to that used in the Xerox RPG strategy to modify management style. A counselor, mediator, or supervisor gives a manager a detailed, standardized description of his or her transformational and transactional leadership performance as rated by the manager's employees and/or colleagues. The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire is used for this purpose. The manager also sees a chart showing the effects of his or her leadership on employee satisfaction, motivation, and perception of organizational effectiveness. Anonymity is maintained, although the manager sees the individual differences among the responses.

Participating managers complete a parallel questionnaire about their own leadership. The discrepancies between how they rate themselves and how their employees rate them may be examined scale-by-scale and item-by-item. The counselor may pose such questions as: "Why do you think you gave yourself a much higher score than your employees gave you in individualized consideration?" and "Why did your employees disagree with you on how rapidly you get to the heart of complex problems or the extent to which they trust you to overcome any obstacles?" It is important for managers to be aware of and accept their employees' view of their performance. A study of United States Naval officers found that those who agreed with their direct reports about their transformational leadership behavior were also likely to earn higher fitness ratings and recommendations for early promotion from their supervisors.

The manager and the counselor discuss in detail why certain results may have appeared and what can be done to improve ratings. For example, a manager may be asked: "What specific behavior on your part makes your employees say they are proud to work with you?" or "What have you done that results in your colleagues' saying you foster a sense of mission?" The collected responses to these questions can create a useful picture of what the manager can do to raise his or her performance on particular items.

In addition to working individually with a counselor, the manager also may participate in a workshop with other managers who are working toward becoming more transformational leaders. Workshop participants who received high ratings from their employees on a particular item are asked what they, the participants, specifically did to achieve these ratings. Questions might include: "Why did all of your employees say that you frequently enabled them to think about old problems in new ways?" or "Why did they all say that you increased their optimism for the future?"

Conversely, questions may focus on why a participant's employees varied widely in their ratings. If the data printout shows a wide divergence of opinion about whether a manager made the employees enthusiastic about assignments, he or she might be asked to suggest possible reasons for such differences of opinion among the employees.

Other Approaches to Training

Several other approaches to teaching transformational leadership make use of the specific data gathered in the workshop. For instance, participants are asked to think of an effective leader they have known and the behavior the leader displayed. Many examples of charisma, individualized consideration, and intellectual stimulation are usually noted. The effective leaders who are mentioned typically come from many levels inside and outside the organization; the workshop leader may point out that transformational leadership is neither particularly uncommon nor limited only to world class leaders. Moreover, these leaders' specific behaviors can be described, observed, and adopted. After viewing videotapes of charismatic, individually considerate, and intellectually stimulating managers in action, workshop participants may be asked to create their own scenarios and videotapes, in which they emulate the transformational leaders they have observed. The other participants may then offer critiques and suggest improvements.

The workshop also aims to increase other aspects of transformational leadership. The transformational leader develops and changes the organizational culture, and to show participants that they have such capabilities, the workshop leader asks them to imagine what the organization might be like in two to five years if it were fully aligned with their own ideas and interests. Then, in small teams based on their actual functions at work, they proceed to redesign the organization.

Similarly, training in mentoring can be used to promote the transformational factor of individualized consideration. For example, one participant can counsel another while a third acts as an observer and a source of feedback about the performance. And many creativity exercises show a manager how he or she can be more intellectually stimulating. Action plans emerge from workshop sessions. Examples include the following:

- I am going to sit down with all my employees and review these data with them.
- I am going to ask for another "reading" in a year; in the meantime I will try to reduce the discrepancies between where I am and where I should be.
- I'm going to talk with my mentor about these results and ask him what he thinks I should do about them.

Implications for Leadership Education

Military academies have traditionally emphasized leadership education, and today we are seeing a surge of interest in leadership courses in liberal arts colleges as well. At least 600 such courses were being offered, according to a recently completed survey of colleges. The Center for Creative Leadership holds conferences on leadership courses in undergraduate education, most recently in the summer of 1986. The subject of transformational leadership also has been added to leadership courses at the U.S. Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs. In one such course, both faculty and students examined how Air Force officers who are transformational leaders serve as role models for cadets. Scales from the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire were used to show that the transformational leaders among the instructors and staff provided role models for their students. The

"A counselor, mediator, or supervisor gives a manager a detailed, standardized description of his or her transformational and transactional leadership performance as rated by the managers' employees and/or colleagues."

faculty and students discussed the questionnaire results and their implications.

Clearly, training cannot turn a purely transactional leader into a transformational leader. Moreover, some managers, while striving to be transformational leaders, misuse their training; their pseudotransformational efforts only further the manager's self-interest and values. Under the influence of such a manager, employees can be misdirected away from their own best interests and those of the organization as a whole. In one such case, Donald Burr of People's Express Airlines displayed many transformational qualities that rapidly built and then rapidly ruined the firm.

For too long, leadership development has been seen as mainly a matter of skill development. But leadership – particularly transformational leadership – should be regarded as an art and a science. It is encouraging to see that the Council for Liberal Learning of the Association of American Colleges now sponsors week-long conferences on leadership for scholars, prominent citizens, and national leaders.

Implications for Job Design and Job Assignment

As we have noted earlier, the results of a study of Exxon managers showed that highly rated managers had had challenging tasks delegated to them by their supervisors when they first joined the company. Jobs can – and should – be designed to provide greater challenges. Delegation with guidance and follow-up can become an individualizing and developmental way of life in a firm.

Transformational leaders show individualized consideration by paying attention to the particular development needs of each of their employees. Employees' jobs are designed with those needs in mind, as well as the needs of the organization. One employee needs experience leading a project team. Another needs an opportunity to reinforce what she has learned in an advanced computer programming class. Their transformational leader assigns them tasks accordingly.

Leaders can be intellectually stimulating to their employees if their own jobs allow them to explore new opportunities, to diagnose organizational problems, and to generate solutions. Leaders whose jobs force them to focus on solving small, immediate problems are likely to be less intellectually stimulating than those who have time to think ahead and in larger terms.

Implications for Organizational Structure

Transformational leadership is not a panacea. In many situations, it is inappropriate and transactional processes are indicated. In general, firms that are functioning in stable markets can afford to depend on their "one-minute" managers to provide the necessary, day-to-day leadership. If the technology, workforce, and environment are stable as well, then things are likely to move along quite well with managers who simply promise and deliver rewards to employees for carrying out assignments. And in stable organizations, even management-by-exception can be quite effective if the manager monitors employee performance and takes corrective action as needed. Rules and regulations for getting things done, when clearly understood and accepted by the employees, can eliminate the need for leadership under some circumstances.

But when the firm is faced with a turbulent marketplace; when its products are born, live, and die within the span of a few years; and/or when its current technology can become obsolete before it is fully depreciated; then transformational leadership needs to be fostered at all levels in the firm. In order to succeed, the firm needs to have the flexibility to forecast and meet new demands and changes as they occur—and only transformational leadership can enable the firm to do so.

Problems, rapid changes, and uncertainties call for a flexible organization with determined leaders who can inspire employees to participate enthusiastically in team efforts and share in organizational goals. In short, charisma, attention to individualized development, and the ability and willingness to provide intellectual stimulation are critical in leaders whose firms are faced with demands for renewal and change. At these organizations, fostering transformational leadership through policies of recruitment, selection, promotion, training, and development is likely to pay off in the health, well-being, and effective performance of the organization.

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Political Savvy

Systematic Approaches to Leadership behind-the-Scenes

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Chapter 3

THE POLITICAL BLIND SPOT

Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.
—Lord Acton, *Letter to Bishop Creighton*

Weakness tends to corrupt, and impotence corrupts absolutely.
—Edgar Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America*

John Thompson's frustration in the opening lines of chapter one indicates the presence of the political blind spot. Interestingly, despite Kathy Kraften's success with the Clarion Network Program, her view that it was "common sense" may also indicate that she has the political blind spot as defined in exhibit 3.

The Political Blind Spot

Not consciously seeing the extent to which informal influence shapes the decision-making process

Exhibit 3

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

The first step in increasing political savvy is to understand the predominant political style one has developed over the years. The next step is to overcome the major blocks to adopting a political savvy orientation. This chapter addresses two mental blocks that show up repeatedly in workshops for high-potential managers. Taken together, these mental blocks prevent many individuals from wanting to see or acknowledge the political aspect of organizational life.

The Moral Block

The chief reason cited by managers for not actively engaging in organization politics is that they find it morally reprehensible. Lord Acton's quote at the beginning of this chapter captures the major concern. In this same vein, a glass manufacturing manager summed up his feelings as, "I'm here to do my job; organization politics is destructive, and I want to feel good when I see myself in the mirror each morning, so leave me out."

In seminars dealing with organization politics, managers are asked a series of questions. One example is How many of you believe you have high needs for achievement? Almost every hand quickly goes up. Next, they are asked How many of you want to feel the camaraderie associated with being a part of a high-performing team? Again, most hands are raised. Then they are asked, How many of you want power in the organization? Half of the time not a single hand is raised and people glance awkwardly at each other. The other half of the time one or two hands go up tentatively, most often prefaced by questions of interpretation or lengthy explanations.

Do these responses indicate that managers don't really want power? Hardly: extensive studies by researchers such as David McClelland[4] demonstrate significant power needs as well as achievement and affiliation (team membership) needs among the majority of managers. The low response in public settings is just another indication of the distaste associated with organization politics. One manager sent an excerpt from George Orwell's *1984* (see exhibit 4) as her view of those who want power. While extreme, this view lurks in the minds of many and will be referred to in other chapters.

A Perspective on Power

Chapter One
IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH

Throughout recorded time, and probably since the end of the Neolithic Age, there have been three kinds of people in the world, the High, the Middle, and the Low.

The aims of these three groups are entirely irreconcilable. The aim of the High is to remain where they are. The aim of the Low is to abolish all distinctions and create a society in which all men shall be equal. They (the High) are then overthrown by the Middle, who enlist the Low on their side by pretending to them that they are fighting for Liberty and Justice. As soon as they reached their objective, the Middle thrust the Low back into their old position of servitude, and themselves become the High.

"Now tell me why we cling to power. What is our motive? Why should we want power? Go on, speak," he added as Winston remained silent.

"You are ruling over us for our own good," he said feebly. "You believe that human beings are not fit to govern themselves, and therefore—"

He started and almost cried out. A pang of pain had shot through his body. O'Brien had pushed the lever of the dial up to thirty-five.

"That was stupid, Winston, stupid!" he said. "You should know better than to say a thing like that."

> "Now I will tell you the answer to the question. It is this. The Party seeks power entirely for its own sake. We are not interested in the good of others; we are interested solely in power. Not wealth or luxury or long life or happiness; only power, pure power. The German Nazis and the Russian Communists came very close to us in their methods, but they never had the courage to recognize their own motives. Power is not a means; it is an end. The object of persecution is persecution. The object of torture is torture. The object of power is power. Now do you begin to understand me?"
>
> —George Orwell, *1984*

Exhibit 4

The desire for power is too often associated with excessive ambition and manipulation. Some individuals believe that there is nothing inherently wrong with manipulation. As one department head said, "Everybody manipulates; that's how things get done. Any time you change something you manipulate." This view has some merit as most dictionaries first define manipulation in neutral terms. However, secondary definitions include phrases such as unfair tactics, deceitful procedures, and undue influence.

The negative connotation of the term *manipulation* lies at the heart of the moral block. A substantial number of managers assume that being active in organization politics means being a manipulator. Out of a sense of personal integrity they refuse to take part. Managers with a moral block seldom become involved enough to develop their savvy skills. Those regarded as politically savvy, however, take a different view. As one savvy executive exclaimed, "I want to impact the hell out of this place. It's my job, but I don't want to manipulate."

Manipulation versus Influence

When managers are asked if they want to manipulate the organization, most say no. When they are asked if they want to influence the organization, most say yes. To slice through this Gordian[5] knot of confusion, one must make a pragmatic distinction between manipulation and influence. When politically reluctant managers are able to do this, it often cracks the moral block.

Influence can be portrayed as a continuum as it is in exhibit 5. There, manipulation is shown to be a part of, but not the major segment of, the continuum. *Savvy individuals don't inherently equate influence with manipulation.* While heeding the alarm sounded in Lord Acton's quote about power, they don't want to fall into the opposite trap indicated by Edgar Friedenberg's quote about weakness. As an executive in an aerospace corporation remarked, "Of course I try to influence this organization, that's what I'm here for, but I see no reason to resort to manipulation." Managers who don't understand the difference implied in this remark typically don't see influence as a continuum. The inability to differentiate types of influence is exactly what keeps so many people from becoming active in the political arena. As a result, their ability to become skilled at leadership behind-the-scenes is greatly diminished.

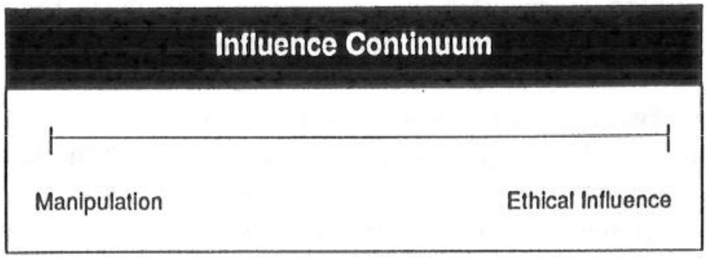

Exhibit 5

Manipulation is only one form of ethical influence. How does a manager tell the difference between influence and manipulation? Well, there has been a great deal of argument on the topic; however, the gist of the difference may be summed up in an imperfect but simple rule of thumb shown by the question in exhibit 6.

Manipulation versus Ethical Influence Guide

If they knew what you were up to, would they let you do it?

Exhibit 6

If the answer to this question is no, then probably some type of manipulation is being used. If the answer is yes, then ethical influence is more likely to be at work. *Ethical influence occurs when others know what you are trying to influence them toward and why.* Politically savvy managers operate primarily in the ethical end of the influence continuum. Does this mean they never engage in manipulation? No, because the organizational world is too complex to be seen in simple black and white terms. They often struggle with moral dilemmas before taking action. One way to view the moral grayness of the real world is illustrated in exhibit 7.

Ethical Situations

Means	Ends		Outcomes
Ethical	Ethical	→	Savvy
Unethical	Ethical	→	Moral Crisis
Unethical	Unethical	→	Machiavellian

Exhibit 7

From this perspective, moral and ethical issues can be examined in terms of conflicts between means and ends. If the ends and means are both ethical then there is no moral crisis. Most politically savvy behavior can fit in this category and will be the major focus of the remaining chapters. Managers who have strong negative assumptions about organization politics seldom believe this category is truly possible. Therefore, they avoid trying to influence the organization beyond what is allowed by a strict and narrow interpretation of their formal job description.

Next comes the vexing category labeled ethical ends but manipulative means. This is the ends-justify-the-means category so infamously occupied by those professing situational ethics. Since the manipulating Machiavellians frequently use this phrase to justify their actions, managers generally shy away from this category. Yet, politically astute people struggle with these situations. "I didn't want to tell Jack in front of all his people that his department was likely to be phased out in two years. We are not entirely sure yet and it would just demoralize them. When the question came up, I sidestepped it and just told them to keep up the good work," said one manager confronted in a public forum. This manager felt guilty about what he said, but he believed it was the best response until he could talk with Jack in private.

When we tell our kids that Santa Claus and the tooth fairy are real, we are acting as though the ends justify the means. Each time we tell our spouses we like a present when we don't or tell our hosts that a tasteless dish is delicious, we are also in this category. Rather than avoid this dilemma in organizational life, savvy individuals take it head on. They deal with feelings of guilt, question their own motivations and struggle with determining what's best for the organization. The quote in exhibit 8 comes from a person who faced many such situations. The Savvy use the spirit of Lincoln's quote to fine-tune and strengthen their own moral development.

" You don't learn to deal with ethical dilemmas by avoiding them.

—Abraham Lincoln

Exhibit 8

They refuse to believe in a black and white organizational world, and they learn how to operate in the gray zones.

Savvy individuals do, however, draw the line and take a stand against the third category. When both the means and ends are unethical, there is no moral dilemma. The person or group is out for their own interests and will use any means that attains their agendas. This is the high-Mach zone. The skilled Machs, however, are clever at disguising their true motives in terms of both means and ends. They use ethical words and appearances merely as tools to achieve their goals. As a young manager in a federal agency commented on a rising star in the organization: "Alex is one of the most charming people you'd ever want to meet, but I learned about his true colors the hard way. Once, I constructively challenged a proposed direction he wanted to take for a key project. Most of top management agreed with me and Alex was very reassuring, but a week later Alex had me transferred to a new assignment for 'development purposes.' Last I heard, the project was back to Alex's original direction."

In sum, the Savvy avoid the third category and search for numerous ways to stay in the first one. When they do find themselves facing circumstances in the second category where they question whether the ends justify the means, they struggle. Often they will talk to mentors or trusted peers. Their decision is generally based upon their conscious judgement of what's best for the overall situation. Savvy managers take personal responsibility for this type of judgement call.

The Rational Block

The chief argument of those managers with the rational block is "I shouldn't have to do anything more than my job description. The technical merits of my work should be enough." Who can blame them for this type of thinking? After all, aren't organizations designed to be logical and task based? If so, it's only common sense that the arguments with the best logical and technical merits should win out. This is a particularly strong belief in engineering, manufacturing, and research and development organizations. As one young engineer in a computer business said, "I work hard and present the facts as I see them; then, it's for those higher up to make the decision. That's the only way the system can work."

Exhibit 9 is an excerpt from an interview in *Time* magazine with Sir Brian Urquart. He was awarded the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize for his diplomatic efforts around the world's hot spots in the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Cyprus, among others. He was being asked about early career experiences that shaped his own sense of political savvy.

Excerpt from an Interview with Sir Brian Urquart

Q. Perhaps it's not too widely known that you were the young intelligence officer portrayed in Cornelious Ryan's *A Bridge Too Far.* What led you to advise against the ill-fated British attack on Arnhem, in German-occupied Holland?

A. I had come to the conclusion that at all levels the attack would be totally disastrous. It didn't take a great deal of brains to see that. Airborne troops were going to land 60 miles ahead of the ground troops and take three main bridges over three big rivers. Then the relieving ground troops had to go across low country. We learned that two of the best Panzer divisions in the

> German army, the 9th and 10th S.S. Panzer Divisions, were refitting right where the 1st Airborne Division was going to land. I couldn't see the strategic point of that operation.
>
> Q. Did Field Marshal Montgomery get the advice?
>
> A. He got it from a lot of people. I merely advised my own general, General Browning, who was in charge of the whole Market Garden operation. I said, "Look here, you've got to rethink this. It's going to be a mess." That was completely overruled. Montgomery wanted to have a British masterstroke to end the war. When you're young, you believe that a good argument will win the day, and of course it doesn't. It was a terrible experience because an immense number of soldiers were killed, 12,000 as I remember. I was greatly disillusioned because I then realized that people in high positions were not necessarily always motivated by wisdom and concern for the common cause, but in fact could be motivated by other less desirable emotions, like vanity, ambition and a desire to score a point off somebody.

Exhibit 9

The key line relevant to the current discussion is "When you're young, you believe that a good argument will win the day, and of course it doesn't." What is "of course" to this Nobel Prize winner is, unfortunately, not that obvious to managers with the rational block. In fact, for many such managers the rational assumption that a good argument based upon facts and logic should carry the day is so deeply ingrained that it has become a "pike fish assumption" and is not even questioned, much less felt as a block.

When interviews with those identified as politically savvy are compared with those considered unsavvy, a basic difference in perspective appears. Each views the fundamental definition of an organization in a subtly, but powerfully different way (see exhibit 10).

Perspectives on Organizations

Rationalist: Organizations are *rational systems*
that use humans in them

Savvy: Organizations are *human systems*
that attempt to act in a rational way

Exhibit 10

When unsavvy managers with strong beliefs in rational thought are presented with the first definition, their general response is, "Of course, how could it be otherwise?" When savvy individuals are presented with the second definition, their general response is, "Of course, how could it be otherwise?" When a mixed group of savvy and unsavvy managers is presented with both definitions, heated discussions often take place. Some managers try to say the differences between the two definitions are merely semantics. They become frustrated and call to get off the subject.

Experience indicates, however, that these definitions are not just idle chatter for semanticists. They represent separate world views that lead managers to significantly different behaviors and levels of effectiveness. The rationalist assumption is widespread and often results in a particular view of employees. For example, consider the key assets of an organization seen as a rational system: capital, equipment, information systems, and people. Which is the least logical link in this chain of resources? The answer is people, the human resource.

In this world view, people become problems and costs. Nurses have been known to say, "This would be a great place to work if it weren't for the damned patients." Teachers echo this sentiment except students become the centerpiece. Exhibit 11 represents a story popular among plant managers who see people mainly as a source of irrationality causing endless difficulties that slow down production.

A Rationalist's Dream

A plant manager of about 3,000 employees was taking some visitors on a tour. He was boasting of recent additions in robotics. "I hope for the day," he said, "when this entire plant will be run with just a man and a dog. The job of the man will be to feed the dog. And the job of the dog will be to keep the man's hands off the damn controls."

Exhibit 11

These managers push for automation as the way to make organizations rational. It's easy for anyone who has had to manage sticky employee problems to empathize with this simplistic perspective.

Viewing people as problems blocking organizational productivity makes it difficult to see them as solutions to gaining a competitive advantage. As one CEO of a plastics firm commented on his technically oriented head of manufacturing, "The trouble with Hank is that he has an irrational passion for dispassionate rationality. Organizations and people are complex, but he doesn't seem to even want to understand that. Too bad, with his knowledge of the business he could have made one hell of a future president."

While not as popular as the first definition, the second organizational definition seems a better match for the realities of organizational life. When organizations are viewed as human systems, people represent the source of profitability rather than a necessary evil. Politically savvy individuals implicitly seem to view organizations from this perspective. It becomes common sense to work the human system with as much attention as the technical system.

The productive beauty of machines is that they have only one agenda—that set by the designers. A copy machine in the legal section doesn't plot how to get closer to the snazzy Xerox down the hall in human resources. The computer in the finance department doesn't worry about competing with the one in the research and development laboratory. The drill press on the shop floor doesn't try to protect its job security by threatening to pull its own plug and go on strike.

The human resource is the only one with multiple public and private agendas, all of which change over time. These multiple agendas make people the most volatile part of the company's total asset mix. Volatility is one of the reasons technically oriented managers, who understand single agenda resources, find people so vexing to manage. Their primary response is often to control rather than lead the human element. As one superintendent in a steel mill summed up his beliefs, "I don't care what all the management experts say; when you get right down to it, people are irrational. If you don't control them from the start, they quickly get off the track and chaos results." When one is not used to managing resources with multiple agendas, control is a natural response to prevent disorder. While savvy managers favor control at strategic points, the notion of heavy-handed control is generally not associated with being politically savvy.

The Savvy generally take a different approach. Since they view organizations as primarily human systems, they start by assuming that multiple diverse agendas pervade the organization. Although they don't like the disorder, they do like the energy. "Sure this place is like a giant soap opera," commented a CEO in an insurance firm, "How could it not be with talented, ambitious people who have complicated lives. But the trick is to tap into it, release and align all that energy into productive work. It's not easy, but I'm having a hell of a good time." Or, as a department head remarked, "Yes, people are not entirely rational but neither is the creative process, which is where our best products come from. Neither are emotions, the source of the commitment to excellence which keeps our employees going that extra mile for our customers."

The rational manager relies on traditional carrot-and-stick approaches for motivation. This orientation runs the greatest risk during times of organizational change. To change a rational system, one needs to explain the rational reason for the change and put in the appropriate rational rewards and penalties to ensure implementation. However, human system change often doesn't follow rational rules. Just ask someone who has attempted to make a major personal change. Anyone who has, for example, tried to lose weight, quit smoking, or stop gambling knows the rational component is necessary, but not sufficient. Most people who smoke or are overweight have made the rational decision to change based on the overwhelming scientific data on health hazards. Yet, no matter how much logical data there is, something additional is frequently needed for a person's behavior to actually change—even when all the rational incentives are in place.

Since organizations are complex collections of many human systems, purely rational approaches to change often run aground. When desired outcomes are not achieved, it is frequently chalked up to organization politics. To the Savvy, organization politics is just another label for human nature.

Managers who stay out of organization politics because of the rational block sometimes miss a critical point. The politically Savvy get involved for the very purpose of making the organization decisions more rational! Since they are pragmatists and realize that human nature is only partly rational,

they become active in organization politics precisely to prevent the more dysfunctional irrational aspects of human nature from distorting the decision-making process. Exhibit 12 summarizes one highly successful executive's development that led to busting through the rational block.

Journey from Novice to Master Manager

It was awful. Everything was always changing and nothing ever seemed to happen. The people above me would sit around forever and talk about things. The technically right answer didn't matter. They were always making what I thought were wrong decisions, and when I insisted on doing what was right, they got pissed off and would ignore what I was saying. Everything was suddenly political. They would worry about what everyone was going to think about every issue. How you looked, attending cocktail parties—that stuff to me was unreal and unimportant. I went through five and a half terrible years. I occasionally thought I had reached my level of incompetence, but I refused to give up. In the end, the frustration and pain turned out to be a positive thing because it forced me to consider some alternative perspectives. I eventually learned that there were other realities beside the technical reality. I discovered perception and long time lines. At higher levels what matters is how people see the world, and everyone sees it a little differently. Technical facts are not as available or as important. Things are changing more rapidly at higher levels; you are no longer buffered from the outside world. Things are more complex, and it takes longer to get people on board. I decided I had to be a lot more receptive and a lot more patient. It was an enormous adjustment, but then things started to change. I think I became a heck of a lot better manager.

—Robert E. Quinn, *Beyond Rational Management*

Exhibit 12

A Definition of Organization Politics

Politics is a fact of organizational life. If one can get past the political blind spot by breaking through the moral and rational blocks then one can choose to move into the active portion of the Political Style Grid. Politically active managers can use organization politics for good or ill. Any working definition of organization politics should contain these possibilities. While there have been many definitions over the years, most boil down to self-interest and how it plays out in the organization. The Interest Grid in exhibit 13 portrays the two major elements contained in most definitions of organization politics: self-interest and the organization's interest.

Interest Grid

Organization Interest

		-	+
Self-Interest	+	Dysfunctional Politics	Functional Politics
	-	Self-Destructive	Sacrificial

- Behavior negatively impacts this interest
+ Behavior positively impacts this interest

Exhibit 13

The upper left-hand corner is where the feared Machs dwell. While going to great lengths to appear to benefit the organization, their major interest is in advancing their personal ambitions. Dysfunctional politics occurs when individuals promote their own interests at the expense of the organization. An example is a manager who agrees with the boss's idea while knowing it's ill-founded. Approval by a superior is gained at the eventual expense of the organization.

The upper right corner, functional politics, signifies actions primarily aimed at benefiting the organization. This area is where the politically Savvy dwell. It represents the ideal of the capitalist system and the goal of effective organization design. Organizations within the capitalist system are set up under the principle that the best way to achieve one's own interests is to benefit the whole. Dysfunctional politics is based upon self-interest as the driving force, while functional politics is motivated by enlightened self-interest. The Savvy operate chiefly in the functional politics zone. Being savvy doesn't mean being dumb about one's own career. It does mean putting the organization's interests first.

While the active players generally stay in the upper two quadrants, there are times when they can end up in the bottom two. When conflicts arise between organization and personal interests, savvy players may take the "sacrificial hit," giving up some of their own personal agenda for the good of the organization. While it may sound noble—and sometimes it actually is—it is also smart. Since the orientation of the Savvy is to do what they think is right for the organization, it is natural for them to put the interests of the organization first. They also know that a reputation for putting aside personal agendas builds credibility. However, few savvy individuals spend a great deal of time operating in this area. If they do, they eventually burn out or develop martyr syndromes. Now, the Machs love martyrs. A skillful appeal to the martyrs' nobility can turn them into kamikazes for the Machs' own personal agendas.

Very few people last long in the bottom left corner. Sometimes when Machs are losing, they may slip into this area. As one angry manager who didn't receive an important promotion remarked, "If I'm going to go down, I'm going to take the whole place with me." Generally, individuals who enter this quadrant are deeply frustrated by some aspect of their organizational or personal life and begin to engage in self-destructive behavior.

The Interest Grid is similar to the Political Style Grid in chapter 2. They both characterize certain aspects of political behavior. The Styles Grid focused on values and activeness, while the Interests Grid addresses goals and motivation. The Machs occupy the upper left portion in both grids and the Savvy occupy the upper right portions. Together the grids allow one to make crucial distinctions between players in the political arena.

Enough groundwork has been laid to develop a working definition of organization politics (see exhibit 14). This definition is neither elegant nor surprising. In fact, it's rather mundane. However, it does make several key points to build upon when the strategy and tactics of the Savvy are discussed in chapters 6-11.

Organization Politics

How power and interests play out in the organization

Exhibit 14

First, it's stated in neutral rather than negative terms like some definitions of organization politics. This aspect is important because negative definitions trigger the political blind spot that prevents otherwise talented individuals from developing their savvy skills. Second, the definition allows for all

twelve styles of the Political Style Grid. Third, it zeros in on the two major components of all savvy strategies: (1) the power or influence of the people involved and (2) their interests or agendas, both personal and organizational. Fourth, it implies that to understand the politics in one's own organization, one needs to focus on how these sets of agendas play out or interact.

The Machs versus the Savvy: Distinguishing Characteristics

By now it should be clear that organization politics is a double-edged sword. One edge, used by the Machs, cuts out the organization's vitality as people see rewards go to slick manipulators. The other edge, used by the Savvy, can slice through bureaucracy, turfs, and favoritism to ensure that the organization's interests are best served.

Both the Machs and the Savvy are in the upper portion of the Political Style Grid. That is, at least for certain issues, they both have decided to be active players and jump into the political arena. They both go beyond their official job descriptions to affect key organizational decisions. They both work the informal as well as the formal organization in their attempts to impact the situation. In other words, the Machs and the Savvy often look alike.

The question naturally arises that, if one avoids the political blind spot by overcoming the moral and rational blocks to becoming active, how does one get perceived as a Savvy rather than as a Mach? Since they can look so much alike, how do others tell them apart?

Consider the famous psychological illustration shown in exhibit 15, keeping in mind that any picture is actually a series of data points. In this case the data points are either black or white dots. Examine the figure and look for the two completely different ways of interpreting the exact same data.

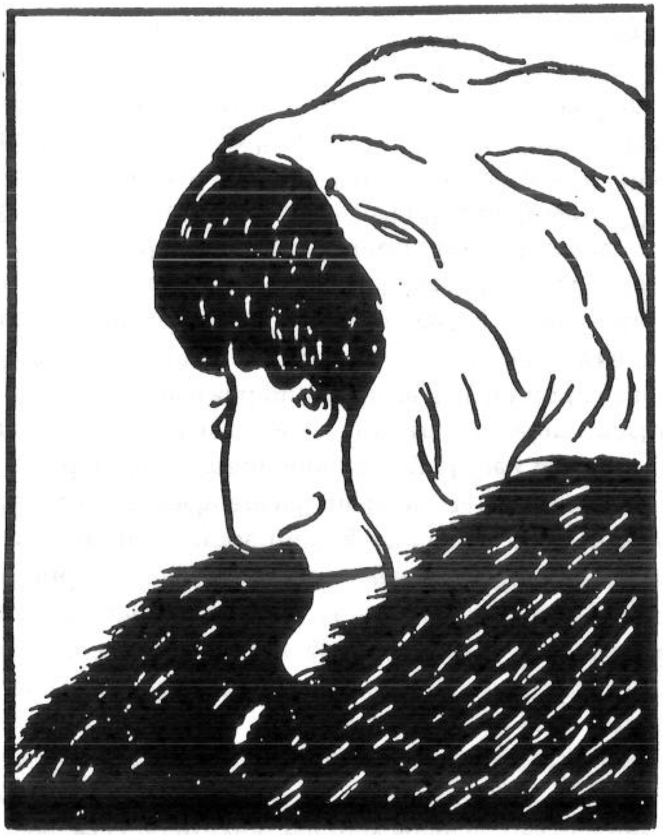

Exhibit 15

See if you can spot both the old lady with the big nose and unsmiling mouth and the young lady with her head turned to the right and a choker around her neck.

In a similar way, it's different interpretations of seemingly alike actions that separate the reputations of Machs from those of the Savvy. Several characteristics that help distinguish active players are listed in exhibit 16. The ultimate reputations of people in the organization are built upon these perceived differences.

Machiavellian versus Savvy Distinctions

Reputation is based upon the manner in which the common characteristics are played out.

Machiavellian	Savvy
Manipulates	Influences
Creates Losers	Creates Winners
Lone Wolf	Team Player
Power for Its Own Sake	Power to Get Things Done
Boot Licking, Brownnosing	Respect, Choosing Shots
Promotion as Goal	Promotion as Outcome
Hidden Agendas	Open Agendas
Word as Tool	Word as Bond
Calculating	Strategist
Gossip	Relay
Politician	Statesman

Exhibit 16

While the Machs and the Savvy are both active players, what separates them is their intentions, behaviors, and results. The Machs have little difficulty in resorting to manipulation. The Savvy avoid this form of influence. The Savvy have a deeply held belief that the basic role of the organization is to align the interests of individuals with those of the organization. Therefore the Savvy try to find the win-win in the situation. The Machs, on the other hand, frequently have a "pike fish assumption" that if someone wins, someone else has to lose. They often spend their time sizing up the situation and calculating how to raise their image or lower someone else's. The Savvy also spend time sizing up the situation but in order to use influence openly for their point of view.

The Machs frequently end up as lone wolves since they don't want their true ambitions known. The Savvy are frequently team players and build alliances. They actively try to gain support because they know it takes a critical mass of agreement to make their agenda work. The Savvy are also more interested in influence than absolute control. They see power as a means to get something done. The Machs view power as an end in itself akin to the quote from Orwell's *1984* in exhibit 4. Both the Machs and the Savvy can be seen deferring to higher authority at times. The Machs engage in such behavior to gain the favor of those in power. The Savvy do so to show respect and to avoid winning small battles that might lose the larger war.

The Savvy care about their careers. They enjoy advancement as much as anyone. However, they often view promotion more as an outcome of making a contribution to the company than as the primary goal. Machs see the process in reverse. Whatever it takes to climb the next rung on the success ladder is fair game. It can mean benefiting the organization or it can mean undermining an internal competitor, or both. Because the Machs are willing to utilize a wide variety of means to advance their ambition, many of their agendas are hidden. The Savvy have less to hide and therefore most of their agendas are open and public. Since they honestly believe in and care about their proposals, they have less reason to hide their motives. Because the Savvy see the positive side of politics, they have no need to deny their political activity or develop a political blind spot to protect their self-image.

Everything is a tool to Machs including their word. They use a promise as a stratagem if they believe it will divert potential opposition for a little while. This was Hitler's basic motive in signing a nonaggression pact with Russia. For the Savvy, integrity is its own reward, and they know efficiency increases when their word is taken as their bond. The Savvy understand the importance of building trust in organizations, and they go out of their way to keep their commitments.

Both the Savvy and the Machs think about how to navigate their agendas through the organization. For the Savvy, this means strategizing how to align the diverse interests of the key individuals involved. For the Machs it means calculating the personal gains and losses of each move.

The organizational grapevine is an important conduit for the Savvy and the Machs alike. The Machs have a greater tendency to use it as a means of spreading potentially damaging information through informal channels. The Savvy use it as a source of information for how the organization perceives what's going on. They also use it to spot potential obstacles and opportunities.

Both use finesse as a prime tool to achieve their objectives. The Machs can come across like the negative stereotype of politicians. They talk about motherhood and apple pie, dance away from the real issues, and do whatever is expedient. The Savvy address conflicts diplomatically in ways that avoid damage to others' self-esteem. They act like statesmen who encourage people to rise above their selfish interests by appealing to an enlightened self-interest that benefits each to some degree. There are other distinctions, but these should help illuminate key differences between the Machs and the Savvy.

The bad-guy, good-guy stereotyping has been deliberate. It dramatizes the point that there is a way to be an active player in organization politics without becoming manipulative and sacrificing one's personal integrity. It may not be easy, but it is possible. Some savvy individuals carry it even further. As one savvy manager commented, "It's not only possible, it's my job to develop these skills in myself and in my subordinates."

SUMMARY OF PART ONE

The greatest discovery of our generation is that attitude is the most important ingredient in changing behavior.

—Henry James, *Selected Letters*

Part one placed strong emphasis on examining assumptions about political style and overcoming the political blind spot. This emphasis may seem unnecessary to some. In fact, my own initial stance was to regard these issues as important but not essential in becoming more savvy. After all, the behaviorists in psychology have shown that the reverse of James's statement can also be true. Experience over the years indicates otherwise when it comes to political savvy, however. More important than strategy skills, interpersonal abilities, and intellectual capacity (which are all significant in becomming savvy) was the *attitude* of those identified as highly savvy. This attitude, although generally implicit and unconscious, is a compilation of the assumptions, values, and beliefs about organizations, covered in part one. It is found in just a small percentage of all management. This experience leads to the following premise about leadership behind-the-scenes.

> The ***savvy attitude*** is the single most important ingredient in becoming politically savvy.

With this attitude, characterized in exhibit 17, several of the skills and strategies start to develop naturally. Without it, the individual either never becomes active or turns into a Mach. Understanding the Savvy attitude and what blocks its development, therefore, is critical to developing savvy skills in managers.

Characteristics of a Politically Savvy Individual

Chooses to become an active, ethical player:
- Puts the organization first
- Believes in and cares about the issue at hand
- Sees a career as an outcome rather than a goal
- Plays above board
- Legitimizes the task: avoids the political blind spot.

Exhibit 17

The basic message is: choose to become an active player in the human system, put the organization first, play above board, and most important of all, *legitimize the task*. That is, accept the fact that human nature and organization politics are inseparable. Go beyond strict job descriptions and take some responsibility for the organization as a whole.

NOTES

[4] David C. McClelland, *Power: The Inner Experience* (New York: Wiley, 1975), 254.

[5] According to legend, the person who could unravel this knot would become ruler of all of Asia.

7

Power

"The level of decision-making is way up. The level of accountability is way down. That's a problem."
—First line manager at Industrial Supply Corporation

Powerlessness corrupts. Absolute powerlessness corrupts absolutely.
—Variation on Lord Acton's comment

Organizational politics was an endlessly fascinating topic of conversation for the people who carried out the day-to-day administration of Industrial Supply Corporation. They watched for the signs of favor and inclusion. They talked over the interesting new people. They speculated about the effects of changes in senior management. They chuckled over the real story behind certain decisions (but were never sure of the truth). A young manager amused himself by starting a rumor about the name of the replacement for a fired vice-president, and then heard the word come back to him "on substantial authority." One day, a fairly new sales worker from the field went into the cafeteria at headquarters, and, because all the other tables were filled, he sat down at one where an older man was eating alone. He introduced himself, but the other's name did not register. It was the corporate president. All heads turned. The talk started: "Who's that young guy with Peter Farrell?"

Somewhere behind the formal organization chart at Indsco was another, shadow structure in which dramas of power were played out. An interest in corporate politics was a key to survival for the people who worked at Indsco. This had both a narrower, more personal meaning (how individuals would do in the striving for hierarchical success) and an important job-related meaning (how much people could get done and how satisfying they could make their conditions of work). First, individual careers rose and fell, and people found the "top" more or less open to them, through dealings in power. Sometimes, crossing the wrong person could be dangerous. There was the story of the powerful executive who was angry at the president of a supplier and wanted to

make it difficult for that supplier to sell to Indsco, even though its products were an important manufacturing component. A slightly junior manager—let's call him X—created an arrangement for buying from the supplier that was acceptable to the executive, and that firm's dealings were processed separately. Then another manager—Y—looked over the figures with his subordinate and asked why things were done differently. The subordinate replied, "It's always been like that. That's how it comes down from X." Y said he didn't understand it and asked the subordinate to check into it. The subordinate came back with the story and the word that the arrangement could not be changed, but Y had the manufacturing area in his business plan and wanted to change the situation. He elected to fight, against the advice of his subordinate. Y lost. The situation stayed the same, and he was pushed out of the line of ascent. For the next four or five years, he remained in limbo in a dead-end job. As an observer commented, "He blew it with one move."

However, it was not only individual competition and jockeying for position that made power dynamics important. Sometimes, people could only do their work effectively and exercise whatever competence gave them personal satisfaction if they knew how to make their way through the more cumbersome and plodding official structure via the shadow political structure underneath. Since the labyrinthine complexities of the large, fairly centralized organization reduced everyone's autonomy of action and made every function dependent on every other, politics was automatically necessitated by the system in order for people to gain some control over the machine. Politics was a way of reducing something too large, incomprehensible, and unmanageable to something smaller, more human, and more familiar. For some people, certainly, the concern with power represented individualistic striving for competitive advantage and a lion's share of scarce resources. For others, however, power was a necessary tool for living or surviving in the system at all, and they cared primarily about having a share (a sphere of autonomy and a right to call on resources) rather than monopolizing it.

For the people called "leaders," power was supposedly an automatic part of their functioning. They were given the formal titles of leadership (director, manager, supervisor), and they were expected to aid the mobilization of others toward the attainment of objectives. They had responsibility for results, and they were accountable for what got done; but as everyone knew, power did not necessarily come automatically with the designation of leaders, with the delegation of formal authority. People often had to get it not from the official structure but from the more hidden political processes.

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A DEFINITION OF POWER

"Power" is a loaded term. Its connotations tend to be more negative than positive, and it has multiple meanings. Much has been written in the attempt to distinguish power from related concepts: authority, influence, force, dominance, and others. William Gamson has differentiated the forms of power that contribute something to another person in exchange for compliance (inducements) from those that only remove a threat (constraints).[1] There have been many debates about whether power exists in fixed quantities, in a zero-sum sense, so that one person's amount of power inherently limits another person's, or whether power refers to expansible capacities that could grow, synergistically, in two people simultaneously. Because the hierarchical form of large organizations tends to concentrate and monopolize official decision-making prerogatives and the majority of workers are subject to "commands" from those above, it would be natural to assume that any use of the term "power" must refer to this sort of scarce, finite resource behind hierarchical domination.

However, I am using "power" in a sense that distinguishes it from hierarchical domination. As defined here, power is the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet. In this way, a monopoly on power means that only very few have this capacity, and they prevent the majority of others from being able to act effectively. Thus, the *total* amount of power—and total system effectiveness—is restricted, even though some people seem to have a great deal of it. However, when more people are empowered—that is, allowed to have control over the conditions that make their actions possible—then more is accomplished, more gets done. Thus, the meaning of power here is closer to "mastery" or "autonomy" than to domination or control over others. Power does refer to interpersonal transactions, the ability to mobilize other people; but if those others are powerless, their own capacities, even when mobilized, are limited. Power is the ability to *do*, in the classic physical usage of power as energy, and thus it means having access to whatever is needed for the doing. The problems with absolute power, a total monopoly on power, lie in the fact that it renders everyone else powerless. On the other hand, empowering more people through generating more autonomy, more participation in decisions, and more access to resources increases the total capacity for effective action rather than increases domination. The powerful are the ones who have access to tools for action.

THE IMPORTANCE OF POWER FOR LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS

What makes leaders effective in an organization? What transforms people into effective bosses, managers, supervisors, team leaders? Trying to answer these questions has, of course, long engaged the energies of a large number of social scientists, especially psychologists, and their answers have filled volumes. After an early emphasis on leader "traits," stemming from characteristics of individuals, a more social perspective took hold, one that saw leadership as consisting of transactions between leaders and followers. The leader was presented as a kind of "super-follower," serving through follower designation and follower consent, and able to inspire because first able to respond to the needs, concerns, wishes, and desires of the group. Attention shifted away from the cataloging of individual attributes to the cataloging of behaviors and resources: a series of functions needed by a group that could be called "leadership," a series of resources useful in interpersonal exchanges. Tuning in to other people was considered very important. For a time in the 1960s, in fact, the belief that sensitive human relations skills held the key to success as a leader achieved almost cult-like proportions in American organizations, and Industrial Supply Corporation was no exception in instituting sensitivity training for managers—made acceptable under blander labels like "organizational skills" or "management awareness."

Yet research attempts to distinguish more effective and less effective leadership styles based on a human relations emphasis have generally failed, in part because there are trade-offs associated with one or another form of supervision. As early studies comparing authoritarian, democratic, and laissez-faire leaders showed, there were advantages and disadvantages in group productivity and morale associated with each emphasis. Although most theorists today would conclude that human relations skills are important if coupled with a production emphasis, the evidence is mixed enough to permit few conclusions about leader behaviors alone.[2] Two researchers tried to differentiate instrumental and expressive exchanges between superiors and subordinates in several Michigan businesses as a way to predict interactions and group process. The distinction was ultimately not very useful. Subordinates reported getting about equally as much job-related information, whether the leaders emphasized task or human relations matters, and the researchers found very little relationship between style of leadership behavior and subordinate group process.[3] This is one of a number of studies demonstrating that choices about how to relate to other people (listen to their problems? offer praise?) fail to make much, if any, difference in effective management—at least by themselves.

What does make a difference is *power*—power outward and upward in the system: the ability to get for the group, for subordinates or followers, a favorable share of the resources, opportunities, and rewards possible through the organization. This has less to do with how leaders relate to followers than with how they relate to other parts of the organization. It has less to do with the quality of the manager-subordinate relationship than with the structure of power in the wider system. Early theory in organizational behavior assumed a direct relation between leader behavior and group satisfaction and morale, as if each organizational subgroup existed in a vacuum. However, Donald Pelz, in a study at Detroit Edison in the early 1950s, discovered that perceived influence *outside* the work group and upward in the organization was a significant intervening variable. He compared high- and low- morale work groups to test the hypothesis that the supervisor in high-morale groups would be better at communicating, more supportive, and more likely to recommend promotion. Yet when he analyzed the data, the association seemed to be nonexistent or even reversed. In some cases, supervisors who frequently recommended people for promotion and offered sincere praise for a job well done had *lower* morale scores. The differentiating variable that Pelz finally hit upon was whether or not the leaders had power outside and upward: influence on their own superiors and influence over how decisions were made in the department as a whole. The combination of good human relations *and* power produced high morale. Human relations skills coupled with low power sometimes had negative effects on morale.[4] What good is praise or a promise if the leader can't deliver? As other research discovered, both women and men attach more importance to having a competent, rather than a nice, boss—someone who gets things done. A classic study of first-line supervisors showed that more secure (and hence effective) foremen were those who had closer relationships upward in the hierarchy; they had the most frequent exchanges with superiors.[5]

Power begets power. People who are thought to have power already and to be well placed in hierarchies of prestige and status may also be more influential and more effective in getting the people around them to do things and feel satisfied about it. In a laboratory experiment, subordinates were more likely to cooperate with and to inhibit aggression and negativity toward leaders of higher rather than lower status. In a field study of professionals, people who came into a group with higher external status tended to be better liked, talked more often, and received more communications. The less powerful, who usually talked less, were often accused of talking *too much*. There was a real consensus in such groups about who was powerful, and people were more likely to accept direct attempts to influence them from people they defined as among the powerful. Average group members, whether men or women, tended to engage in deferential, approval-seeking behavior toward those seen as higher in power.[6] Thus, people who look like they can command more of the organization's resources, who look like they can bring something that is valued from outside into the group, who seem to have access to the inner circles that make the decisions affecting the fate of individuals in organizations, may also be more effective as leaders of those around them—and be better liked in the process.

Twenty Indsco executives in a sample of managers reached the same conclusion when asked to define the characteristics of effective managers. The question of the relative importance of "people sensitivity," as they put it, provoked considerable debate. Finally, they agreed that "credibility" was more important than anything else. "Credibility" was their term for competence plus power—the known ability to get results. People with credibility were listened to, their phone calls were answered first, because they were assumed to have something important to say. People with credibility had room to make more mistakes and could take greater risks because it was believed that they would produce. They were known to be going somewhere in the organization and to have the ability to place their people in good jobs. They could back up their words with actions. Thus, the ultimate in credibility in the corporate bureaucracy was "the guy who doesn't have to make recommendations; he comes out with a *decision* and all supporting material. Everyone else just says yes or no. . . ."

Credibility upward rather than downward—that is, wider-system power—rendered managers effective, they thought. To have it downward, with subordinates, they must first have it upward, with their own superiors and the people with whom their tasks were interwoven in the matrix. Credibility downward was based on subordinates' belief in their managers' importance, which in turn was based on their political position. People-sensitivity could be an added bonus, but it was considered much less important than power. "Some managers are very successful and very tough," an executive commented. "John Fredericks is as tough as they come but also sensitive to people. His people have gone far, but is that because he's sensitive or because he has clout? It's impossible to untangle." "You can get people to do nearly anything for you if they think you have their interest at heart and will fight for them. They must see that you can produce for them, that the fighting will pay off." And lack of system power could undermine the best of human relations: "Fred Burke came in as an outsider to manage his department, so he didn't know the business and he didn't have the right connections in the company. When he tried to get things from headquarters, he had no clout. Headquarters wanted to talk to the people *under* him because they knew the answers. But sensitive, yes! Christ, I don't know anyone more sensitive than Fred Burke.

You've never seen a more sensitive guy; but his people turned against him anyway. They had no respect for him." "What we're saying, I guess," someone tried to summarize the discussion, "is that you need a combination of both—people-skills and credibility." "No," others disagreed. "It's the need to take action that distinguishes effective managers. Having some results at the end of all that people-sensitivity. What good is it if you can't get anything done in Indsco?"

The preference for association with the powerful and the degree to which this preference motivates member of organizations is a function of the degree of dependency built into the organization itself. Where people can do their work rather independently, where they can easily get the things they need to carry out their tasks, where they have a great deal of latitude in decision-making, and where rewards are not so contingent on career mobility, then there need not be the same concern with appropriate political alliances. However, the large, complex hierarchical corporation fosters dependency. Emile Durkheim, in *The Division of Labor in Society*, called this "interdependence": the way specialization had created bonds of "organic solidarity" between people who needed each other for the completion of complex tasks. However, an uncomfortable feeling of *dependency* is often the psychological result when the problems of getting approval, being recognized, or moving resources through multiple checkpoints make people see one another as threats, roadblocks, or hindrances rather than as collaborators. A manager known as highly competent made these revealing comments about himself: "I had psychological tests a few years ago. They showed that the weakest point I had was lack of independence, inability to make independent decisions. I bet it would be true of a lot of people in this company. We don't make a decision alone; we are always consulting other people. Because we are not allowed to make decisions without going through too many channels. And that's the other problem as a manager in this company. You don't really have a lot of authority when you come right down to it." In the context of such organizationally fostered dependency, people seem willing to work very hard to reduce it. One way to do this is by allying themselves with the powerful, with people who can make them more independent by creating more certainty in their lives.

Power in an organization rests, in part, on the ability to solve dependency problems and to control relevant sources of uncertainty.[7] This can be true with respect to the system as a whole as well as around individuals. For the system, the most power goes to those people in those functions that provide greater control over what the organization finds currently problematic: sales and marketing people when markets are competitive; production experts when materials are scarce and demand is high; personnel or labor relations specialists when labor is scarce; lawyers, lobbyists, and external relations specialists

when government regulations impinge; finance and accounting types when business is bad and money tight.[8] There is a turning to those elements of the system that seem to have the power to create more certainty in the face of dependency, to generate a more advantageous position for the organization.

There is a wide range of dependencies faced by individuals in large corporations, varying in kind and degree with specific organizational location. Weber considered a virtue of rationalized bureaucracies that they rendered power impersonal through the development of rules, thereby reducing one sort of uncomfortable dependency: the need to be subject to the arbitrary and unpredictable whim of rulers. Michel Crozier echoed the Weberian proposition: bureaucracies are built because people are "trying to evade face-to-face relationships and situations of personal dependency whose authoritarian tone they cannot bear." [9] However, ironically, as one source of dependency on other people is reduced, others spring up. People become dependent on those who can help them make their way through the system or who provide the means to bypass rules that are behaviorally constraining or inappropriately applied. They become dependent on those with discretion over necessary resources; and to the extent that the system cannot be perfectly rationalized, with pockets of uncertainty remaining, those who control important contingencies retain a strong basis for personal power.

The uncertainty inherent in managerial roles has already been discussed. This uncertainty makes pre-selection and automatic movement in careers, or reduced discretion in performance, highly unlikely. It means that people who can influence promotion and placement decisions have a source of power to the extent that people feel dependent because of the uncertainties in their careers. Other sources of dependency derive from the size of giant corporations like Indsco. Beyond the people in the most routine of functions, no one has within a small domain all of the things he or she needs to carry out his or her job. Everyone must get things done through others who are not part of the same face-to-face group in which personal agreements and informal understandings develop. There must be power tools to use in bargaining with those others who are not bound with the person in any form of communal solidarity, or else those others can keep the person in a state of dependency that renders both planning and autonomous action impossible. What makes this more bearable is that others are in the same situation, equally dependent. So as long as dependencies are relatively symmetrical, people can agree to cooperate rather than trade on each other's vulnerabilities. Problems arise as asymmetry grows.

James Thompson developed a set of propositions about the kinds of political processes that develop when organizations contain interdependencies among discretionary jobs; that is, positions that are not completely routinized, where decisions are possible and can affect outcomes: (1) Individuals in highly discretionary jobs seek to maintain power equal to or greater than their dependence on others in the organization. (2) When power is less than dependency, people seek a coalition. Depending on the function, the coalition may be formed inside or outside of the organization. Coalitions with people in the external environment that is relevant for the organization's success may increase power. (3) The more sources of uncertainty or contingency for the organization, the more bases there are for power and the larger the number of political positions in the organization.[10] Thus, more complicated organizations have more politics than less complicated ones, and power is a much more relevant concern for the people who must function within large, complex, hierarchical systems.

To see power as a dominant issue around people in leadership positions in organizations, then, is not the same as positing individual motives such as "needs for power" or "achievement motivation." It is not a characterological but a social structural issue. Critics sometimes assume that a defect in the American character makes people (such as followers or subordinates) prefer winners to losers, or that some excessive striving for status makes people seek vicarious identification with success. However, this should also be seen as a survival mechanism for people who live in the typically American organizational worlds created in the twentieth century: to know that one is better off, less dependent and uncertain, when in league with people who are powerful in the dependency-creating systems that one must somehow make one's way through. There are real as well as symbolic payoffs in working for someone who is powerful in systems where resources are scarce and there is constant scrambling for advantage. Powerful authorities can get more for their subordinates. They can more effectively back up both promises and threats; they can more easily make changes in the situation of subordinates. They offer the possibility of taking subordinates with them when they move, so that the manager's future mobility may help others' prospects. Subordinates as well as peers may indeed capitalize on the success of a "comer" in the organization, as Barry Stein has pointed out.[11]

That is not all. There can also be something more immediately empowering about working under a powerful person. Opportunity and power both have structural impact on managers' authority styles. Bernard Levenson suggested that the fact of promotability itself shapes style of supervision. Mobile managers are likely to behave like "good" leaders *because* of their opportunity, whereas nonmobile managers behave in the rigid, authoritarian way characteristic of the powerless, as I show later. *Promotable* supervisors, he argued, are more likely to adopt a participatory style in which they share information, delegate authority, train subordinates for more responsibility, and allow latitude and autonomy. They do this, first, to show that they are not indispensable in their current jobs—to show that someone else could indeed take over when they advance. They also find it in their political interest to delegate control as a method of training a replacement, so that the vacancy created by their promotion will be filled with someone on their team. Unpromotable supervisors, on the other hand, may try to retain control and restrict the opportunities for their subordinates' learning and autonomy. The current job is their only arena for power, and they anticipate no growth or improvement for themselves. Moreover, they have to keep control for themselves, so that it will be clear that no one else could do their job. Subordinates must be forced to exercise their skills as narrowly as possible, for a capable subordinate represents a serious replacement threat.[12]

For people at Indsco, having a powerful boss was considered an important element in career progress and the development of competence, just as lack of success was seen as a function of working under a dead-ender. People wanted to work for someone on the move who had something to teach and enough power to take others along. A secretary recalled, "I came in looking for a place to stake out my career. I was first assigned to work for a man who was a dowdy dresser and never cleaned his shoes. (I have a thing about men and shoes. How they take care of their shoes is a good sign of other things.) The whole atmosphere in the group made it clear that people were going nowhere. It was not businesslike. So I said to myself, 'He's going nowhere. I'd better change.' And he did go nowhere." One of Indsco's highest ranking women said, "I had to learn everything myself. So did men. Lots of people go into managerial jobs without any training. I had to model myself after my boss. If the boss is good, okay. If not, that can be terrible. It's better to get a boss who is successful in the organization's terms." In response to a question about what is "helpful" in a manager, a sales worker wrote, "He sees a subordinate's growth as in his interest. He is confident, capable, and conveys a sense that he will be promoted. Clichés like 'being on a winner's team' have taken on new meaning for me. . . . Unhelpful managers are uncertain of themselves, their abilities, present position, or future." An older executive commented, "It's a stroke of luck to get an opportunity to work for someone who's a mover and demonstrate performance to him because astute managers look for good workers and develop them." There was much agreement among managers that people were more likely to emerge with "manager quality" if they worked for the right boss. "Right" meant high credibility. Credibility meant power.

ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS AND THE SOURCES OF POWER

There have been a number of useful classifications of the bases of social power. John R. P. French and Bertram Raven proposed five: reward power (controlling resources that could reward), coercive power (controlling resources that could be used to punish), expert power (controlling necessary knowledge or information), reference power (being personally attractive to other people, so that they are likely to identify or seek a relationship), and legitimate power (authority vested in a position or role and accepted by others as appropriate).[13] Each of these certainly plays a part in determining who becomes powerful in an organization; personal characteristics and background combine with the way an organization distributes scarce resources through positions to give people differential opportunities to become influential.

However, there are also a number of bases of power that are specifically organizational. The French and Raven typology and others of its kind are most useful for understanding one-on-one exchanges or the exercise of influence in rather small-scale interpersonal situations. The politics of a large-scale system are more complex and often do not seem reducible to such simple elements, even though the actual wielding of influence in any one instance may seem to rest on one or another of those five bases of power. This is the familiar problem of system levels in social science. Whereas there are many ways in which human systems are similar, regardless of level, more complex systems also add elements and problems not characteristic of simpler systems. However, social psychology has often treated power as though its operation in the small group were directly analogous to its operation in the large organization, thereby missing some of the more important dynamics of the latter.

The accumulation of power in a corporation is closely tied to the overall state of the system. At Indsco, formal position in the hierarchy was very important, and competence within the position was also a major factor. (Competence, indeed, is often a neglected side of power.) However, rank and decision-making authority alone were sometimes no more than a formal confirmation of already accumulated power; and getting into such a position was not enough to keep a person there, even though the position often provided the means for the consolidation of power. The size of the system and the complexity of its problems meant that even those with advantageous formal positions had to work with and through many others who had similar bases for power—what Thompson signified when he proposed that the number of power bases in an organization increase with the number of uncertainties or contingencies it faces. Finally, as I have already argued, the relative importance of functions reflected in formal positions shifted with shifting organizational problems and priorities. Though up-the-ladder managerial jobs supposedly became less tied to function, in reality, identification in terms of functional specialties remained. This was even truer lower down the management hierarchy, where people often promoted their function in order to promote themselves and could get trapped when their function was suddenly seen as less critical to financial success or other goals than some other one. A changing business climate was known to shift the relative position of functions with respect to one another and to account for the balance of power between people who depended on each other across functions. The relative centralization or decentralization of decision-making within each function and product area accounted for the relative power that lower-level representatives of an area brought to their task interactions with each other. In addition, whether a person was one of few or one of many in a position to bring pressure on a worker in a related function also affected relative amounts of power.

These abstractions came to life at Indsco in the relationships of field sales managers to product line managers in headquarters. Field sales managers directed the activities of sales workers over a number of product lines in a specific geographic territory; they were concerned with the performance of their people and the kinds of deals that could be made with customers. They responded to the exigencies of a competitive market situation and wanted to be in a favorable position on such things as price, quantity (especially during a time of material shortages), and shipping arrangements. Product line managers had a different set of priorities; they were the "business types" with responsibility, responsible for the profitability of their products across all geographic areas. They controlled price and allocation of product lines. The arrangements actually offered to customers were derived from the negotiations of sales people and line managers. There could be a great deal of tension between the people in these two positions. They had few face-to-face contacts, relating primarily by telephone or by telegram and mail, and their views from their locations differed. Field sales managers would insist that the product people were out of touch with the market, that they had no idea of the competitive scene out there, that they didn't know the customers. Product line managers, on the other hand, complained that the sales force was parochial and lacked knowledge of the overall business picture, that salespeople became too involved with their own special customers and forgot about the fate of Indsco as a whole.

The relative power of the people in these two jobs was determined by a number of system issues. In a growing economy several years earlier, when the corporation was also more decentralized, field managers were considered very powerful, running their "own little business." As the recession emerged and business fell off, and as the corporation began to centralize more and more decisions, the importance of the product line managers grew. Hierarchical position and departmental organization also had an effect. Depending on the department, many of the product managers held grade 16 positions; field managers were more typically at grade 12 or 14. Where this discrepancy in rank occurred, the field managers felt more dependent on the evaluations of product managers for their own career progress, and winning credibility with product managers was more important than the reverse ("They have the power to make or break our careers"), creating an asymmetry in power when the time for negotiations occurred. This asymmetry was reinforced by the typical form of interactions: field managers requested, product managers responded. If a product manager could not be reached by phone, field managers often could not act because they lacked important information. This infuriated them, but often there was nothing they could do without jeopardizing their relationship with the product manager. (A field manager once became so frustrated when he called a product manager several times one day, only to be told that he was in a meeting, then at lunch, then at another meeting, that he finally called the other's boss to say that he was needed right away. "He'll return my messages faster next time." However, he knew that this "kamikaze move" was risky. "With credibility you can get away with it. It depends on your relative position.") So field managers were generally much more concerned with winning favor with product managers, since they were functionally often more dependent, and they were much more effective managers of their own people when they had credibility with headquarters people. Finally, the relative numbers of field managers or product managers interfacing with each other could also affect the balance of power. Dealing with many made it easier for a person to retain some independence and to play them off against one another. One field sales manager related to seven different product line managers, and "with that many, there's no way I'm going to see them as my boss. If one isn't responsive, we'll just work harder on the other products, that's all."

There was thus a formal organizational component of power that was often out of the hands of individuals to determine. However, there were also a number of ways in which people could use the organization or operate through it that could increase the power available to them. These involved both activities and alliances.

ACTIVITIES AS A ROUTE TO POWER

Power could be accumulated as a result of performance—the job-related activities people engaged in. The organization itself could be used as a source of power. (This is a side of power that political scientists consider more often with respect to the public arena than do social psychologists and sociologists of organizations.) However, for activities to increase the power of the persons engaging in them, they have to meet three criteria: (1) they are extraordinary, (2) they are visible, and (3) they are relevant—identified with the solution to a pressing organizational problem.

Extraordinary Activities

Not everyone in an organization is in a position to accumulate power through competent performance because most people are just carrying out the ordinary and the expected—even if they do it very well. The extent to which a job is routinized fails to give an advantage to anyone doing it because "success" is seen as inherent in the very establishment of the position and the organization surrounding it. Neither persons nor organizations get "credit" for doing the mandatory or the expected. Excellent performance on tasks where behavior is more or less predictable may be valued, but it will not necessarily add to power. Most factory workers and lower participants in organizations have been rendered powerless not only by the managerial monopoly on decision-making but also by the routinization of tasks that reduces, if not eliminates, the opportunity to show enterprise or creativity, or ever do anything out of the ordinary or larger than life. This is a stronger and obverse version of Thompson's proposition that performance requiring discretion is more likely to be noticeable, and noticeability increases power. Crozier, too, theorized that the edge in a bargaining relationship is held by the person whose behavior is not predictable.[14]

There were several ways people at Indsco did something extraordinary: by being the first in a new position, by making organizational changes, or by taking major risks and succeeding. The rewards go to innovators, not to the second ones to do something; "the first to volunteer for extra work exhibits 'leadership,' " a quality anyone after that seems to lack.[15] A cycle could be observed around new functions and new positions in the corporation. The first time certain jobs were filled, fast track people were attracted. One of the inducements was the chance to step out of the ordinary and to participate in the development of a new function. The second cycle of people started to get trapped, and in one case a job that had been given a high grade when it was new (and required a person with sophisticated skills) was downgraded on the five-year reviews, so that it was seen to require a less senior manager. It became more and more difficult to fill the job as the function became more and more established. It was almost paradoxical: the success of the function as a whole made it less and less possible for the people running it to seem successful as individuals.

It becomes clear why some organizations seem to be continually changing, why new proposals and procedures are always under development. New managers must make changes or handle crises to demonstrate their abilities. If everything was running smoothly before and continues to run smoothly along the same track, what has the leader done? The "builder's complex" may emerge. Each leader needs his or her monument, which can be a physical structure or a redesigned organization chart. Crozier wrote about the plant directors whose ability to initiate action was curtailed by routinization of their functions—except in the case of planning and guiding the construction of new buildings or new physical layouts for shops. So people had a stake in finding reasons to undertake construction.[16] Very top executives at Indsco similarly became identified with the building of new field offices or proposed corporate moves. They would look for businesses to acquire or businesses to divest. They would have pet projects with which they were heavily identified, especially sweeping proposals such as taking the entire sales force off for a week-long meeting. There were definite costs if such plans did not work well—such single events were behind a number of firings—but enhanced power if they did.

Reorganizations were a common way to manipulate the structure to increase power. One new top executive at Indsco quickly established his position by making two power plays: firing the person in a key position under him and bringing in someone from outside the organization to fill the post, and creating a new division from a subgroup of the largest division, putting in someone he had worked with as its general manager. Another head of a function removed levels of the hierarchy; when he was promoted, his replacement put it back in. On a smaller scale, the manager of a personnel staff unit created two new levels of hierarchy in his nine-person group, putting in an assistant and developing two levels of the remaining people by upgrading some. (The people left on the lowest rung maintained their former position in the organization, retaining their "downward anchoring" and distance from the bottom, but they suddenly felt less powerful because when they looked up, they felt more junior.) Reorganizations were a frequent and important power move, for they served several functions at once. They ensured leaders that their own teams were well placed; opposition could be removed or rendered less effective. They provided leaders with rewards to dole out in the form of new opportunities and job changes. They enhanced the leader's power by creating new uncertainties in a situation that had been relatively routinized, making people more dependent on central authorities while they learned the new system. They were highly visible and difficult not to notice. In addition, because the question of the "best way to organize" was always relevant at Industrial Supply Corporation, reorganizations could always be presented as a problem-solving innovation.

Pulling off extraordinary risks was also power-enhancing—a classic source of the awe inspired by charismatic leaders. Very few people dared, but those who did became very powerful, for both organizational and social reasons. Organizationally, they had indicated their task-related value: they could perform in the most difficult of circumstances. Socially, they developed charisma in the eyes of the less daring. This was true of Indsco's most noted charismatic leader, an executive who had died prematurely, in Kennedy-like fashion. I heard about the devotion he inspired at many different levels of the organization and from many different kinds of people: "If we had him still with us, he'd shoot from the hip and say, 'Do it.' We'd all fall all over ourselves to do it, no matter whether it was logical or not. Unfortunately, he's gone; but where this thing might be were he still here! . . ." It was assumed that he could do anything, that no problem would be as bad if he were in charge. His rise to the top and the power he consolidated once he got there, was based almost entirely on one extraordinary risk: he took over a very unproductive plant and turned it around, staking his career on the outcome. When he finally became a division president, he continued to assume personal responsibility for events, to seek relationships and information far down the line, and to make himself available for criticism or blame if employees were unhappy with company decisions.

Visibility

For activities to enhance power, they have to be visible, to attract the notice of other people. Jobs that straddle the boundaries between organizational units or between the organization and its environment tend to have more noticeable activities, for example, than those that are well within a unit. These often become "power positions" because of their visibility. The chance to be noticed is differentially distributed in organizations, especially one that is so large that personal knowledge of everyone in even one's own function is impossible. It was also possible to gain visibility through participation on task forces or committees.

People who looked like "comers" seemed to have an instinct for doing the visible. A new marketing manager found that there was a communications gap around his function; no one seemed to know what was going on in other relevant corners of the unit, so he put out a report every other week. He netted a great deal of appreciation—and visibility. However, in other cases the things that were done for the sake of visibility seemed less beneficial. There were numerous complaints about certain managers who were more interested in choosing those programs that would be visible than those that represented high priorities to other people for reasons of organizational effectiveness or social value.

There were also some games played around "risks" because of the high person from the crowd and argue his or her virtues against those of other people. ("They say the rabbi system is dead," commented a young manager, "but I can't believe we make promotion decisions without it.") Despite a rating system that tried to make the system more open and equitable at lower levels, sponsors could still make a difference. Indeed, one of the problems with not having a powerful manager, Indsco workers thought, was that the manager would not be strong enough to stand up and fight for subordinates in places where they could not fight for themselves.

Second, sponsors often provided the occasion for lower-level organization members to *bypass the hierarchy:* to get inside information, to short-circuit cumbersome procedures, or to cut red tape. People develop a social relationship with a powerful person which allows them to go directly to that person, even though there is no formal interface, and once there, a social interchange can often produce formal results. This could be very important to formal job success in Indsco, to the ability to get things done, in a system where people could easily get bogged down if they had to honor official protocol. One salesman with a problem he wanted to solve for a customer described Indsco as "like the Army, Air Force, and Navy—we have a formal chain of command." The person who could make the decision on his problem was four steps removed from him, not in hierarchical rank but according to operating procedure. Ordinarily, he would not be able to go directly to him, but they had developed a relationship over a series of sales meetings, during which the more powerful person had said, "Please drop by anytime you're at headquarters." So the salesman found an occasion to "drop by," and in the course of the casual conversation mentioned his situation. It was solved immediately. A woman manager used her powerful sponsors in a similar way. Whenever her boss was away, she had lunch with her friends among the corporate officers. This provided an important source of information, such as "secret" salary information from a vice-president. In fact, the manager revealed, "much of what I get done across groups is based on informal personal relations through the years, when there is no formal way to do it."

Third, sponsors also provide an important signal to other people, a form of "*reflected power.*" Sponsorship indicates to others that the person in question has the backing of an influential person, that the sponsor's resources are somewhere behind the individual. Much of the power of relatively junior people comes not from their own resources but from the "credit" extended to them because there appears to be a more powerful set of resources in the distance. This was an important source of the power of "comers" at Indsco, the "water walkers" and "high fliers" who were on fast tracks because they were high performers with powerful backing. A manager in that position described it this way: "A variety of people become impressed with you. You see the support at several levels; someone seems comfortable with you although he's a vice-president, and he looks you in the eye. You get offered special jobs by powerful people. You're pulled aside and don't have to go through channels. If you can sustain that impression for three to four years, your sphere of influence will increase to the point where you have a clear path for a few miles. You can have anything you want up to a certain level, where the power of the kingpins changes. Here's how it happens. A manager who is given a water walker, knowing that the person is seen as such from above and from below, is put in a no-win situation. If the person does well, everyone knew it anyway. If the person doesn't do well, it is considered the manager's fault. So the manager can only try to get the star promoted, move him or her out as fast as possible; and the manager wants to help accelerate the growth of water walkers because someday the manager might be working for them. All of this promotes the star's image." Another rising executive commented, "Everyone attempts to get on the heels of a flier. Everyone who does well has a sponsor, someone to take you on their heels. In my case, I had three managers. All of them have moved but continue to help me. A vice-president likes me. I can count on getting any job up a level as long as he remains in favor."

Those seen as moving accumulated real power because of their connections with sponsors, but they also had to be careful about the way they used the reflected power of the sponsor: "It's an embryonic, gossamer-type thing because four levels up is *far* away, and the connection is very tenuous. It's only a promise of things to come. You can't use it with your own manager, or you get in trouble. The rabbis are not making commitments right now. One guy tried to use his connections with his manager, to cash in his chips too early. The axe fell. He had to go back to zero." Handling relationships with sponsors could be tricky, too. "It's scary because you have to live up to others' expectations. There is great danger if you go up against a godfather. It becomes a father/son issue as well as business. God help you if you are not grateful for the favors given." And, of course, fast trackers can also fall when their sponsors fall if they have not developed their own power base in the interim.

If sponsors are important for the success of men in organizations, they seem absolutely essential for women. If men function more effectively as leaders when they appear to have influence upward and outward in the organization, women need even more the signs of such influence and the access to real power provided by sponsors. Margaret Cussler's and Margaret Hennig's studies of those few women in top management positions in U.S. corporations showed dramatically the importance of sponsorship. A British study concluded that "office uncles" were important in the careers of women in organizations because they offered behavioral advice and fought for the women to be promoted.[19] Ella Grasso, the first woman elected to a state governorship on her own, had a sponsor in John Bailey, who was chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1961 to 1968. He first spotted her as a political "comer" in the 1950s. Since then he has provided advice, campaign help, and introductions to certain circles.[20] At Indsco the same pattern emerged. One woman was brought into her management position at Indsco by a sponsor, a vice-president for whom she had worked as an executive secretary. Her relation to him and the connections she had already made through him made her reception into management quite different from that of other former secretaries. Another secretary who was promoted without sponsorship felt ignored, isolated, and resented after her move, but the first woman's experience was different. Male peers immediately made her one of the gang. During her first week in the new position, she remembered, she was deluged with phone calls from men letting her know they were there if she had any questions, making sure she had a lunch date, and inviting her to meetings.

If sponsors are more important for women, they can also be harder to come by. Sponsorship is sometimes generated by good performance, but it can also come, as one of Indsco's fast trackers put it, "because you have the right social background or know some of the officers from outside the corporation or look good in a suit." Some people thought that higher-ups decided to sponsor particular individuals because of identification and that this process almost automatically eliminated women. (There is, indeed, much research evidence that leaders choose to promote the careers of socially similar subordinates.) [21] Men could not identify with women, and very few women currently held top positions. Identification was the issue in these remarks: "Boy wonders rise under certain power structures. They're recognized by a powerful person because they are very much like him. He sees himself, a younger version, in that person. . . . Who can look at a woman and see themselves?" This was a good question. When women acquired sponsors, the reasons were often different from the male sponsor-protégé situation. In one case, officers were looking for a high-performing woman they could make into a showpiece to demonstrate the organization's openness to good women. In another instance, an executive was thought to have "hung his hat on a woman" (decided to sponsor her) to demonstrate that he could handle a "tricky" management situation and solve a problem for the corporation.

Peers

More often neglected in the study of the accumulation of organizational power is the importance of strong peer alliances, although Barry Stein has written about the ways groups can capitalize on the success of a "comer." [22] At Indsco high "peer acceptance," as managers put it, was necessary to any power base or career success. "Individual performers" found their immediate

accomplishments rewarded, but their careers stuck as we saw in Chapter 3, because they had not built, nor were seen as capable of building, the kinds of connections necessary for success in ever more interdependent higher-level jobs. "The group needs each other," a sales manager remarked. "To become powerful, people must first be successful and receive recognition, but they must wear the respect with a lack of arrogance. They must not be me-oriented. Instead of protecting their secrets in order to stand taller than the crowd, they are willing to share successes. They help their peers. . . . This is 'leader quality.' "

Strong alliances among peers could advance the group as a whole, as Stein noted in commenting on the fact that certain cohorts sometimes seem to produce all of the leaders in an organization.[23] However, a highly competitive situation could also imbue peer relations with politics and pitfalls. A star performer just promoted to his first management position told me quite proudly how he had just handled his first political battle with a counterpart in his position. One reason he was telling me at such length, he explained, was because he had no one he could tell within the organization. He had decided to take care of the issue by going directly to the other man and working it out with him, then promising him it would go no further. My informant had been the one who was wronged, and he could have gone to his boss or the other person's boss, but he decided that in the long run he was wiser to try to honor peer solidarity and try to build an ally out of the person who had hurt him. "I didn't want to create enemies," he commented. "Some peers look to you for help, to work with you for mutual gain, but others wait for you to stumble so they can bad-mouth you: 'Yeah, he's a sharp guy, but he drinks a lot.' If I had gone against the other guy now, even if I had won, he would have had a knife out for me sometime. Better to do him a favor by keeping quiet, and then he'll be grateful later."

Peer alliances often worked through direct exchange of favors. On lower levels information was traded; on higher levels bargaining and trade often took place around good performers and job openings. In a senior executive's view, it worked like this: "A good job becomes available. A list of candidates is generated. That's refined down to three or four. That is circulated to a select group that has an opportunity to look it over. Then they can make bargains among themselves." A manager commented, "There's lots of 'I owe you one.' If you can accumulate enough chits, that helps you get what you need; but then, of course, people have to be in a position to cash them in."

Subordinates

The accumulation of power through alliances was not always upward-oriented. For one thing, differential rates of hierarchical progress could mean that juniors or peers one day could become a person's boss the next. So it could be to a person's advantage to make alliances downward in the hierarchy with people who looked like they might be on the way up. There was a preference for "powerful" subordinates as well as powerful bosses. Just in the way Bernard Levenson proposed, a manager on the move would try to develop subordinates who could take over, keeping a member of "his team" in place. Professionals and executives needed more junior people loyal to them as much as they needed the backing of higher-level people. Especially higher up, the successful implementation of plans and policies depended heavily upon the activities of those people lower down in the hierarchy who were responsible for the carrying out of day-to-day operations or the translation into specifics of general guidelines. So alliances with subordinates often developed early in careers, anticipating the time when managers would need the support of "their team." There was often a scrambling by managers to upgrade the jobs reporting to them so that they could attract more powerful subordinates. Also, as I have indicated, managers could benefit from speeding up the career of a person already on a fast track.

However, if power was something that not everyone could accumulate, what happened to the powerless?

ACCOUNTABILITY WITHOUT POWER: SOURCES OF BUREAUCRATIC POWERLESSNESS

People who have authority without system power are powerless. People held accountable for the results produced by others, whose formal role gives them the right to command but who lack informal political influence, access to resources, outside status, sponsorship, or mobility prospects, are rendered powerless in the organization. They lack control over their own fate and are dependent on others above them—others whom they cannot easily influence—while they are expected by virtue of position to be influential over those parallel or below. Their sense of lack of control above is heightened by its contrast with the demands of an accountable authority position: that they mobilize others in the interests of a task they may have had little part in shaping, to produce results they may have had little part in defining.

First-line supervisors in highly routinized functions often are functionally powerless. Their situation—caught between the demands of a management hierarchy they are unlikely to enter because of low opportunity and the resistance of workers who resent their own circumstances—led classic writers on organizations to describe them as "men in the middle." [24] (However, they are also often "women in the middle.") They have little chance to gain power through activities, since their functions do not lend themselves to the demonstration of the extraordinary, nor do they generate high visibility or solutions to organizational problems. They have few rewards to distribute, since rewards are automatically given by the organization; and their need for reliable performance from workers in order to keep their own job secure limits the exercise of other forms of power. "I'm afraid to confront the employees because they have the power to slack, to slouch, to take too much time," a supervisor of clerical workers said, "and I need them for results. I'm measured on *results*—quantitative output, certain attendance levels, number of reports filed. They have to do it for me." Another one said, "When I ask for help, I get punished because my manager will say, 'But it's your job. If you can't do it, you shouldn't be in that job.' So what's *their* job? Sending me notes telling me it's unacceptable? They're like teachers sending me a report card." First-line supervisors also felt powerless because their jobs were vulnerable during times of recession, while people farther up in the hierarchy seemed secure. They resented the fact that their peers were let go, while higher managers were not. "Why us? Aren't they running the show? Shouldn't they be the ones to suffer if business isn't going well?" And supervisors of secretaries, as we saw in Chapter 4, were also rendered powerless by the secretary's allegiance to a boss with more status and clout in the organization.

Occupants of certain staff jobs were similarly organizationally powerless.[25] They had no line authority and were dependent on managers to implement their decisions and carry out their recommendations. Staff programs that managers saw as irrelevant to their primary responsibilities would be ignored. Affirmative action and equal employment opportunity officers often found themselves in this position. Their demands were seen by line people as an intrusion, a distraction from more important business, and the extra paperwork that EEO entailed was annoying. Personnel staff who tried to introduce more rational, universalistic, and equitable systems for job placement for nonexempts also had difficulty selling their programs, as Chapter 4 indicated. These staff activities were seen as destroying a managerial prerogative and interfering with something managers preferred to do for themselves. The aims of personnel people in sending out certain candidates for jobs could conflict with the desires of the manager who would be using the candidate, and when battles resulted, it was often the more prestigious line manager who prevailed.

Regardless of function, people could also be rendered powerless if their own management did not extend opportunities for power downward—if their situations did not permit them to take risks, if their authority was undercut, or if their sphere of autonomous decision-making was limited. There seemed to be a consensus at Indsco that superiors who solved problems themselves or tried to do the job themselves disempowered the managers or professionals under them. Considered ideal, by contrast, was the manager who "never gave anyone an answer; but when you walked out of his office, you had it because he asked you the questions that made you think of it." Many women thus objected to the "protectiveness" that they perceived in their managers, protection that "encased" them "in a plastic bubble," as one put it, and rendered them ineffectual. Anyone who is protected loses power, for successes are then attributed to the helpful actions of others, rather than the person's own actions. Women complained about the "people who want to move walls for me instead of saying, 'Hey, here's a wall. Let's strategize working through it.' " Another said, "You need a lot of exposure to get ahead, a broad base of experience. I don't want to be protected, given the easy management situations, the easy customers, the sure-fire position." And being in a position where decisions were reviewed and authority could be undercut also created powerlessness. A customer service representative faced a situation where she had to tell a customer that she couldn't ship to him because the materials were not available; this was an order that had come down to her. The customer said he would call the immediate manager. The manager backed up the representative, indicating that he would call headquarters but that the rep was right and had the information. So the customer went one step higher in the hierarchy, calling headquarters himself. This time he managed to get a change. Everyone lost credibility, but especially the woman. Nothing diminishes leaders' power more than subordinates' knowledge that they can always go over their heads, or that what they promise has no real clout. A management recruiter advised companies that wanted to ensure the success of new women managers not to inadvertently encourage resistance to the new manager; even seemingly innocuous requests, such as a higher manager asking to be kept informed, could encourage subordinates to bypass the woman and do their reporting higher up.[26]

Powerlessness, finally, was the general condition of those people who could not make the kinds of powerful alliances that helped to manage the bureaucracy. People without sponsors, without peer connections, or without promising subordinates remained in the situation of bureaucratic dependency on formal procedures, routine allocations of rewards, communication that flowed through a multi-layered chain of command, and decisions that must penetrate, as Robert Presthus put it, "innumerable veto barriers." [27] People who reached dead ends in their careers also rapidly lost power, since they could no longer promise gains to those who followed them and no longer had the security of future movement. Powerlessness was also the psychological state of people who, for whatever reason, felt insecure in their functioning as leaders and anticipated resistance rather than cooperation from those whom

they were to lead. Indeed, the structural characteristics of modern organizational life tend to produce the symptoms of powerlessness in more and more lower-to-middle managers, supervisors, bureaucrats, and professionals. The chance to engage in the non-routine, to show discretion, to take risks, or to become known, are all less available in the large bureaucracy.

BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES TO POWERLESSNESS

Controlling Behavior and Close Supervision

Psychoanalyst Karen Horney, in *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, described people's neurotic attempt to dominate when they feel anxious or helpless, inferior or insignificant. As a protection and a defense, the psychologically powerless turn to control over others. They want to be right all the time and are irritated at being proven wrong. They cannot tolerate disagreement.[28] In short, they become critical, bossy, and controlling. Some degree of power, in the sense of mastery and control over one's fate, is necessary for feelings of self-esteem and well-being, as Rollo May has indicated.[29] When a person's exercise of power is thwarted or blocked, when people are rendered powerless in the larger arena, they may tend to concentrate their power needs on those over whom they have even a modicum of authority. There is a displacement of control downward paralleling displacement of aggression. In other words, people respond to the restrictiveness of their own situation by behaving restrictively toward others. People will "boss" those they can, as in the image of the nagging housewife or old-maid schoolteacher or authoritarian boss, if they cannot flex their power muscles more constructively and if, moreover, they are afraid they really are powerless.

One example of this syndrome comes from research on the leadership style of low-power male Air Force officers. Officers of lower status and advancement potential favored more directive, rigid, and authoritarian techniques of leadership, seeking control over subordinates. Subordinates were their primary frame of reference for their own status assessment and enhancement, and so they found it important to "lord it over" group members. They also did not help talented members of the group get ahead (perhaps finding them too threatening) and selected immediate assistants of mediocre rather than outstanding talent.[30] Similarly, in a French bureaucracy technical engineers in an isolated position with low mobility and low power with respect to directors were, in turn, extremely authoritarian and paternalistic with *their* subordinates.[31]

When people expect to be successful in their influence attempts, in contrast, they can afford to use milder forms of power, such as personal persuasion. Even a little bit of influence is likely to work, and it is so much more pleasant to avoid conflict and struggle. But when people anticipate resistance, they tend to use the strongest kind of weapon they can muster. As Frantz Fanon proposed in *The Wretched of the Earth*, the powerless may come to rely on force, first and foremost.[32] In a series of laboratory studies simulating supervision of three production workers, male subjects who lacked confidence in their own abilities to control the world or who thought they encountered resistance from the mock subordinates used more coercive than persuasive power, especially when resistance stemmed from "poor attitude" (a direct threat to their power) rather than ineptness.[33] We know from other laboratory studies that people are more automatically obedient toward the organizationally powerful than the powerless, regardless of formal position. Subordinates inhibit aggression in the face of power, but they direct more intense aggression to the relatively powerless. Indeed, it can be argued, as a number of other theorists have also done, that a controlling leadership style is a *result* rather than a *cause* of hostile, resistant, or noncompliant behavior on the part of subordinates.[34]

Thus, the relatively powerless in positions of organizational authority also have reason to be more controlling and coercive. If they have less call on the organization's resources, less backup and support from sponsors and managers, less cooperative subordinates, and less influence in the informal power structure, people can only use the strongest tools at their disposal: discipline or threats or maintaining tight control over all of the activities in their jurisdiction. If managers or supervisors who encounter resistance from those they are trying to direct tend to become more coercive in their power tactics, it is a vicious cycle: powerless authority figures who use coercive tactics provoke resistance and aggression, which prompts them to become even more coercive, controlling, and behaviorally restrictive.

At Indsco relatively powerless managers who were insecure about their organizational status tended to give the least freedom to subordinates and to personally control their department's activities much more tightly. (I used formal job characteristics, other people's perceptions, and my own observations to decide who was relatively powerless.) These managers made all of the decisions, did an amount of operating work themselves that others in the organization would consider "excessive," and did not let subordinates represent them at meetings or on task forces. They tried to control the communication flow in and out of their department, so that all messages had to pass through them. One manager in a low-power situation, who was considered "tough to work for—too tight," jumped on a subordinate for calling a vice-president

directly to ask a question, saying, "*I'm* the one who represents this function to v.p.'s." Another manager with good people working for him wanted to see that all the credit went to him. He wrote a report of his unit's activities that made it seem as though he, and not the salespeople involved, had generated an increase in sales: "By negotiating with the profit center, I saw to it that. . . ."

Sometimes low-power managers and supervisors took over the task and tried to do or direct closely the work of subordinates instead of giving them a free hand, because technical mastery of job content was one of the few arenas in which they *did* feel powerful. Often people get to first-line managerial jobs, for example, because they are good at the operating tasks. Trying to do the job themselves or watching over subordinates' shoulders to correct the slightest deviation from how the supervisors themselves would do it represents a comfortable retreat into expertise from the frustrations of trying to administer when organizational power is low. People can still feel good knowing that they could do the job well—or better than their subordinates. Thus, they are tempted to control their subordinates, keep them from learning or developing their own styles, jump in too quickly to solve problems, and "nitpick" over small things subordinates do differently. All of these things were considered characteristics of ineffective managers at Indsco. However, the temptation to take over the work of the next level down instead of engaging in more general leadership—a temptation that always existed, even for people at the very top, as one of them told me—was succumbed to especially by the powerless.

Conditions of work could intersect with low organizational power to reinforce a tendency toward closeness of supervision. Departments of women clerical workers run by powerless women managers were a case in point. The supervisors were, in turn, managed by men, who gave them detailed orders and little discretion, and the supervisors tended to be in a terminal job and poorly connected to informal power alliances. At the same time, the office setup encouraged a restrictive, controlled atmosphere. The clerical workers were confined to banks of desks in large offices virtually under the nose of the supervisor. These departments were considered among the most tightly run in the corporation. They had the least absenteeism and a decided "schoolroom" atmosphere. In contrast, the conditions of work in sales made it more difficult for even the most control-prone manager to supervise as tightly, since salespeople under one manager were often scattered throughout several field offices, and sales workers were legitimately out of the office a great deal of the time. Field sales managers, similarly, operated away from the direct view of their own managers. So the greater freedom of the sales function was empowering all down the line. However, the setting for clerical workers and their bosses made it easier for them to remain powerless.

Rules-Mindedness

The powerless inside an authority structure often become rules-minded in response to the limited options for power in their situation, turning to "the rules" as a power tool. Rules are made in the first place to try to control the uncontrollable; invoking organization rules and insisting on careful adherence to them is a characteristic response of the powerless in authority positions. For one thing, "the rules" represent their only safe and sure legitimate authority, the place where higher-ups are guaranteed to give them backing, because higher-ups wrote or represent the rules. They have few other means to use in bargaining with subordinates for cooperation. As Crozier wrote, "If no difference can be introduced in the treatment given to subordinates, either in the present definition of the job or in the fulfillment of their career expectations, hierarchical superiors cannot keep power over them. Superiors' roles will be limited to controlling the application of rules." [35]

Second, powerlessness coupled with accountability, with responsibility for results dependent on the actions of others, provokes a cautious, low-risk, play-it-safe attitude. Getting everything right is the response of those who lack other ways to impress those above them or to secure their position; and in turn they demand this kind of ritualistic conformity from subordinates, like schoolteachers more concerned about neatness of a paper than its ideas. Secretarial supervisors at Indsco tended to be known for these traits: a concern with proper form rather than a good outcome. Or, as someone else said, "You don't give freedom or experiment with procedure when you're a first-liner. You try to cover your ass and not make a mistake they can catch you on."

Overconformity to the rules and ritual concern with formalities are characteristics of the "bureaucratic personality" identified in Robert Merton's classic essay. Bureaucratic organizations, by their very structures, exert constant pressures on employees to perform reliably within prescribed and predictable behavioral limits. At the same time, routinization of careers within a bureaucracy—the provision of planned, graded, incremental promotions and salary increases—offers incentives for disciplined action and conformity to official regulations. These features taken together, Merton concluded, produced the bureaucrat's substitution of means (the rules, the forms, the procedures) for ends (goals, purposes, underlying rationales).[36]

Melville Dalton also recognized that the powerless hang on to rules, contrasting the "strong" and the "weak" as models of managerial tendencies.

> The weak are fearful in conflict situations and absorb aggressions to avoid trouble. . . . They hesitate to act without consulting superiors and take refuge in clearly formulated rules, whether adequate or not for their footing at the moment. Following their fairy-tale image of the organization as a fixed thing, they suffer from their experience that it is not. This, of course, aggravates their difficulty in grasping the tacit expectations that associations do not want to spell out, when events are troublesome. . . . As they seek to escape dilemmas, their unfitness to act outside the haven of understood rules invites aggression from the strong who are searching for shortcuts in the network of official routes.[37]

Thus, it is those lower in power who become rules-minded, but it is a bit too simple to attribute the concern with rules only to a reactive stance—a general bureaucratic world view. For those with relatively little organizational power but who must lead or influence others, *their control of "the rules" can represent one of their few areas of personal discretion.* They can exchange a bending of the rules for compliance; they can reward their favorites with a lighter application of the rules. However, first the rules must be experienced and honored. Subordinates or clients or workers must know what the formalities are like before they can be grateful for a bit of special treatment. They must see that the manager or supervisor or official has the right to invoke the full measure of the rule. So the persons who concern themselves with the rules both have something that *must* command obedience and have the basis for a form of power through differential application of those same rules. Staff officials without the power or credibility to persuade people in other departments to carry out the *spirit* of new programs (like affirmative action or centralized secretarial hiring) could fall back on their *letter*, burying uncooperative departments in mounds of paperwork.

One Indsco manager who was particularly concerned about protocol, formalities, and proper procedure had come up the ranks the hard way and was still not in a very influential position. He was upset that perquisites and privileges that had taken him long to earn were now automatically given out to younger people. He felt that they took liberties and behaved much too casually. One time, a young person introduced himself to the manager at a company function and then called to make a lunch date. The manager turned him down and then phoned his boss to complain that the young person was trying to get into the executive dining room. However, there were hints of the true feelings behind the manager's complaints. The manager was someone whose only source of power and respect came through the organizational formalities. He counted on being able to control his subordinates by carefully doling out privileges or offering small deviations from the formal rules. If the rules did not mean much anymore, what did he have left?

Territoriality and Domain Control

Merton went on to argue that bureaucrats adopt a domineering manner because whenever they use the authority of their office with clients or subordinates, they are acting as representatives of the power and prestige of the entire structure.[38] Vicarious power—power through identification—Merton seemed to say, breeds bossiness. However, if we look more closely at the organizational structures he described, we can see that this aspect of the "bureaucratic personality" reflects a response to *powerlessness* rather than to power, delegated or otherwise. The organization's concern with regulations reduces administrators' spheres of autonomy, limits their influence and decision-making power. The very provision of graded careers stressing seniority, in which incremental advances are relatively small and all must wait their turn, fosters dependency on the organization, which always holds back some rewards until the next advance. It removes incentives for assertion and reduces people to a common denominator—one in which they did not participate in defining. Unless people can accumulate power through activities or alliances, they face a sense of helplessness and insignificance.

In response to organizational insignificance, officials turn to their own small territory, their own little piece of the system—their subordinates, their function, their expertise. They guard their domain jealously. They narrow their interests to focus exclusively on it. They try to insulate and protect it and to prevent anyone else from engaging in similar activities without their approval or participation as "the experts." Another organizational cycle is set in motion. As each manager protects his or her own domain, the sense of helplessness and powerlessness of other administrators in intersecting units increases. They, in turn, may respond by redoubling their domination over their territory and their workers. The result can be "sub-optimization": each subgroup optimizing only its own goals and forgetting about wider system interests. For example, a worker in Crozier's clerical agency described this territoriality of supervisors. Supervisors were squeezed by higher management, which blamed them for poor morale and delivered speeches and written instructions advising them to pay more attention to leadership. In the worker's view, "They worry too much about their career and the possibility of promotion. They are jealous and awfully competitive. They are also sectarian. Often there is a lot of hostility between sections. . . . Each one of them wants to have his little kingdom." [39]

At Indsco, territoriality seemed more often a response of relatively powerless staff than of line officials. Line officials could turn to close supervision or rules application, but staff had only whatever advantage they could gain through specialized knowledge and jurisdiction over an area of expertise. This was especially clear around personnel functions. The organization was so large that personnel training, management development, and organization development responsibilities were divided up among many different units, some attached to divisions, some attached to the corporation, and some attached to specific functions. Such units often prevented each other from acting by claiming territorial encroachments. The result was that nearly all of them remained narrowly specialized and highly conservative. It was enough to kill a proposal with which other units would have to cooperate if the idea originated in one that was looking temporarily more powerful. There was a parallel problem on the wider system level, where one division was much larger and more powerful than others. Organizational and personnel innovations developed by the major division were rarely adopted by any of the others, even if they proved highly effective, because the other units were trying to protect their own territory as an independent domain.

There were also reflections of territoriality among low-power staff people on the individual level. The tendency was to hang on to a territory that provided legitimacy, even when inappropriate. One staff woman, hired to run affirmative action programs, tended to bring up the women's issue wherever she was, as though she would have no right to participate unless she dragged in her "expertise." Yet, on one occasion she had been invited to join a group of managers because of what she might contribute to general discussions of organizational issues. But she could not let go of her domain, and the managers were sorry they had included her. Similarly, sometimes staff people clung to whatever might help solve their future power issues, regardless of its relevance to present tasks. One manager asked a personnel staff official to send him an older, experienced woman for a position as his administrative assistant. Instead, the man in the personnel department insisted on sending him three ambitious, rather inexperienced younger women, making it clear that personnel matters, such as the decision about which candidates were appropriate, were his domain. However, perhaps there was something else underneath. The three women were ambitious and on the move. If he placed them fast, they owed him a favor, and because they were going to seek to move, they would have to keep coming back to him. Therefore, they were "his" candidates and represented possible future alliances.

Territorial control and domain concerns were also behind much of the treatment of secretaries at Indsco, as we saw in Chapter 4; but now it also becomes clear that relatively powerless bosses are likelier to be the ones who try to keep strong personal control over secretaries. Those secretaries who were encouraged by their bosses to seek promotions out of the secretarial ranks tended to work for the more powerful bosses.

The behavioral responses of powerless "leaders" to their situations, then, in controlling behavior, rules-mindedness, and territoriality, could make the conditions of work less satisfying for subordinates. To seek a more powerful leader could also be a way of seeking a more empowering, freedom-enhancing environment.

CYCLES OF POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

Power rises and falls on the basis of complex exigencies: the organizational situation, environmental pressures, the simultaneous actions of others. However, in terms of individual behavior at least, power is likely to bring more power, in ascending cycles, and powerlessness to generate powerlessness, in a descending cycle. The powerful have "credibility" behind their actions, so they have the capacity to get things done. Their alliances help them circumvent the more restricting aspects of the bureaucracy. They are able to be less coercive or rules-bound in their exercise of leadership, so their subordinates and clients are more likely to cooperate. They have the security of power, so they can be more generous in allowing subordinates power of their own, freedom of action. We come full circle. The powerful are not only given material and symbolic advantage but they are also provided with circumstances that can make them more effective mobilizers of other people. Thus they can accomplish and, through their accomplishments, generate more power. This means they can build alliances, with other people as colleagues rather than threats, and through their alliances generate more power.

The powerless are caught in a downward spiral. The coping mechanisms of low power are also those most likely to provoke resistance and further restriction of power. The attitudes of powerlessness get translated downward, so that those under a low-power leader can also become ineffective. There was this vicious circle at Indsco: A young trainee was assigned to a "chronic complainer" of a manager, who had had organizational problems and had fallen well below the level of peers in his cohort. The trainee was talented but needed to be channeled. The manager's negativism began to transfer down to the trainee, and the young man started to lose his motivation. Nothing was done to correct the atmosphere. He became less motivated and more critical of the organization. He vented his hostility in nonconformist ways (long hair, torn clothes, general disrespect for people and things). Then people began to reinforce his negativity by focusing on what they observed: he's a "wise guy." They observed the symptoms but never looked at the real problem: the manager's situation. Finally, the trainee resigned just before he would have been terminated. Everyone breathed a sign of relief that the "problem" was gone. The manager lost even more credibility. This just reinforced his negativity and his coerciveness.

Since the behavioral responses of the powerless tend to be so ineffective as leadership styles, it would be the last rather than the first solution of most organizations to give such ineffective people more power or more responsibility. Yet all the indicators point to the negative effects of behavior that come from too little power, such as rules-mindedness and close supervision. Chris Argyris has noted that alienation and low morale accompany management's praise for the reliable (rules-obedient) rather than the enterprising (risk-taking) worker. Studies have shown that turnover varies with the degree to which supervisors structure tasks in advance and demand compliance, absenteeism with the tendency of supervisors to be "directive" and maintain close and detailed control. Yet when supervisors at Sears, Roebuck had responsibility for so many people that they could not watch any one person closely, employees responded to this greater latitude with greater job satisfaction.[40] So perhaps it is meaningful to suggest interrupting the cycle of powerlessness: to empower those in low-power situations by increasing their opportunities and their latitude rather than to continue to punish them for their ineffectiveness, reinforcing their powerless state of mind.

"Power" in organizations, as I am using the term, is synonymous with autonomy and freedom of action. The powerful can afford to risk more, and they can afford to allow others their freedom. The bureaucratic machinery of modern organizations means that there are rather few people who are really powerful. Power has become a scarce resource that most people feel they lack. Although the scramble for political advantage still distinguishes relative degrees of power, the organization places severe limits on everyone's freedom of action. The powerful get more, but they still share some of the mentality of powerlessness.

And women, in large hierarchical organizations, are especially often caught in the cycles of powerlessness.

WOMEN AND POWER IN ORGANIZATIONS

My analysis of the importance of power in large organizations and the behavioral consequences of powerlessness for management styles can help to explain some familiar clichés about women's lack of potential for organizational leadership: "No one wants to work for a woman"; and "Women are too rigid and controlling to make good bosses anyway."

Preference for Men = Preference for Power

There is considerable evidence for a general cultural attitude that men make better leaders. A large number of studies have concluded that neither men nor women want to work for a woman (although women are readier to do so than men). In a 1965 survey of 1,000 male and 900 female executives, among *Harvard Business Review* readers, over two-thirds of the men and nearly one-fifth of the women reported that they themselves would not feel comfortable working for a woman. Very few of either sex (9 percent of the men and 15 percent of the women) thought that *men* felt comfortable working for a woman, and a proportion of the male respondents said that women did not belong in executive positions at all. A total of 51 percent of the men responded that women were "temperamentally unfit" for management, writing in gratuitous comments such as, "They scare male executives half to death. . . . As for an efficient woman manager, this is cultural blasphemy. . . ." [41] In the survey of nonexempts at Indsco, these workers, too, overwhelmingly agreed with the statement that "men make better supervisors." And they did so while also rejecting the idea that it was "unacceptable" or "unfeminine" for a woman to be a manager, as Table 7–1 indicates. Women managers were aware of this attitude. One woman at Indsco showed me a poster which she considered indicative; it was large and painted in dark, rather foreboding tones. Most of the poster was taken up by the head of a man wearing a workman's cap; he was saying furtively into a telephone, "I just quit. The new boss is a woman."

Yet when it comes to evaluating concrete leadership styles, as used by men or by women outside of organizations, research has found that there is no strong preference for men or general tendency to perceive men and women differently. In one study subjects were asked to make judgments about male and female leaders exhibiting a variety of styles. The evaluations of men and women did not differ significantly on most variables, including such critical ones as "production emphasis," but there was a tendency to give higher ratings to men than to women when they "initiated structure" and higher ratings to women than men when they showed "consideration," demonstrating some propensity for raters to "reward" people for sex-stereotypical behavior. Another study used a different set of categories but had nearly identical results. Students and bank supervisors judged stories involving male and female leaders using four different styles. The "reward" style was rated somewhat more effective when used by men, but the "friendly-dependent" style (which the researchers hoped would capture a female stereotype) was rated high for *either* sex when used with the opposite sex. The use of "threat" was considered ineffective for both sexes, though there was a slight but not significant tendency to let men get away with it more than women. It has also been found that people who have once worked for a woman boss are more likely than those who never have to be favorably disposed toward women leaders.[42] And women, as Table 7–1 above showed, are slightly more accepting of the idea of women supervisors and managers than are men. Thus, sex preferences in general seem to play only a very small role, if any, in responding to the style of any specific leader.

TABLE 7–1

Attitudes of Nonexempt Employees at Indsco about Women as Supervisors

	Mean rating of agreement with statement on 9-point scale, with 1 = strongly disagree 9 = strongly agree	
	Men (N = 23)	Women (N = 88)
1. "Men make better supervisors."	7.92	6.50 *
2. "It is acceptable for a man to be competitive, but not a woman."	3.51	3.22
3. "A woman cannot be a supervisor and feminine as well."	3.30	3.10

* The difference between the ratings of men and women on this statement was statistically significant ($p < .05$).
(Figures reported with the permission of G. Homall)

Theories saying that women handle power differently from men, that men are the instrumental leaders, oriented toward competition and domination through nature or childhood training, also do not match the realities of adult life in organizations. By the age of ten, for example, leadership in groups does not reflect the use of different strategies of persuasion by females and males. Nor does either sex seem more naturally cooperative or susceptible to social influence from peers.[43] There is as yet no research evidence that makes a case for sex differences in either leadership aptitude or style. A wide variety of investigations, from field studies of organizations to paper-and-pencil tests, indicates that the styles of men and women vary over the same range and that there are no conclusive sex-related strategies.[44] (See Appendix II for some examples of field observations.) In an organizational simulation using college students, Kay Bartol found that sex of the leader did not by itself affect follower satisfaction, even when female leaders were characterized by high dominance, a trait most likely to "offend" male subordinates.[45] In fact, if sex stereotypes were true, then an argument could be made for the greater capacity of women for leadership roles in organizations, given socialization experiences emphasizing "people-handling" skills. One study showed that members of a business school class ranking high on "masculine" interests, power seeking, and aggressiveness met with less success in large organizations than those with more "feminine" interests in interpersonal relations.

If the much greater desire for men as leaders in organizations does not reflect real sex differences in style and strategy, what does it reflect? As we have seen, people often prefer the *powerful* as leaders. As the Pelz studies at Detroit Edison showed, good human relations skills and sensitivity but low power (a likely combination for women leaders in sexist organizations) could have negative effects on morale.[46] Thus, a *preference for men is a preference for power,* in the context of organizations where women do not have access to the same opportunities for power and efficacy through activities or alliances.

As in the old cliché, everyone likes a winner; in large organizations at least, people would rather work for winners than losers. Perhaps a preference for male managers reflects a "bet" that men are more likely to emerge as winners and power-holders than women. One clever social psychological experiment offers suggestive evidence. Judges were asked to rate paintings supposedly produced by either a man or a woman, with sex of artist varied for different judges. In one condition the paintings were presented as entries in a contest; in a second they were the winning paintings. The women presented as attempting to accomplish were judged less favorably than the men, but those whose paintings had succeeded were evaluated just as favorably.[47] In the great corporate contest, then, subordinates may be "betting" on who is going to be a winner when they respond differently to the idea of women or men as bosses. It is as though followers extend "credit" in the present for imagined future payoffs. This is reminiscent of the Mark Twain tale of the Englishman with the million-pound note. He made a bet with a wealthy man that he could live well forever just on the strength of the note and without using it. Credit was given to him; people vied with each other to supply his wants; and they graciously picked up the bills. He became wealthy and successful—and he never had to cash in the million-pound note. The power that devolved on star performers backed by sponsors at Indsco worked in much the same way. The problem with women was that, first, there were doubts about how far they could go in the corporation, and second, a widespread belief that women could only be individual "movers"—i.e., even if they moved, they could not take anyone else with them.

But power wipes out sex. A woman who does acquire power stops arousing the same level of concern about whether or not she will be wanted as a leader. People who want to attach themselves to power may not even notice sex. On one occasion, a senior Indsco salesman told a long story to colleagues about a problem with a "very, very smart, tough-minded" president of a small company. The president had made good friends among a number of senior Indsco people and therefore managed to get all kinds of concessions. The salesman had to bring this to an end, as well as tell this very powerful client that there would be no credit for the material that had failed when her customers, in turn, used it. . . . It took a long time for the audience to this story to realize that the salesman was saying "she." Some even interjected comments using "he." The salesman presented the story with such awe of the powerful customer that sex made no difference. He said later that she was someone he would eagerly work for.

The "Mean and Bossy Woman Boss" Stereotype

The other issue around women as organizational leaders also turns out to be a power issue. Perhaps the most blatant picture of the negative American stereotype of a woman boss appeared on the cover of *MBA* magazine in March 1972. *MBA*, distributed to business school students and faculty, devoted this issue, as its blurb indicated, to "Women in Business!" Shown on the cover is a Roy Lichtenstein-style comic-cartoon head of a sultry blond woman with blue eyes, bright red lips, and a low-cut, cleavage-revealing dress. Head thrown back snottily, she is saying, "You're fired!"[48]

And that's what women bosses supposedly do with their authority. No wonder no one wants one.

Abuse of power is only the first in a long list of negative characteristics attributed to women managers over the last few decades by those who don't want them. One survey of 521 young working women just before World War II uncovered so much hostility toward women bosses that even the author, Donald Laird (who thought women belonged behind a typewriter), had to conclude that there was overreaction.[49] Of the women workers, 99.81 percent said they preferred a male boss for reasons such as the following:

1. Women bosses are too jealous. Their positions go to their heads. They boss for the mere sake of bossing, to remind you they are in charge.
2. Women bosses take things too personally. They are not businesslike.
3. Women bosses are overly concerned with efficiency and routine details. They are slaves to the system. They bother about small, petty things.
4. Women bosses supervise too closely. They delegate only superficially.
5. Women bosses find more fault. They are too critical.
6. Women bosses scream to impress people with their importance.

One less prejudiced woman, who had worked for both men and women, reflected on her experiences:

> The two women bosses I've had were very lovely people and were good bosses so far as women bosses go . . . but most women bosses have [this fault, which I call] "old-maid thinking." It is eternally thinking in terms of details, not in terms of the big thing—more interested in the details of the means than in the general significance of the results. A man [gives] me a job to do, and he'll let me do it and not ask how and why and did I check with an "x" or a "v"—which is wasting time and makes me want to yell. Further, a woman boss is so everlastingly curious about my personal business: "when, how many, how late, and who" about my own social affairs. A man doesn't give a hoot just as long as I'm on the job and on my toes when I'm on it.[50]

Laird himself concluded that women make poor supervisors in factories, offices, and even at home because of their tendency to "henpeck" and become too bossy. For evidence he cited, without specific reference, a study showing that being "too dictatorial" was a fault in twice as many women as men in the general population.

Burleigh Gardner, a human relations expert also writing during the war, when women entered formerly closed jobs, found similar complaints by both men and women about women bosses, although he felt that the system forced women into positions where they were likely to fail. His respondents said that women were too emotional, unfriendly, critical, strict, and petty. The National Manpower Council's report on "Womanpower" in the 1950s concluded that women supervisors were said to be more demanding and controlling of subordinates as well as guilty of partiality and discrimination. British surveys show the same thing.[51] And this refrain echoed through my interviews at Indsco.

Stereotypes persist even in the face of evidence negating them. The *real* extent of bossiness among women in authority in organizations may have little to do with the persistence of the stereotype, but this particular portrait has one very important characteristic: *It is a perfect picture of people who are powerless. Powerlessness tends to produce those very characteristics attributed to women bosses.*

A careful look at comparisons between men and women supposedly in the same position shows that what looks like sex differences may really be power differences. It has been hard to test this directly, partly because there are so few women managers, especially in the same organizational positions as men. (Rarity itself, as we see in the next chapter, creates a very different situation for the person who is rare.) One recent investigation, however, did find an organizational setting in which women leaders were more common: high school departments in Florida public schools. The research covered 205 teachers and 40 department heads (25 male and 15 female) in small departments with a roughly equal sex distribution. The first interesting finding was that on the usual measures of leadership style (like taking action, providing emotional support, and so forth), operating styles could not be distinguished by sex. However, there was one statistically significant sex-linked difference in group climate: there was a slightly greater tendency for women leaders to be perceived as generating a tight and controlled atmosphere. Departments headed by men were perceived as slightly higher in "esprit and intimacy"—a good indicator of morale; those headed by women, in "hindrance"—an indicator that the leader was thought to get in the way, to intrude too much, rather than to promote subordinates' autonomy and flexibility.[52] In short, the research uncovered a watered-down version of the bossiness complaint. Where could it have come from?

The difference in atmosphere in the woman-run departments can be traced directly to differences in organizational power of the men and women leaders, although the author of the research did not see this. Mobility prospects, the likelihood that department heads would be moving up in the system, were strikingly different for the men and women in this set of high schools. For one thing, there were no women *above* the level of department head in the whole county. Second, the women seemed to have moved to their last position. They had risen into the headship more slowly than the men; they were older, had put in more time teaching, and had spent a longer time in their previous jobs. At the same time, they had more limited aspirations; one-seventh of the women, in contrast to half of the men, expressed a desire for further promotions. Thus, the men and the women managers were not really in comparable positions. The women were much less mobile and much more powerless. And the powerless are handicapped in leadership.

Women at Indsco in exempt positions where they had organizational accountability or leadership responsibilities were differentially in the most powerless situations. They were primarily first-line supervisors of secretaries or clerical workers or they held staff jobs in personnel or public relations functions. There were no other women with line responsibilities and no women above grade 14, with the exception of a senior researcher. They were more likely to lack powerful alliances, and they reported constantly having to fight off the tendency for the organization to "protect" them by encapsulating them in safe situations. Statistics on the distributions of men and women in organizational functions, reported in Chapter 1, make clear how common this situation is. Women, when they do achieve managerial or leadership positions, are clustered in the low-power situations. It should not be surprising if they adopt the behavior of the powerless.

It is not only their own relative power that determines the behavior of managers but also the behavior and feeling of powerlessness of those above and below. The relationship with their own superiors is important in shaping the responses of those who supervise too closely. One such generalization about where most women bosses are found is that they are located in tightly supervised and rules-conscious hierarchies. The "female" professions, like nursing, social work, and primary school teaching, all feature close supervisory hierarchies and concern with detail. Government agencies, where more women managers are found than in private business, epitomize bureaucracy in civil service structure, endless red tape, and concern with rules and regulations. Women managers in these settings are likely to themselves be subject to bossy bosses and may take this restriction of their power out on their own subordinates, perpetuating the style downward. Simultaneously, they learn bossiness as a leadership style from their own role models. In corporations like Indsco, where women managers are so rare as to be tokens (as we see in the next chapter), they themselves may be watched more closely, so that again the restriction of their own latitude of conduct may be transmitted to subordinates.

Simultaneously, powerless feelings of subordinates are translated upward to leaders. Most women managers are likely to manage relatively powerless subordinates: clerical workers, women factory workers, low-level personnel. Powerless subordinates may take out their own frustration in resistance to their managers, provoking them to adopt more coercive styles. The powerless may also resent a boss's advantage, particularly if they think that they could just as easily be the boss. One woman at Indsco who had not attended college was forthright about her hostility toward "credentialed" women brought in to manage her department as a result of affirmative action efforts, while she was still held back. She resented the special treatment they were getting. Women who are jealous of another woman's promotion and try to let her know she's really no better than they may instead provoke her to try to demonstrate her superiority and her control. This is the "lording it over us" behavior some women have complained of in women bosses. From the subordinate's perspective, it is hard to be generously happy about the success of someone getting a chance denied to you. From the boss's perspective, it is hard to share power with people who resent you. The combination of these two viewpoints produces controlling, directive bosses.

Furthermore, people who feel vulnerable and unsure of themselves, who are plunged into jobs without sufficient training or experience, regardless of the official authority they are given, are more likely to first adopt authoritarian-controlling leadership styles. The behavior attributed to women supervisors is likely to be characteristic of new and insecure supervisors generally. Gardner saw this in his World War II studies, when the demands of war production brought inexperienced women into formerly all-male positions. He observed that many people complained about the bossiness of women supervisors but concluded that newly promoted men given supervisory jobs without sufficient training also showed these tendencies.

> Any new supervisor who feels unsure of himself, who feels that his boss is watching him critically, is likely to demand perfect behavior and performance from his people, to be critical of minor mistakes, and to try too hard to please his boss. A woman supervisor, responding to the insecurity and uncertainty of her position as a woman, knowing that she is being watched both critically and doubtfully, feels obliged to try even harder. And for doing this she is said to be "acting just like a woman."[53]

Without the experience or confidence to permit the minor deviations from the rules that in fact make the system work and without enough knowledge and faith in outcomes to loosen control, new managers may be prone to be too directive, controlling, and details-oriented.

In a variety of ways, then, powerlessness stemming from organizational circumstance breeds a particular leadership style caricatured in the stereotype of the bossy woman. This style reflects the situation more than sex, however—if the stereotype carries even a grain of truth—for men who are powerless behave in just the same ways. As Elizabeth Janeway pointed out, "The *weak* are the second sex."[54]

The problem of power thus is critical to the effective behavior of people in organizations. Power issues occupy center stage not because individuals are greedy for more, but because some people are incapacitated without it.

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WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

POWER

by Rosabeth Moss Kanter

Summary and Excerpts

This classic article was one of the first syntheses of scientific research and years of practical experience inside organizations. Dr. Kanter uses a hypothetical name ' Indsco ' for a real firm to describe how leadership and power, particularly powerlessness can operate in large organizations. Some key excerpts:

" 'Power' is a loaded term. Its connotations tend to be more negative than positive, and it has multiple meanings. ... I am using 'power' in a sense that distinguishes it from hierarchical domination. As defined here, power is the ability to get things done,..."

" For the people called 'leaders' ,power was supposedly an automatic part of their functioning. ... but as everyone knew, power did not necessarily come automatically with the designation of leaders, with the delegation of formal authority. People often had to get it not from the official structure but from the more hidden political processes."

"At Indsco high 'peer acceptance' as managers put it, was necessary to any power base or career success. 'Individual performers' found their immediate accomplishments rewarded, but their careers stuck...because they had not built, nor were seen as capable of building, the kinds of connections necessary for success in ever more interdependent higher-level jobs. ... To become powerful, people must first be successful and receive recognition, but they must wear the respect with a lack of arrogance. They must not be me-oriented. Instead of protecting their secrets in order to stand taller than the crowd, they are willing to share successes. They help their peers....This is 'leader quality.' "

"The problems with absolute power, a total monopoly on power, lie in the fact that it renders everyone else powerless, ... People who have authority without system power are powerless. People held accountable for the results of others, whose formal role gives them the right to command but who lack informal political influence, access to resources, outside status, sponsorship, or mobility prospects, are rendered powerless in the organization."

"First-line supervisors in highly routinized functions often are functionally powerless. ... Occupants of certain staff jobs were similarly organizationally powerless. They had no line authority and were dependent on managers to implement their decisions and carry out their recommendations. ... Regardless of their function people could also be rendered powerless if their own management did not extend opportunities for power downward-- if their situations did not permit them to take risks, ...There seemed to be a consensus at Indsco that superiors who solved problems themselves or tried to do the job themselves disempowered the managers or professionals under them. ... Anyone who is protected loses power, for successes are then attributed to the helpful actions of others, rather than the person's own actions, Women complain about the 'people who want to move walls for me instead of saying, 'Hey, here's a wall. Let's strategize working through it.' "

"Powerlessness was also the psychological state of people who, for whatever reason, felt insecure in their functioning as leaders and anticipated resistance rather than cooperation from those whom they were to lead. Indeed, the structural characteristics of modern organizational life tend to produce the symptoms of powerlessness in more and more...managers... and professionals".

"Psychoanalyst Karen Horney, in *The Neurotic Personality of Out Time,* described people's neurotic attempt to dominate when they feel anxious or helpless, inferior or insignificant. ... Some degree of power, in the sense of mastery and control over one's fate, is necessary for feelings of self-esteem and well-being,..."

"...powerlessness coupled with accountability, with responsibility for results dependent on the actions of others, provokes a cautious, low-risk, play-it-safe attitude. ... the powerless hang on to rules,..."

"...people respond to the restrictiveness of their own situation by behaving restrictively toward others. ... Thus the relatively powerless in positions of organizational authority also have reason to be more controlling and coercive. ... it [can become] a vicious cycle: powerless authority figures who use coercive tactics provoke resistance and aggression, which prompts them to become even more coercive, controlling, and behaviorally restrictive."

"In response to organizational insignificance, officials turn to their own small territory, their own little piece of the system--their subordinates, their function, their expertise. They guard their domain jealously. They narrow their interests to focus exclusively on it. They try to insulate and protect it and to prevent anyone else from engaging in similar activities without their approval or participation as the 'experts.' Another organizational cycle is set in motion. As each manager protects his or her domain, the sense of helplessness and powerlessness of other administrators in intersecting units increases. They, in turn, may respond by redoubling their domination over their territory and their workers. The result can be 'sub-optimization': each subgroup optimizing only its own goals and forgetting about wider system interests."

POWER AND GENDER

"There is considerable evidence for a general cultural[U.S.A.] attitude that men make better leaders. ... The much greater desire for men as leaders in organizations does not reflect real sex differences in style and strategy, ... a *preference for men is a preference for power,* in the context of organizations where women do not have access to the same opportunities for power and efficacy through activities or alliances. ... But power wipes out sex[differences]. A woman who does acquire power stops creating the same level of concern about whether or not she will be wanted as a leader. ... In a variety of ways, then, powerlessness...breeds a particular leadership style caricatured in the stereotype of the bossy woman. This style reflects the situation more than sex, however -- if the stereotype carries even a grain of truth -- men who are powerless behave in just the same ways."

These excerpts were selected by the Leadership Program faculty. The full text can be found in Men and Women of the Corporation. Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. Basic Books: NewYork, 1977, pp.165-205.

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WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

Leadership: The Art of Empowering Others

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> *"One ought to be both feared and loved, but as it is difficult for the two to go together, it is much safer to be feared than loved . . . for love is held by a chain of obligation which, men being selfish, is broken whenever it serves their purpose; but fear is maintained by a dread of punishment which never fails."*
>
> *The Prince*, Niccolo Machiavelli

In his handbook, *The Prince*, Machiavelli assures his readers — some being aspiring leaders, no doubt — that only by carefully amassing power and building a fearsome respect could one become a great leader. While the shadowy court life of 16th-century Italy demanded such treachery to ensure one's power, it seems hard to imagine Machiavelli's advice today as anything but a historical curiosity. Yet, interestingly, much of the management literature has focused on the strategies and tactics that managers can use to increase their own power and influence.[1] As such, a Machiavellian quality often pervades the literature, encouraging managers to ensure that their power base is strong and growing. At the same time a small but increasing number of management theorists have begun to explore the idea that organizational effectiveness also depends on the sharing of power — that the distribution of power is more important than the hoarding of power.[2]

While the idea of making others feel more powerful contradicts the stereotype of the all-powerful executive, research suggests that the traditional ways of explaining a leader's influence may not be entirely correct. For example, recent leadership studies argue that the practice of empowering — or instilling a sense of power — is at the root of organizational effectiveness, especially during times of transition and transformation.[3] In addition, studies of power and control within organizations indicate that the more productive forms of organizational power increase with superiors' sharing of power and responsibility with subordinates.[4] And while there is an increasing awareness of this need for more empowering leadership, we have only recently started to see documentation about the actual practices that leaders employ to effectively build a sense of power among organizational members as well as the contexts most suited for empowerment practices.[5]

In this article, I will explore these practices further by drawing upon a recent study of senior executives who proved themselves highly effective leaders. They were selected by a panel of professors at the Harvard Business School and management consultants who were well acquainted with them and their companies. The study included eight chief executive officers and executive vice-presidents of *Fortune* 500 companies and successful entrepreneurial firms, representing industries as diverse as telecommunications, office automation, retail banking, beverages, packaged foods, and management consulting. In each case, these individuals were responsible for either the creation of highly successful companies or for performing what were described as remarkable turnarounds. During my study of these executives, I conducted extensive interviews, observed them on the job, read company and other documents, and talked with their colleagues and subordinates. While the study focused on the broader issue of leadership styles, intensive interviews with these executives and their subordinates revealed that many were characterized as empowering leaders. Their actions were perceived as building confidence and restoring a sense of personal power and self-efficacy during difficult organizational transitions. From this study, I identified certain organizational contexts of powerlessness and management practices derived to remedy them.

In this article I will also illustrate several of these practices through a series of vignettes. While the reader may recognize some of the basic ideas behind these practices (such as providing greater opportunities for initiative), it is often the creative manner in which the leader deploys the particular practice that distinguishes them. The reader will discover how they have been carefully tailored to fit the context at hand. I might add, however, that these practices represent just a few of the broad repertoire of actions that leaders can take to make an empowering difference in their organizations.

A Word About Empowerment

We can think of empowerment as the act of strengthening an individual's beliefs in his or her sense of effectiveness. In essence, then, empowerment is not simply a set of external actions; it is a process of changing the internal beliefs of people.[6] We know from psychology that individuals believe themselves powerful when they feel they can adequately cope with environmental demands — that is, situations, events, and people they confront. They feel powerless when they are unable to cope with these demands. Any management practice that increases an individual's sense of self-determination will tend to make that individual feel more powerful. The theory behind these ideas can be traced to the work of Alfred Bandura, who conceptualized the notion of self-efficacy beliefs and their role in an individual's sense of personal power in the world.[7]

From his research in psychology, Bandura identified four means of providing empowering information to others: (1) through positive emotional support during experiences associated with stress and anxiety, (2) through words of encouragement and positive persuasion, (3) by observing others' effectiveness — in other words, having models of success with whom people identified — and (4) by actually experiencing the mastering of a task with success (the most effective source). Each of these sources of empowerment was used by the study executives and will be identified in the practice examples, as will other sources identified by organizational researchers.

Several Empowering Management Practices

Before describing the actual practices, it is important to first draw attention to an underlying attitude of the study participants. These empowering leaders shared a strong underlying belief in their subordinates' abilities. It is essentially the Theory Y argument;[8] if you believe in people's abilities, they will come to believe in them. All the executives in the study believed that their subordinates were capable of managing their current situations. They did not employ wholesale firings as a means of transforming their organizations. Rather, they retained the majority of their staff and moved those who could not perform up to standard to positions where they could. The essential lesson is that an assessment of staff skills is imperative before embarking on a program of empowerment. This basic belief in employees' abilities underlies the following examples of management practices designed to empower. We will begin with the practice of providing positive emotional support.

1. *The Squirt-gun Shootouts: Providing a Positi Emotional Atmosphere.* An empowering practice th emerged from the study was that of providing positive em tional support, especially through play or drama. For exan ple, every few months, several executives would stage dr matic "up sessions" to sustain the motivation and exciteme of their staff. They would host an afternoon-long, or a one- two-day event devoted solely to confidence building. Th event would open with an uplifting speech about the futur followed by a special, inspirational speaker. At these even there would often be films meant to build excitement confidence — for example, a film depicting a mounta climber ascending a difficult peak. The message being co veyed is that this person is finding satisfaction in the work or she does at an extraordinary level of competence. The would also be rewards for exceptional achievements. The sessions acted as ceremonies to enhance the personal stat and identity of employees and revive the common feelin that binded them together.[9]

An element of play appears to be especially liberatir in situations of great stress and demoralization. In the stud examples, play allowed for the venting of frustrations and turn permitted individuals to regain a sense of control stepping back from their pressures for a moment. As Ba dura suggests, the positive emotional support provided something like play alleviates, to some extent, concer about personal efficacy.[10]

For example, one of the subjects of the study, E Jackson, was appointed the head of a troubled divisio Demand had outstripped the division's ability to mainta adequate inventories, and product quality had slipped. Jac son's predecessors were authoritarian managers, and subc dinates were demoralized as well as paranoid about keepi their jobs. As one told me, "You never knew who would shot next." Jackson felt that he had to break the tension i way that would allow his staff to regain their sense of contr and power. He wanted to remove the stiffness and paran and turn what subordinates perceived as an impossible ta into something more fun and manageable.

So, I was told, at the end of his first staff meeti Jackson quietly pulled out a squirt-gun and blasted one of managers with water. At first, there was a moment stunned silence, and then suddenly the room was flood with laughter. He remarked with a smile, "You gotta ha fun in this business. It's not worth having your stomach ulcers." This began a month of squirt-gun fights betwe Jackson and his managers.

The end result? A senior manager's comment representative: "He wanted people to feel comfortable, feel in control. He used waterguns to do that. It was a ga It took the stiffness out of the business, allowed people play in a safe environment — as the boss says, 'to have fun This play restored rapport and morale. But Jackson also kn when to stop. A senior manager told me, "We haven't us waterguns in nine months. It has served its purpose. . . . T waterfights were like being accepted into a club. Once achieved its purpose, it would have been overdone."

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Interview after interview with subordinates confirmed the effectiveness of the squirt-gun incident. It had been experienced as an empowering ritual. In most contexts, this behavior would have been abusive. Why did it work? Because it is a management practice that fit the needs of subordinates at the appropriate time.

The executive's staff consisted largely of young men, "rough and ready" individuals who could be described as fun-loving and playful. They were accustomed to an informal atmosphere and operated in a very down-to-earth style. Jackson's predecessor, on the other hand, had been stiff and formal.

Jackson preferred to manage more informally. He wanted to convey, quickly and powerfully, his intentions of managing in a style distinct from his predecessor's. He was concerned, however, that his size — he is a very tall, energetic, barrel-chested man — as well as his extensive background in manufacturing would be perceived as intimidating by his young staff and increase their reluctance to assume initiative and control. Through the squirt-gun fights, however, he was able to (1) relieve a high level of tension and restore some sense of control, (2) emphasize the importance of having fun in an otherwise trying work environment, and (3) direct subordinates' concerns away from his skills and other qualities that intimidated them. It was an effective management practice because he understood the context. In another setting, it might have been counter-productive.

2. *The "I Make a Difference" Club: Rewarding and Encouraging in Visible and Personal Ways.* The majority of executives in the study rewarded the achievements of their staffs by expressing personal praise and rewarding in highly visible and confidence-building ways. They believed that people appreciated recognition of their hard work and success. Rewards of high incentive value were particularly important, especially those of personal recognition from the leader. As Rosabeth Kanter notes, a sense of power comes ". . . when one has relatively close contact with sponsors (higher level people who confer approval, prestige, or backing)."[11] Combined with words of praise and positive encouragement, such experiences become important sources of empowerment.

The executives in the study took several approaches to rewards. To reward exceptional performance, one executive established the "I Make a Difference Club." Each year, he selects two or three staff members to be recognized for their excellence on the job. It is a very exclusive club, and only the executive knows the eligibility rules, which are based on outstanding performance. Inductees are invited to dinner in New York City but are not told beforehand that they are about to join the "I Make a Difference Club." They arrive and meet with other staff members whom they believe are there for a staff dinner. During dinner, everyone is asked to speak about what is going on in his or her part of the company. The old-timers speak first, followed by the inductees (who are still unaware of their coming induction). Only after they have given their speeches are they informed that they have just joined the club. As one manager said, "It's one of the most wonderful moments in life."

This executive and others also make extensive use personal letters to individuals thanking them for their effor and projects. A typical letter might read, "Fred, I wou personally like to thank you for your contribution to _____ and I want you to know that I appreciate it." Lunches ar dinners are hosted for special task accomplishments.

Public recognition is also employed as a means rewarding. As one subordinate commented about his bos

> *"He will make sure that people know that so and so did an excellent job on something. He's superb on giving people credit. If the person has done an exceptional job on a task or project, he will be given the opportunity to present his or her findings all the way to the board. Six months later, you'll get a call from a friend and learn that he has dropped your name in a speech that you did well. It makes you want to do it again."*

I found that the investment in rewards and recogn tion made by many of these executives is unusually hig consuming a significant portion of their otherwise busy da Yet the payoff appeared high. In interviews, subordinat described these rewards as having an empowering impa on them.

To understand why some of these rewards proved t be so successful, one must understand their organization contexts. In some cases, the organizations studied were qui large, if not enormous. The size of these organizations di little to develop in employees a sense of an "I" — let alone a "I" that makes a difference. It was easy for organizatio members to feel lost in the hierarchy and for their achieve ments to be invisible, for recognition not to be received f personal contributions. The study's executives countere this tendency by institutionalizing a reward system that pr vided visibility and recognition — for example, the "I Make Difference Club," presentations to the Board, and name dropped in speeches. Suddenly, you as a member of a larg organization stood out — you were special.

Outstanding performance from each of the execu tives' perspectives was also something of a necessity. All th executives had demanding goals to achieve. As such, the had to tend to subordinates' sense of importance and co tribution. They had to structure reward systems that woul keep people "pumped up" — that would ensure that the confidence and commitment would not be eroded by th pressures placed on them.

3. *"Praising the Troops": Expressing Confidence.* Th empowering leaders in the study spent significant amoun of time expressing their confidence in subordinates' abilitie Moreover, they expressed their confidence through each day — in speeches, in meetings, and casually in offic hallways. Bandura comments that "people who are pe suaded verbally that they possess the capabilities to maste given tasks are likely to mobilize greater sustained effort tha if they harbor self-doubts and dwell on personal deficiencie when difficulties arise."[12]

A quote from Irwin Federman, CEO of Monolithic Memories, a highly successful high-tech company, captures the essence and power of a management practice that builds on this process:

> *"If you think about it, we love others not for who they are, but for how they make us feel. In order to willingly accept the direction of another individual, it must make you feel good to do so. . . . If you believe what I'm saying, you cannot help but come to the conclusion that those you have followed passionately, gladly, zealously — have made you feel like somebody . . . . This business of making another person feel good in the unspectacular course of his daily comings and goings is, in my view, the very essence of leadership."*[13]

This proactive attitude is exemplified by Bob Jensen. Bob assumed control of his bank's retail operations after a reorganization that transferred away the division's responsibility for large corporate clients. Demoralized by a perceived loss in status and responsibility, branch managers were soon asking, "Where's our recognition?" Bob, however, developed an inspiring strategic vision to transform the operation. He then spent much of his time championing his strategy and expressing his confidence in employees' ability to carry it out. Most impressive was his personal canvass of some 175 retail branches.

As he explained,

> *"I saw that the branch system was very down, morale was low. They felt like they'd lost a lot of their power. There were serious problems and a lot of staff were just hiding. What I saw was that we really wanted to create a small community for each branch where customers would feel known. To do that, I needed to create an attitude change. I saw that the attitudes of the branch staff were a reflection of the branch manager. The approach then was a manageable job — now I had to focus on only 250 people, the branch managers, rather than the 3,000 staff employees out there. I knew I had to change their mentality from being lost in a bureaucracy to feeling like the president of their own bank. I had to convince them they were special — that they had the power to transform the organization. . . . All I did was talk it up. I was up every night. In one morning, I hit 17 branches. My goal was to sell a new attitude. To encourage people to 'pump iron.' I'd say, 'Hi, how's business?', encourage them. I'd arrange tours of the branches for the chairman on down. I just spent a lot of time talking to these people — explaining that they were the ones who could transform the organization."*

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It was an important tactic — one that made branch managers feel special and important. It was countercultural. As one executive told me, "Bob woul out into the field to visit the operations, which was unusual for senior people in this industry." His visits he ened the specialness that branch managers felt. In addi Bob modeled self-confidence and personal success - important tactic to build a sense of personal effective among subordinates.[14]

I also watched Jack Eaton, president of a reg telephone company, praise his employees in large corp gatherings, in executive council meetings, and in c. encounters. He explained his philosophy:

> *"I have a fundamental belief and trust in the ability and conscientiousness of others. I have a lot of good people. You can turn them loose, let them feel good about their accomplishments. . . . You ought to recognize accomplishment as well as build confidence. I generally do it in small ways. If someone is doing well, it's important to express your confidence to that person — especially among his peers. I tend to do it personally. I try to be genuine. I don't throw around a lot of b.s."*

This practice proved especially important during the tr tion of the regional phone companies away from the pa organization.

4. *"President of My Own Bank": Fostering Init. and Responsibility.* Discretion is a critical power compo of any job.[15] By simply fostering greater initiative and res sibility in subordinates' tasks, a leader can empower or zational members. Bob Jensen, the bank executive, excellent example of how one leader created opportu for greater initiative despite the confines of his subordir positions. He transformed what had been a highly stricted branch manager's job into a branch "presic concept. The idea was simple — every manager was ma feel like the president of his own community bank, an just in title. Goals, compensation, and responsibilities all changed to foster this attitude. Existing measure systems were completely restructured. The value-of-fu generated had been the principal yardstick — some over which branch managers had only very limited co because of interest rate fluctuations. Managers were evaluated on what they could control — that is, dep Before, branch managers had rotated every couple of y Now they stayed put. "If I'm moving around, then I'r the president of my own bank, so we didn't move anymore," Jensen explained. He also decentralized res sibilities that had resided higher in the hierarchy — allc the branch manager to hire, give money to charities, a on. In addition, a new ad agency was hired to mar occasion, and TV ads were made showing the branch agers being in charge, rendering personal services t selves. The branch managers even thought up the ad

What Jensen did so skillfully was recognize that his existing managers had the talent and energy to turn their operations around successfully, but that their sense of power was missing. He recognized their pride had been hurt and that he needed to restore a sense of ownership and self-importance. He had to convince his managers through increased authority that they were no longer "pawns" of the system — that they were indeed "presidents" of their own banks.

Another example — this one demonstrating a more informal delegation of initiative — was quite surprising. The setting was a highly successful and rapidly growing computer firm, and the study participant was the vice-president of manufacturing. The vice-president had recently been hired away from another firm and was in the process of revamping manufacturing. During the process, he discovered that his company's costs on its terminal video monitors were quite high. However, he wanted his staff to discover the problem for themselves and to "own" the solution. So one day, he placed behind his desk a black-and-white Sony TV with a placard on top saying $69.95. Next to it he placed a stripped-down version of the company's monitor with a placard of $125.95. Both placards reflected the actual costs of the two products. He never said a word. But during the day as staff and department managers entered their boss's office, they couldn't help but notice the two sets. They quickly got the message that their monitor was costing twice as much as a finished TV set. Within a month, the manufacturing team had lowered the monitor's costs by 40%.

My first impression on hearing this story was that, as a subordinate, I would be hard pressed not to get the point and, more important, I would wonder why the boss was not more direct. Ironically, the boss appears to be hitting subordinates over the head with the problem. Out of context, then, this example hardly seems to make others feel more competent and powerful. Yet staff described themselves as "turned on" and motivated by this behavior. Why, I wondered? A little history will illustrate the effectiveness of this action.

The vice-president's predecessor had been a highly dictatorial individual. He tightly controlled his staff's actions and stifled any sense of discretion. Implicitly, his behavior said to subordinates. "You have no ideas of your own." He fired freely, leaving staff to feel that they had little choice in whether to accept his orders or not. By his actions, he essentially transformed his managers into powerless order-takers.

When the new vice-president arrived, he found a group of demoralized subordinates whom he felt were nonetheless quite talented. To restore initiative, he began to demonstrate the seriousness of his intentions in highly visible and symbolic ways. For example, rather than tell his subordinates what to do, he started by seeding ideas and suggestions in humorous and indirect ways. The TV monitor is only one of many examples. Through these actions, he was able eventually to restore a sense of initiative and personal competence to his staff. While these examples are illustrative of effective changes in job design, managers contemplating job enrichment would be well advised to consult the existing literature and research before undertaking major projects.[16]

5. *Early Victories: Building on Success.* Many of the executives in the study reported that they often introduced organizational change through pilot or otherwise small and manageable projects. They designed these projects to ensure early success for their organizations. For example instead of introducing a new sales structure nationwide, they would institute the change in one region; a new technology would have a pilot introduction at a single plant rather than systemwide. Subordinates described these early success experiences as strongly reinforcing their sense of power and efficacy. As Mike Beer argues:

> *"In order for change to spread throughout an organization and become a permanent fixture, it appears that early successes are needed. . . . When individuals, groups, and whole organizations feel more competent than they did before the change, this increased sense of competence reinforces the new behavior and solidifies learning associated with change."*[17]

An individual's sense of mastery through actual experience is the most effective means of increasing self-efficacy.[18] When subordinates are given more complex and difficult tasks, they are presented with opportunities to test their competence. Initial success experiences will make them feel more capable and, in turn, empowered. Structuring organizational changes to ensure initial successes builds on this principle.

Contexts of Powerlessness

The need to empower organizational members becomes more important in certain contexts. Thus, it is important to identify conditions within organizations that might foster a sense of powerlessness. Certain circumstances, for instance, appear to lower feelings of self-efficacy. In these cases, subordinates typically perceive themselves as lacking control over their immediate situation (e.g., a major reorganization threatens to displace responsibility and involves limited or no subordinate participation),[19] or lacking the required capability, resources, or discretion needed to accomplish a task (e.g., the development of new and difficult-to-learn skills for the introduction of a new technological process).[20] In either case, these experiences maximize feelings of inadequacy and lower self-confidence. They, in turn, appear to lessen motivation and effectiveness.

Exhibit 1 identifies the more common organizational factors that affect these self-efficacy or personal power beliefs and contribute to feelings of powerlessness. They include organizational factors, supervisory styles, reward systems, and job design.

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Exhibit 1

Context Factors Leading to Potential State of Powerlessness

Organizational Factors:

Significant organizational changes/transitions
Start-up ventures
Excessive, competitive pressures
Impersonal bureaucratic climate
Poor communications and limited network-forming systems
Highly centralized organizational resources

Supervisory Style:

Authoritarian (high control)
Negativism (emphasis on failures)
Lack of reason for actions/consequences

Reward Systems:

Noncontingency (arbitrary reward allocations)
Low incentive value of rewards
Lack of competence-based rewards
Lack of innovation-based rewards

Job Design:

Lack of role clarity
Lack of training and technical support
Unrealistic goals
Lack of appropriate authority/discretion
Low task variety
Limited participation in programs, meetings, and decisions that have a direct impact on job performance
Lack of appropriate/necessary resources
Lack of networking-forming opportunities
Highly established work routines
Too many rules and guidelines
Low advancement opportunities
Lack of meaningful goals/tasks
Limited contact with senior management

Source: Adapted from J. A. Conger and R. N. Kanungo, "The Empowerment Process: Integrating Theory and Practice," *Academy of Management Review*, July 1988.

For example, during a major organizational change, goals may change — often dramatically — to respond to the organization's new direction. Rules may no longer be clearly defined as the firm seeks new guidelines for action. Responsibilities may be dramatically altered. Power alliances may shift, leaving parts of the organization with a perceived loss of power or increasing political activity. Certain functional areas, divisions, or acquired companies may experience disenfranchisement as their responsibilities are felt to be diminished or made subordinate to others. As a result, employees' sense of competence may be seriously challenged as they face having to accept and acquire new responsibilities, skills, and management practices as well as deal with the uncertainty of their future.

In new venture situations, uncertainty often appears around the ultimate success of the company's strategy. A major role for leaders is to build an inspiring picture of the firm's future and convince organizational members of their ability to achieve that future. Yet, market lead times are often long, and tangible results may be slow in coming. Long work hours with few immediate rewards can diminish confidence. Frustration can build, and questions about the organization's future can arise. In addition, the start-up's success and responses to growth can mean constant change in responsibility, pushing managers into responsibilities where they have had little prior experience; thus, failure may be experienced initially as new responsibilities are learned. Entrepreneurial executives may be reluctant to relinquish their control as expansion continues.

Bureaucratic environments are especially conducive to creating conditions of powerlessness. As Peter Block points out, bureaucracy encourages dependency and submission because of its top-down contract between the organization and employees.[21] Rules, routines, and traditions define what can and cannot be done, allowing little room for initiative and discretion to develop. Employees' behavior is often guided by rules over which they have no say and which may no longer be effective, given the present-day context.

From the standpoint of supervision, authoritarian management styles can strip away subordinates' discretion and, in turn, a sense of power. Under an authoritarian manager, subordinates inevitably come to believe that they have little control — that they and their careers are subject to the whims or demands of their boss. The problem becomes acute when capable subordinates begin to attribute their powerlessness to internal factors, such as their own personal competence, rather than to external factors, such as the nature of the boss's temperament.

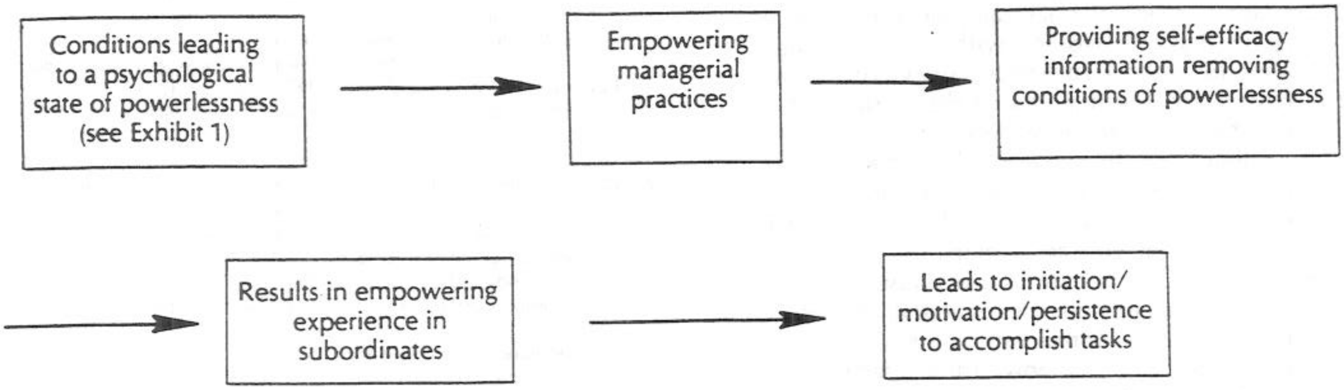
Rewards are another critical area for empowerment. Organizations that do not provide valued rewards or simply do not reward employees for initiative, competence, and innovation are creating conditions of powerlessness. Finally, jobs with little meaningful challenge, or jobs where the task is unclear, conflicting, or excessively demanding can lower employees' sense of self-efficacy.

Implications for Managers

Managers can think of the empowerment process as involving several stages.[22] Managers might want to begin by identifying for themselves whether any of the organizational problems and characteristics described in this article are present in their own firms. In addition, managers assuming new responsibilities should conduct an organizational diagnosis that clearly identifies their current situation, and possible problems and their causes. Attention should be aimed at understanding the recent history of the organization. Important questions to ask would be: What was my predecessor's supervisory style? Has there been a recent organizational change that negatively affected my subordinates? How is my

Exhibit 2

Stages of the Empowerment Process


Conditions leading to a psychological state of powerlessness (see Exhibit 1)
Empowering managerial practices
Providing self-efficacy information removing conditions of powerlessness
Results in empowering experience in subordinates
Leads to initiation/ motivation/persistence to accomplish tasks

Source: Adapted from J. A. Conger and R. N. Kanungo, "The Empowerment Process: Integrating Theory and Practice," *Academy of Management Review*, July 1988.

operation perceived by the rest of the corporation? Is there a sense of disenfranchisement? Am I planning to change significantly the outlook of this operation that would challenge traditional ways of doing things? How are people rewarded? e jobs designed to be motivating?

Once conditions contributing to feelings of powerlessness are identified, the managerial practices identified in this article and in the management literature can be used to provide self-efficacy information to subordinates. This information in turn can result in an empowering experience for subordinates and may ultimately lead to greater initiative, motivation, and persistence.

However, in applying these practices, it is imperative that managers tailor their actions to fit the context at hand. For example, in the case of an authoritarian predecessor, you are more likely to need praise and confidence-building measures and greater opportunities for job discretion. With demanding organizational goals and tasks, the practices of confidence building and active rewarding, an element of play, and a supportive environment are perhaps most appropriate. The specific character of each practice must necessarily vary somewhat to fit your particular situation. For instance, what makes many of the previous examples so important is that the executives responded with practices that organizational members could relate to or that fit their character — for instance, the television and squirt-gun examples. Unfortunately, much of today's popular management literature provides managers with tools to manage their subordinates, yet few highlight the importance of matching the practice to the appropriate context. Empowering is not a pill; it is not simply a technique, as many workshops and articles would lead us to believe. Rather, to be uly effective it requires an understanding of subordinates and one's organizational context.

Finally, although it is not as apparent in the examples themselves, each of the study executives set challenging and appealing goals for their organizations. This is a necessary component of effective and empowering leadership. If goals are not perceived as appealing, it is difficult to empower managers in a larger sense. As Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus argue: "Great leaders often inspire their followers to high levels of achievement by showing them how their work contributes to worthwhile ends. It is an emotional appeal to some of the most fundamental needs — the need to be important, to make a difference, to feel useful, to be part of a successful and worthwhile enterprise."[23] Such goals go hand in hand with empowering management practices. They were and are an integral part of the empowerment process I observed in the companies I studied.

A Word of Caution

In closing, it is important to add a note of caution. First of all, empowerment is not the complete or always the appropriate answer to building the confidence of managers. It can lead to overconfidence. A false sense of confidence in positive outcomes may lead employees and organizations to persist in what may, in actuality, prove to be tactical errors. Thus, a system of checks and balances is needed. Managers must constantly test reality and be alert to signs of "group think."

Some managers may be incapable of empowering others. Their own insecurities may prevent them from instilling a sense of power in subordinates. This is ironic, since often these are the individuals who need to develop such skills. Yet, as Kanter argues, "Only those leaders who feel secure about their own power outward . . . can see empowering subordinates as a gain rather than a loss."[24]

Certain situations may not warrant empowerment. For example, there are contexts where opportunities for greater initiative or responsibility simply do not exist and, in some cases, subordinates may be unwilling or unable to assume greater ownership or responsibility. As Lyman Porter, Edward Lawler, and Richard Hackman point out, research "strongly suggests that only workers with reasonably high strength of desire for higher-order need satisfaction . . . will respond positively and productively to the opportunities present in jobs which are high in meaning, autonomy, complexity, and feedback."[25] Others may not have the requisite experience or knowledge to succeed. And those given more than they are capable of handling may fail. The end result will be the opposite of what you are seeking — a sense of powerlessness. It is imperative that managers assess as accurately as possible their subordinates' capabilities before undertaking difficult goals and empowering them to achieve.

Second, certain of the empowerment practices described in this article are not appropriate for all situations. For example, managers of subordinates who require structure and direction are likely to find the example of the manager "seeding" ideas with the television set an ineffective practice. In the case of a pressing deadline or crisis, such seeding is inappropriate, given its longer time horizons.

When staging playful or unconventional events, the context must be considered quite carefully. What signals are you sending about yourself and your management philosophy? Like rewards, these events can be used to excess and lose their meaning. It is imperative to determine the appropriateness and receptivity of such practices. You may inadvertently mock or insult subordinates, peers, or superiors.

In terms of expressing confidence and rewarding, both must be done sincerely and not to excess. Praising for nonaccomplishments can make rewards meaningless. Subordinates may suspect that the boss is simply flattering them into working harder.

In general, however, empowerment practices are an important tool for leaders in setting and achieving higher goals and in moving an organization past difficult transitions.[26] But remember that they do demand time, confidence, an element of creativity, and a sensitivity to one's context to be effective. ■

Endnotes

1. See, for example, J. P. Kotter, *Power in Management*, New York: AMACOM, 1979, and J. Pfeffer, *Power in Organizations*, Marshfield, MA: Pitman, 1981.

2. See P. Block, *The Empowered Manager*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987; W. W. Burke, "Leadership as Empowering Others," in S. Srivastva (Ed.), *Executive Power*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986, pp. 51-77; and R. M. Kanter, *The Change Masters*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983.

3. W. Bennis and B. Nanus, *Leaders*, New York: Harper & Row, 1985; and R. M. Kanter, "Power Failure in Management Circuits," *Harvard Business Review*, July–August 1979, pp. 65-75.

4. See Kanter, Endnote 3; and A. S. Tannenbaum, *Control in Organizations*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

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6. See Conger and Kanungo, Endnote 5.

7. A. Bandura, "Self-Efficiency: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioral Change," *Psychological Review*, 1977, 84(2), pp. 191-215.

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11 See Kanter, Endnote 3, p. 66.

12. See Bandura, Endnote 10, p. 400.

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14. See Bandura, Endnote 10.

15. See Kanter, Endnote 3.

16. See J. R. Hackman, "The Design of Work in the 1980s," *Organizational Dynamics*, Summer 1978, pp. 3-17.

17. M. Beer, *Organizational Change and Development*, Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear, 1980, p. 64.

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20. See Kanter, Endnote 2.

21. See Block, Endnote 2.

22. See Conger and Kanungo, Endnote 5.

23. Bennis and Nanus, Endnote 13, p. 93.

24. See Kanter, Endnote 3, p. 73.

25. L. W. Porter, E. E. Lawler, and J. R. Hackman, *Behavior in Organizations*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, p. 306.

26. See N. M. Tichy and M. A. Devanna, *The Transformational Leader*, New York: John Wiley, 1986.

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Process & Content

All meetings and discussions are comprised of both process and content. The leader can have a strong vested interest in the outcome of the meeting. If so, the leader can best participate as a group member, contributing to the content.

In meetings the leader may have to respond to many questions and/or issues, and this may prevent she or he from being able to focus on both the process and content. The neutral facilitator – not accountable for the reults of the meeting – can therefore focus entirely on the process so that the leader and team members can contribute to the content.

Before making the decision on who will be faciliatating your meeting, it is important to have a clear understanding of the difference between process and content. Essentially the process is "the how" and the content is "the what": "How" is a meeting being run and "What" are the ideas resulting from it? A good analogy might help you to remember: In blowing a bubble, the chewing is the process and the gum is the content.

Process & Content Exercise

This short exercise will provide you with a better understanding of the difference between process and content.

Mark "P" for Process and "C" for Content

_____ I think we should brainstorm the possible options for ten minutes.

_____ My understanding is that the procedure will be implemented next week.

_____ Malcolm, would you please hold your comments until we get to the next item?

_____ I think we are moving to slowly; we're treading water.

_____ I like this plan of action.

_____ Jessica, will you ask the treasurer by Friday for the budget.

_____ Let's take the last 15 minutes to review our decisions and action plans.

_____ What are we doing now?

_____ Did you double check these figures?

All statements are P except numbers 2,5,6,9

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

Adapted from Zanger-Miller, 1989

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Goals for Personal Development Inventory

This form is designed to stimulate your thinking about your relationships with others and your skills in group situations. It is intended to facilitate you setting your own goals for development. The steps in using it:

1. Read through the list of activities and decide which ones you are doing the right amount of, which ones you should do more of, and which ones you should do less of. Make some check for each item in the appropriate place.
2. Some goals that are not listed may be more important to you than those listed. Write some goals on the blank lines.
3. Go back over the whole list and circle the numbers of the three or four activities at which you would like to improve most at this time.

Communication Skills	**OK**	**Need to MORE OF**	**Need to LESS OF**
• Talking in the group			
• Being brief and concise			
• Being forceful			
• Drawing others out			
• Listening alertly			
• Thinking before I talk			
• Keeping my remarks on the topic			
• ____________			

Observations Skills			
• Noting tension in the group			
• Noting who talks to whom			
• Noting interest level of the group			
• Sensing feelings of individuals			
• Noting who is being "left out"			
• Noting reaction to my comments			
• Noting when group avoids an issue			
• ____________			

Problem-Solving Skills	**OK**	**Need to MORE OF**	**Need to LESS OF**
• Stating problems or goals	______	______	______
• Asking for ideas, opinions	______	______	______
• Giving ideas	______	______	______
• Evaluating ideas critically	______	______	______
• Summarizing the discussion	______	______	______
• Clarifying issues	______	______	______
Listening/paraphrasing reflectively	______		______
• ____________________	______	______	______
Morale-Building Skills			
• Showing interest	______	______	______
• Working to keep people from being ignored	______	______	______
• Harmonizing, helping people to reach agreement	______	______	______
• Supporting individuals	______	______	______
• Expressing appreciation	______	______	______
• ____________________	______	______	______
Social Relationships			
• Competing to outdo others	______	______	______
• Acting dominant	______	______	______
• Trusting others	______	______	______
• Being helpful	______	______	______
• Standing up for myself	______	______	______
• ____________________	______	______	______
General			
• Understanding why I do what I do (insight)	______	______	______
• Encouraging comments on my own behavior (soliciting feedback)	______	______	______
• Accepting help willingly	______	______	______
• Making up my mind firmly	______	______	______
• Criticizing myself	______	______	______
• Waiting patiently	______	______	______
• ____________________	______	______	______

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Group Growth Evaluation Form

Directions : Rate your team on each characteristic as the group was initially and as it is now. Use a seven point scale with 7 indicating the highest rating and 1 being the lowest.

Initial Meeting	Last Meeting	
_____	_____	1. I feel close to the members of this group.
_____	_____	2. This group displays cooperation and teamwork.
_____	_____	3. I have trust and confidence in the other members of this group.
_____	_____	4. Members of this group show supportive behavior toward each other.
_____	_____	5. I get a sense of accomplishment from my membership in this group.
_____	_____	6. I am willing to share information with other members of the group.
_____	_____	7. I feel free to discuss important personal matters with group members.
_____	_____	8. I am oriented more toward group goals than toward personal goals.
_____	_____	9. My needs and desires are reflected in the activities of this group.
_____	_____	10. This group has a real sense of responsibility for getting a job done.
_____	_____	11. I do not feel manipulated by the group.
_____	_____	12. I think that I manipulate the group.
_____	_____	13. I have a high level of commitment to the project.
_____	_____	14. I am forthright and frank with the group.
_____	_____	15. I have conviction to stand up for honestly held views.
_____	_____	16. My group is too polite and it smoothes over differences.
_____	_____	17. I attempt to dominate the meetings.
_____	_____	18. There are instances when people are cut off.
_____	_____	19. I have interest in others as people, not just as group members.
_____	_____	20. I paraphrase for better understanding.
_____	_____	21. I am willing to confront differences in ideas.
_____	_____	22. The objective of the group is well understood and accepted by all.
_____	_____	23. The atmosphere is informal, comfortable and relaxed. It is a working atmosphere, in which everyone is involved and interested. There are no signs of boredom.
_____	_____	24. Time is allowed for discussion, in which everyone participates; and discussion remains pertinent to the task of the group.
_____	_____	25. Members listen to each other. People show respect to one another by listening.

Initial Meeting	Last Meeting	
_____	_____	26. Constructive criticism is given and accepted. Effective feedback is oriented towards solving the problem and accomplishing the mission. Personal criticism is neither expressed nor felt.
_____	_____	27. Decisions are reached by consensus, in which it is clear that everyone is in general agreement and is willing to go along.
_____	_____	28. Informal leadership shifts from time to time, depending upon circumstances. There is no struggle for power.
_____	_____	29. The group is informed of the action plan. People know what they are expected to do and do it.

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Questionnaire on Group Skills Development

Below are skill areas in which participants in past courses have indicated an interest in developing greater proficiency. Please indicate the degree to which you have an interest in developing greater skills effectiveness by checking the appropriate position on the scale to the right of each item.

Skills Areas	*Not Interested*	*Somewhat Interested*			*Very Interested*			*Highly Interested*		
1. Expressing my viewpoints clearly and logically	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Convincing or persuading others of my ideas or views	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3. Gaining or holding the attention of others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4. Listening attentively so I can understand others' ideas and perceptions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5. Paraphrasing back what someone says so I can determine if I am "hearing"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Paraphrasing back what someone says so the other person feels reassured that I'm listening	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7. Asserting myself more	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. Asserting myself without "stepping on others' toes"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9. Getting my share of "air time"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10. Being less dominating or opinionated or dogmatic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11. Being more open-minded about the views of others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12. Feeling less intimidated by the way others express their views	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
13. Feeling less defensive when others don't agree with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14. Being less nervous, more confident, in speaking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15. To take criticism better	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16. Coping with people different than I am; e.g., differences in age, sex, race, religion, fraternity, sorority, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
17. Confronting conflict when it arises between myself and another person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
18. To have a harmonizing influence on the group, e.g., help shy people open up; getting others to listen to each other; getting group members more involved and enthusiastic; helping group members to be more comfortable in their relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
19. Leading the group discussion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
20. Taking control when the discussion gets out of hand; keeping discussion on target	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
21. Facilitating the group discussion to get maximum output	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
22. Dealing with conflict between group members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
23. Manipulating the group's interactions, so they will come out the way I feel is best	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

NOTE: When you have finished, go back over the above items and circle the numbers of those to which you would give top priority.

* from "Behavior In Organizations" Lav & Shani, 1992

How the Person Acts	Why	What to Do
Won't Talk	This quiet person may be: • Bored	If he/she is bored, arouse interest by asking for his/her direct opinion.
	• Uninvolved	If he/she is uninvolved, draw out the person next to him/her. Then ask the quiet one for his opinion of the view expressed.
	• Superior	Ask for his/her view after indicating respect for his/her experience. (But don't overdo this, or the others in the group will resent it).
	• Timid • Unsure	If timid or unsure, compliment him/her the first time he/she does talk.
Personality Clash	Sometimes differences of opinion get too sharp. In other cases, two people just don't get along.	Compliment the disagreers on their enthusiasm and participation. Or, emphasize the points they agree on—minimize the points of disagreement. Redirect attention to the objective at hand. Or, ask a direct question on the topic, bringing others into the discussion.

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HINTS FOR HANDLING VARIOUS PARTICIPANT BEHAVIORS

How the Person Acts	Why	What to Do
Heckler	Aggressive, argumentative. Gets satisfaction from needling others.	Don't let him/her upset you. Try to find merit in one of his/her points; express your agreement, and then move on to something else.
Overly Talkative	This person is usually one of four types: (1) An "eager beaver" (2) A show-off (3) Exceptionally well-informed and anxious to show it (4) Just plain talkative	If he/she makes an obvious misstatement of facts, toss the comment to the group and let them correct the person. Wait until he/she takes a breath; then thank him/her; re-focus attention on the subject, and move on. Slow the person down with a difficult question. Or jump in with: "That's an interesting point...now let's see what the group thinks of it." In general, let the group take care of him/her as much as possible.
Griper	May have a pet peeve; or may gripe for the sake of complaining. In some cases the person may have a legitimate complaint.	Point out that the purpose of the session is to find better ways to do things by constructive cooperation. In some cases have a member of the group answer instead of you.

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PARTICIPANT'S CHECKLIST FOR MEETING PREPARATION

1. Read carefully all advance information: minutes, financial reports, current agenda, supporting documents
2. Review minutes and personal notes of previous meetings
3. Annotate agenda: questions, expected action, desired action
4. Determine degree of personal involvement in issues
5. Understand basic parliamentary procedure

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GUIDELINES FOR PARTICIPATING IN MEETINGS

1. Be prompt: Promptness is a sign of reliability
2. Be alert: For the sake of the meeting and yourself, pay attention at all times, and do not ask a question that has already been asked
3. Be brief: In meetings, speechmakers are tedious. Limit comments or questions to a single issue
4. Be objective: Put emotion aside unless it is backed by logic
5. Be silent: Do not repeat what others have said. Either keep quiet or simply note agreement with another speaker

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WHARTON [illegible]

CHAIRPERSON'S CHECKLIST FOR MEETING PREPARATION

1. Review minutes of previous meeting
2. Review minutes of all meetings whose agenda contained items on the current agenda
3. Determine status of current issues
4. Establish purpose of meeting
5. Rank agenda items in importance
6. Create logical sequence of agenda
7. Discuss format and time allotment with all individuals who will be making formal reports or motions
8. Review wording of motions and resolutions
9. Think about needs and individual "agendas" of participants
10. Create method of evaluating meeting

CHECKLIST OF COMMUNICATION SKILLS FOR CHAIRPERSONS

1. Prepare Adequately
   - --Plan agenda
   - --Prepare supporting material
   - --Set up meeting room in advance

2. Establish and Maintain Eye Contact
   - --Look at as many people as possible
   - --Look at the person asking the question if the question is very specific; look around the room if the question is of general interest
   - --Look at notes only if you need to

3. Speak Clearly
   - --Project voice to everyone in the room
   - --Use a normal tone of voice and normal speed
   - --articulate all syllables, especially d, t, n and ing

4. Use Appropriate Body Language
   - --Maintain comfortable but correct posture, whether standing or sitting
   - --Gesture appropriately, but not to the point of distracting the audience
   - --Move deliberately without rocking or pacing

5. Listen Carefully
   - --Ask a question and then remain silent while it is being answered; take notes for verification
   - --Answer a question quickly but completely; do not repeat or digress
   - --Interrupt only to clarify or to prevent a speaker from dominating

6. Summarize
   - --Clearly state what action has been taken and what action needs to be taken
   - --Provide "internal" summaries during long discussions
   - --End all meetings with a brief list of issues and actions

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SUGGESTIONS FOR MANAGING PERSONALITIES IN MEETINGS

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

BEFORE A MEETING

1. Become Familiar with Background of All Participants
   - --Experience in organization
   - --Other Relevant Experience
   - --Current Responsibilities

2. Analyze Reasons Individuals Belong to an Organization
   - --Desire to serve
   - --Desire to share knowledge
   - --Personal motives

3. Assess Positions on a Particular Issue
   - --Biases for
   - --Biases against
   - --Uncommitted

4. Evaluate Individuals' Strengths and Weaknesses as Committee Members
   - --Level of Preparation
   - --Personal Agendas
   - --Willingness to Cooperate

DURING A MEETING

1. Deal with Hostile Questions
   - --Repeat question to agree on meaning
   - --Answer question immediately if possible
   - --Deflect personal attack by generalizing: "This issue affects not only you and me, but all of us. What I really think you are asking is how the group can solve this problem."

2. Prevent Individuals from Dominating
   - --Encourage discussion from all participants
   - --Announce realistic limits at the beginning of a discussion
   - --Interrupt speakers if they digress, repeat or ramble without getting to the point: "You seem to be agreeing with Paul, but others may have another view. What do some of the rest of you think?"

3. Control Arguments or Emotional Outbursts
   - --Ask "combatants" to stop and restate their positions succinctly
   - --Allow some emotion if it is relevant to the point
   - --Refer, if necessary, to Robert's Rules of Order or other established procedures

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AFTER A MEETING

1. Approach Individuals Who May Be Upset
   - --Seek further clarification of issues
   - --Agree on action, if any is necessary
   - --Say nothing, if further discussion will make things worse

2. Evaluate Negative Aspects of Meeting
   - --Determine reasons for problems
   - --Think about what might have been done to prevent problems
   - --Decide if issue requires further action

3. Plan for Future Meetings
   - --Diffuse potentially hostile situations by careful preparation
   - --Consider clarifying or changing responsibilities of committee members who cause problems
   - --Ask for help from colleagues in controlling future hostile situations

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

MEETING EVALUATION FORM

1. How well did I prepare for this meeting?

   (low) (high)
   1 2 3 4 5

2. How well did the chairperson prepare for this meeting?

   1 2 3 4 5

3. How well-prepared were the other participants?

   1 2 3 4 5

4. How well was the agenda followed?

   1 2 3 4 5

5. How well were democratic procedures observed?

   1 2 3 4 5

6. To what degree did everyone have an opportunity to voice opinions?

   1 2 3 4 5

7. To what degree did one or more individuals dominate the meeting?

   1 2 3 4 5

8. How well were the objectives of the meeting accomplished?

   1 2 3 4 5

9. How well were you satisfied with the results?

   1 2 3 4 5

10. What suggestions do you have for improving future meetings?

WHARTON REPROGRAPHICS

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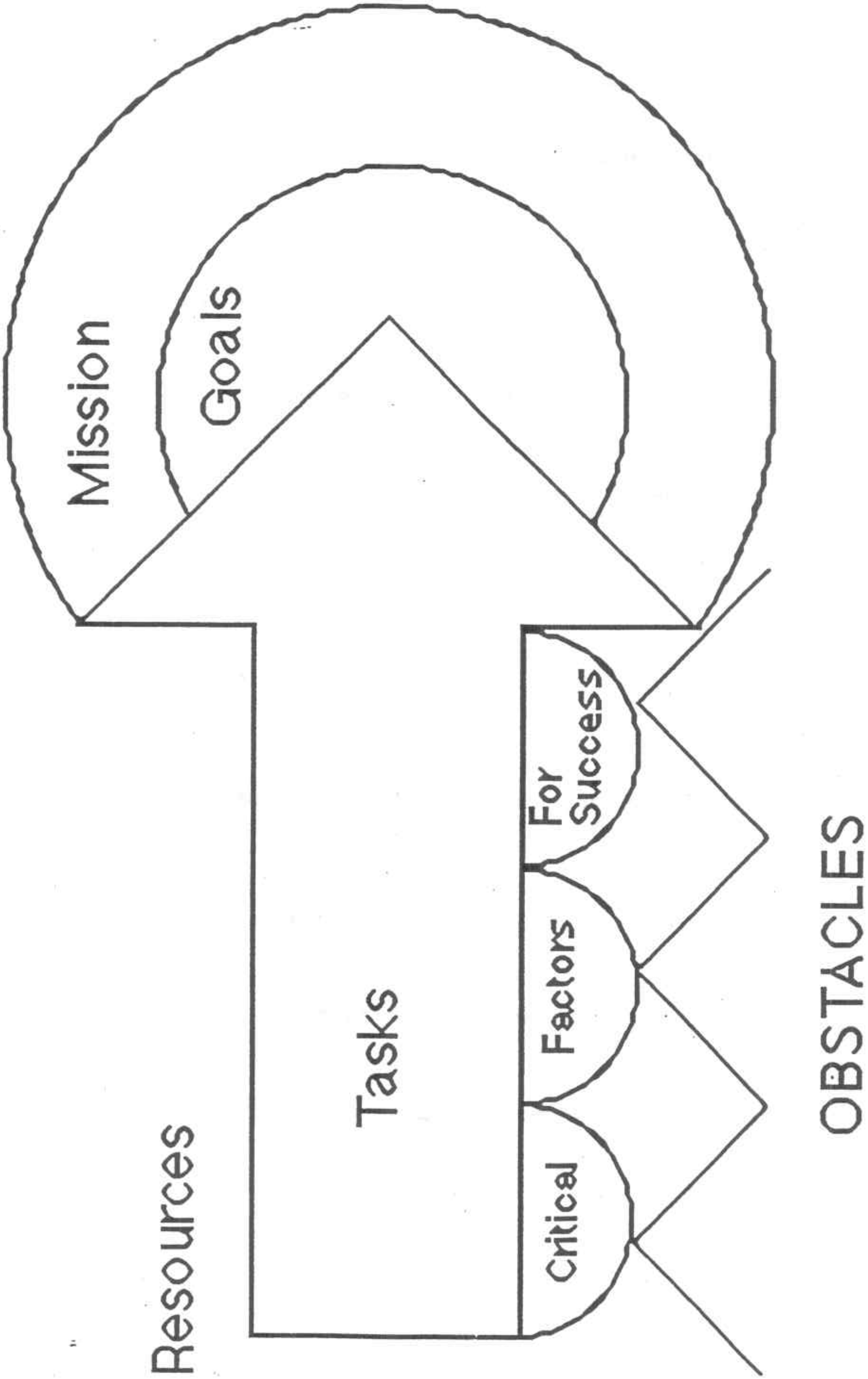
Mission
Goals
Tasks
Resources
Critical
Factors
For
Success
OBSTACLES

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Adapted from Emmert and Emmert, Interpersonal Communication; Folger and Poole, Working Through Conflict; and Hamilton and Parker, Communicating For Results.

Description

Conflicts are usually thought of as negative, regrettable occurrances. However, conflict can be a positive, creative force that stimulates action and improvement of conditions.

Setting

Conflict behavior can occur in two kinds of settings: "games" and disruptive conflicts. In games, there are certain rules of behavior which the parties know and abide by, and a clear, definite end to the conflict, which the parties recognize. In disruptive conflict, rules--if there are any--break down, and the conflict becomes a free for all between "us" and "them."

Cause

Conflicts occur when the parties involved perceive a fixed amount of knowledge, a limited amount of resources and a limited number of solutions, rather than infinite possibilities.

Resolution

Conflicts can be resolved so that there is a winner and a loser in a contest of power (win-lose), so that both parties lose (lose-lose), or so that both parties win by virtue of cooperative problem solving (win-win). Examples of win-lose confrontations include use of authority to settle a dispute and majority rule. Examples of lose-lose conflicts include calling in a third party to settle a dispute, making a compromise (since neither party gets what it really wants), and settlements in which one party bribes the other to arrive at a solution. An example of win-win resolution of conflict is consensus decision-making.

Styles

Individuals learn different styles of conflict behavior. Choice of style often depend on where individuals place the most concern--on people or results.

Win-Lose Style

Competing or Forcing:

One side causes the other to acquiesce, creating a winner and a loser

This style is high in assertiveness, low in cooperation, adversarial; the goal is to achieve what each competitor wants; any means are justified, including threats and promises, or bribes

Lose-Lose Styles

Smoothing, Accommodating, or Yielding:

Emphasis on common interests or areas of agreement

Failure to confront areas of disagreement

This style is unassertive; smoothers yeild to pressure, make one-sided concessions, look for an answer the other person will accept, suppress their own needs, and claim to care more about the relationship than about themselves

Withdrawing or Avoiding:

Individuals who choose to withdraw avoid the conflict situation

This style is unassertive and uncooperative; avoiders withdraw physically or psychologically by postponing, distracting, or remaining silent

Compromising:

Bargaining behavior in which each side obtains part of what it wants.

This style is intermediate in both assertiveness and cooperation; compromisers are willing to split the difference, share, or "horse-trade"

Win-Win Style:

Problem-solving or Collaborating:

An agreement in which both sides meet their needs

This style is high in assertiveness and cooperation; collaborators seek a solution to meet needs of both parties through integration, problem-solving, inventing options, and creating solutions.

Conflict Goals

Nondivisible or Nonshareable Goals:

Both participants cannot win; if one wins, the other loses. The more nondivisable the goals of the conflict are perceived to be, the greater the intensity of the conflict.

Partially Shareable Goals

Possible to win some and lose some while the adversary also wins and loses. Most conflicts are of this type. Perception of partially shareable goals encourages cooperative or compromising styles and reduces conflict intensity.

Fully Shareable Goals

Congruent objectives possessed by both parties; such conflicts become occasions for problem-solving since both can win fully.

Power and Conflict

Conflict moves and countermoves are based on people's ability and willingness to use power. Power moves are based on resources members hold that serve as the basis of influence in the goup. Sources of power include: reward power, coercive power, expert power, legitimate or positional power, referent power. When power is imbalanced, both the stronger and weaker parties face dilemmas as they make moves and step through conflict situations.

Trust and Face-Saving

The extent to which we believe we can trust or predict the other's behavior in conflict influences our choice of moves and countermoves. Factors affecting the degree of trust include: consistency of past behavior; the other person's expert knowledge; relative power structure; quality of communication.

Face-saving concerns are, at base, concerns about the relationship of individual members to the group as a whole. When interaction becomes centered on these concerns during a conflict, members are negotiating how they will see each other; each message and response establishes whether a desired image will stand in the eyes of other group members.

Phases of Conflict

Conflict is a process, occuring over time as people act and react to one another. Most theorists suggest that conflict can be broken into recognizable, sequential periods: for example, latency, initiation, balancing of power, disruption. More broadly, the process of conflict can be said to move from differentiation through integration.

Levels of Conflict

Conflict styles, goals, power relationships, degrees of trust and the need for face-saving all influence the level of conflict intensity. Intensity may range from cooperative conflict, through competition, combat, or war.

To reduce the intensity of conflict, consider ways of changing any of its elements: style, goals, power, trust, and face.

STAGEFRIGHT

Preface

The best speakers feel nervous before facing an audience. If you are well prepared, you can put your nervous energy to work for you, using more energetic gestures, dynamic vocal projection, and enthusiastic facial expressions.

Does your nervous energy enhance or undermine your performance?

If stagefright gets the best of you, try one of the following approaches to calm your nerves and take every opportunity to speak in public so long as you are well prepareed. You might think of stagefright as a disease and public speaking the best antidote.

1. Speaker-Centered
    - -- This approach works on the assumption that the best way to cope with a fear is to understand and express it.
    - -- Talking about stagefright--getting it out in the open--can calm your fears.
2. Audience-Centered
    - -- This approach works on the assumption that a conversation with one person is less frightening than performing before a large audience.
    - -- Look at the members of your audience one at a time. Choose a few responsive and sympathetic people around the room and speak directly with them. As you gain confidence, include more members of the audience in your conversation.
3. Topic-Centered
    - -- This approach works on the assumption that a person with nervousness needs to lose, rather then gain, consciousness of self.
    - -- Focus on your topic. Choose one you know and care a lot about. Prepare thoroughly. Practice giving the speech out loud.

EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEAKING: PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

Determine your general purpose for speaking.

Most speakers talk with more than one purpose in mind--to entertain and inform or to inform and persuade. The best speakers know their predominant reason for speaking.

Identify your specific purpose.

Many speakers attempt to accomplish too much in a single speech. Let your awareness of yourself as a presenter, your acceptance of time limitations, and your analysis of the audience guide your choice of specific purpose.

Explore your subject.

Jot down your thoughts. Consider the quality of your information thus far. If a particular point lacks support, now is the time to supply missing information.

Organize your presentation.

Put your thoughts into the proper sequence (chronological, cause and effect, motivating sequence, etc.).

Revise your notes.

Consider the quantity and relevance of your information. Remove any unnecessary and irrelevant information so that you will have enough time to cover all of the points you want the audience to hear.

Prepare your final outline.

Use single words or short phrases. Write out only those points which you must say in a certain way (facts, figures, statistics, quotations, etc.).

Rehearse your speech out loud.

Practicing out loud should enable you to
-- make sure that your outline notes do, indeed, prompt you to say what you want to say
-- guard against going off on a tangent when you actually present
-- find out just how long your presentation is going to last.
-- Deliver your presentation in a conversational manner.

Revise your notes, if necessary, and practice again.

Be sure to give your extemporaneous speech from a strong background of preparation.

TEN TECHNIQUES OF DYNAMIC DELIVERY

1. Speak naturally and conversationally. Speak spontaneously from a background of preparation.
2. Use an outline. Write out only those sentences you must say in a specific way (for example, a quotation or a conclusion).
3. If you deliver your speech from notes on cards, number them. If you use sheets of paper, distinguish one major heading from another by marking your notes accordingly.
4. Mark your notes and make a roadmap for yourself. Use different colored pens and pencils to draw circles, arrows, brackets, underlines, etc. so that you can find what you need to see in a hurry.
5. Use a variety of sentences. Use short sentences for emphasis, and longer ones for explanation and discussion.
6. Stand up tall and straight, on both feet, but feel free to move naturally.
7. Gesture when appropriate. One-handed gestures are generally better than two-handed ones. When no gestures are appropriate, try not to do anything distracting with your hands.
8. Be animated in your delivery. Make use of "verbal punctuation": speed up and slow down, vary your volume, and pause for effect.
9. Talk with your audience. Converse with them. Look at them and respond to feedback.
10. Speak with authority and conviction. Let the audience know that you know exactly what you are doing, right from the start and to the very end of your speech.

BRIEFINGS: CONDUCTING QUESTION & ANSWER SESSIONS

The purposes of briefings are similar to those of most other presentations: to inform and to persuade. An informative briefing organizes and presents data but does not usually include recommendations or proposals for action. A persuasive briefing, like a persuasive speech, includes proposals and recommendations and often asks the audience to take some action.

In a formal context, the format may be prescribed; time limits may be set; guidelines for preparing visual aids may be strict; written copies of the briefing with background notes may be required. In more informal contexts, briefings include routine, status reports at periodic meetings and also immediate "desk-top" explanations in response to sudden inquiries.

While conducting a successful briefing depends, like other speeches, on your skills of organization and delivery, a briefing can differ from other types of presentations in that your audience may feel free--even obligated--to interrupt you with questions and to press you for answers. In most cases, you can ask your audience to postpone questions until you finish your presentation, but in briefings you may not have this option. You must expect to be interrupted; you should anticipate questions, answer them briefly, but not allow either the question or your answer to deflect you from making the points you want to make.

You can control the number of interruptions in two ways. First, organize your data tightly and coherently; if you digress, if you make your point obscure, or if you become verbose, you will try your audience's patience and invite them to stop you. Second, like an unclear organizational pattern, a hesitant, halting delivery can also invite interruptions. Speaking in a monotone, an excess of "um's" or long pauses, a tendency to revise or to repeat phrases may all indicate to an audience that you lack confidence or certainty about your data; they may challenge you and test your conclusions.

But even if you look poised and sound organized, you can be interrupted. If you expect this as the rule and not the exception, you can avoid becoming rattled or defensive and learn to use questions as a means of making your point.

The guidelines on the following page can help you take advantage of questions, demonstrate your confidence and explain your ideas. Remember, while most questioners are sincere, some questions are meant to be confrontational or embarrassing. The questioner may want to throw you off balance and confuse you. Indeed, if your questioner sounds combative and you answer calmly and sound cooperative, you will increase your credibility. If you expect interruptions, anticipate questions, and stay on track, you will conduct successful briefings.

CONDUCTING QUESTION & ANSWER SESSIONS

Anticipate Questions. Examine your speech, list ten questions you believe you might be asked, compose and rehearse answers, prepare notes--including technical information, statistics, names--to use when answering.

Listen. Make sure you understand the question; many speakers get into trouble answering questions they were never asked.

Make Eye Contact. Look directly at the questioner as he or she speaks. Perhaps step toward the questioner to show that you are listening carefully.

Answer Directly and Concisely. Direct your answer to the entire group. Resume eye contact with the questioner only in the last phrase of your answer. Avoid concluding, "Did I answer your question?"

Stay on Track. If you are asked a question which anticipates information yet to be covered, acknowledge that the questioner is on the right track, answer briefly, and promise more detail to come. If you are asked a question pertaining to material already covered, repeat yourself briefly. Whether the questioner is simply confused, inattentive, or obstructive, respond quickly and get back on track.

Repeat Certain Questions. You will buy time to think, make sure everyone has heard the question, and keep the audience's attention on you. Also, repeating a hostile or difficult question with your own inflection can take the sting out of it. Do not ask the questioner to repeat his or her query unless you truly do not understand it.

Rephrase Selected Questions. You may want to rephrase complicated or compound questions for the sake of clarity. Answer each part separately.

Risk Interrupting. If the questioner begins to ramble or to make a speech of his or her own, you may want to interrupt; you can say, "Let me see if I can summarize your question."

Answer Honestly. Do not be afraid to say, "I don't know, but I will be happy to get an answer for you."

Compose Answers as Miniature Speeches. Think of each response to a question as a speech in microcosm--with an introduction, main point, and conclusion.

Stand Tall and Relaxed. Try to look confident, comfortable, and attentive.

MAKING IMPROMPTU PRESENTATIONS

1. **Find some paper on which to outline your message.**
2. **Jot down your main ideas in an easy-to-follow order.**
3. **Jot down some information, an example, or a story to illustrate each main idea.**
4. **Begin with an example, story, or quotation that captures the essence of your message.**
5. **Preview the ideas you will cover.**
6. **Enumerate your ideas as you present and illustrate them.**
7. **Summarize the main ideas you covered.**
8. **Conclude with remarks that highlight the meaning and significance of your message.**

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LISTENING BEHAVIORS

Poor Listening Behaviors

Pseudolistening. Pseudolisteners look attentive (they may make detailed outlines of the speaker's remarks) but are really daydreaming or tuning out the speaker.

Stage hogging. Stage hogs interrupt constantly and dominate the speaker's talk with their own.

Selective listening. Selective listeners respond only to the parts of the speaker's remarks that interests them.

Distorted listening. These listeners manufacture information in order to give the impression that they understand the gist of the speaker's talk.

Manipulative listening. These listeners push, pull, chop, squeeze, and in other ways manipulate messages to their liking.

Insulated listening. When the speaker says something they would rather not hear, insulated listeners simply fail to acknowledge it.

Defensive listening. Defensive listeners take innocent comments as personal attacks.

Ambushing. Ambushers listen carefully to the speaker, but only because they are collecting information that they will use to criticize what the speaker has to say or how he or she says it.

Insensitive listening. At best, insensitive listeners take a speaker's remarks at face value; at worst, insensitive listeners create distrations while the speaker is talking.

Listening More Effectively

No talking. The listener quiets even the silent debating, rehearsing, and retorting that often goes on in our minds.

Putting the speaker at ease. The listener helps the speaker feel free to talk by creating a supportive communication climate.

Reacting appropriately. The listener offers suitable positive and negative feedback, including nonverbal facial expressions.

Concentrating. The listener focuses attention on the words, ideas, and feelings of the speaker.

Getting rid of distractions. The listener tunes out, as best as possible, a distracting setting.

Not giving up too soon. The listener avoids interrupting until the speaker expresses a complete thought.

Avoiding assumptions. The listener does not assume that the speaker is "uninformed," "lying," or behaving dishonorably.

No mental arguing. The listener gives the speaker a fair hearing.

Critical listening. The listener searches for main points and sees if the speaker's support bears them out.

Sharing responsibility for communication. The listener tries to make the conversation an exchange, a give-and-take.

Asking questions. The listener increases understanding in an active way by asking questions.

Active listening. The listener accurately paraphrases the speaker's words (rather than parrots them).

Participation and Leadership in Small Groups: Definitions of Key Terms

BEHAVIORAL THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP: There are several behavioral theories of leadership, including TRAIT (leaders are born, not made) and ORIENTATION (leaders have either task-or people- orientation). The glossary of terms below focuses on FUNCTION THEORIES and THREE-DIMENSIONAL THEORIES (or the stylistic approach).

FUNCTION THEORIES: Leaders carry out task and maintenance functions. Anyone can perform these functions and share leadership responsibility.

TASK FUNCTIONS are roles that must be performed if the group is to accomplish its task or solve its problem. Task function include (Goldhaber, pp. 268-269):

INITIATING: defines the problems, sets the rules, contributes ideas.

INFORMATION GIVING/SEEKING: asks for or offers opinions and beliefs about their own or the group's attitude toward a suggestion--"I think we had a situation like this last year."

OPINION GIVING/RECEIVING: asks for or offers as above--"I think your example needs more facts."

ELABORATING and CLASSIFYING: provides additional information about a particular suggestion or idea.

ENERGIZING: The group is stimulated to be energetic and active (Hamilton & Parker, 1990, p. 292).

REVIEWING: orienting and summarizing significant points covered in an attempt to guide the direction of the discussion.

RECORDING: Group suggestions and decisions are recorded (Hamilton & Parker, p. 292).

CONSENSUS TESTING: checks to see if group is ready to make a decision.

MAINTENANCE FUNCTIONS: roles that must be performed if the interpersonal relationships and harmony of the group are to be maintained. (Goldhaber, p. 269)

ENCOURAGING: praises, agrees with, and accepts others' contributions.

Participation and Leadership in Small Groups: Definitions of Key Terms, cont'd.

HARMONIZING: resolves differences and reduces tension, sometimes with humor.

TENSION RELIEVING: When necessary, the atmosphere is relaxed through such things as informality or humor (Hamilton & Parker, p. 292).

GATEKEEPING: facilitates interaction from all members; for example, "John, what do you think about Sally's idea?"

STANDARD SETTING and TESTING: checks out the group process, people's feelings, group norms, etc., to evaluate the operation of the group; for example, "I feel there's a lot of hostility in this room. Do others share my perception?"

NONFUNCTIONAL or NEGATIVE BEHAVIORS: these behaviors are nonfunctional because they serve individual needs while inhibiting organizational and group needs. Although they can be problematic, these behaviors may also serve to stimulate healthy conflict and jar a group out of its group-think pattern (Hamilton & Parker, p. 293).

GROUP-THINK: an uncritical way of thinking, often characteristic of groups, in which the desire to avoid conflict and reach agreement is more important than careful consideration of alternatives (Hamilton & Parker, p. 264).

BLOCKING: by rejecting all ideas, refuses to cooperate (Goldhaber, p. 269).

AGGRESSION: boasting, criticizing, fighting (Goldhaber, p. 269).

STORYTELLING: Irrelevant stories, often very interesting, lure the group off track (Hamilton & Parker, p. 293).

RECOGNITION SEEKING: Attention is called to personal achievements and successes (H & P, p. 292).

DOMINATING: interrupts, monopolizes conversation, is authoritative (Goldhaber, p. 269).

CONFESSING: The group is used as a sounding board for personal problems and feelings (H & P, p. 293).

Participation and Leadership in Small Groups: Definitions of Key Terms, cont'd.

SPECIAL-INTEREST PLEADING: The interest of another group is represented regardless of whether it fits the topic being discussed (H & P, p. 293).

DISTRACTING: The group is distracted with antics, jokes, and comments at inappropriate moments (H & P, p. 293).

WITHDRAWING: remains indifferent, daydreams, avoids the topic (Goldhaber, p. 269).

THREE-DIMENSIONAL THEORY (the stylistic approach): focuses on what leaders do in three different leadership styles--authoritarian, democratic, or laissez-faire.

AUTHORITARIAN: The leader determines policy, procedure, and tasks and roles of members. The leader gives personal praise or criticism of individual contributions.

Works best when: 1) group agreement is not required for implementation, 2) group is very large, 3) time for a decision is short, and 4) tasks are fairly simple.

Drawbacks: 1) low level of participation among members, 2) members may develop dependence on leader rather than trust in their own abilities and initiative, 3) although group reaches solution faster than with other styles, implementation is relatively slow (possibly because members are not fully committed to the solution).

DEMOCRATIC: The leader suggests alternatives, but the group decides specific policy, procedure, and tasks and roles of members. Group discussion is encouraged and assisted by the leader. Everyone is free to participate is appraisal of group effort.

Works best when: 1) greater employee satisfaction is needed, 2) group commitment is needed for implementation, 3) tasks are complicated and require lengthy discussion, 4) increased productivity is needed, and 5) reduced resistance to change is sought.

Drawbacks: 1) time-consuming style, 2) the most difficult style to maintain, requiring skill and patience.

Participation and Leadership in Small Groups: Definitions of Key Terms, cont'd.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE: The leader does nothing but supply information and material when asked. The leader does not take part in or direct decisions of the group. The group has complete freedom in determining policy, procedure, tasks and roles of group members, and appraisal of group efforts.

Works best when the group consists of highly trained, highly motivated experts (e.g., a group of vice presidents) who perform needed leadership roles themselves. (Research indicates this is the only situation in which a laissez-faire leadership style is preferred.)

Drawbacks: Results in low level of group productivity and low member satisfaction. Laissez-faire leadership is essentially nonleadership.

References

Farace, R.V., Monge, P.R., & Russell, H.M. *Communicating and organizing.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1977.

Goldhaber, G.M. *Organizational communication* (3rd ed.). Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1983.

Hamilton, C., and Parker, C. *Communicating for results.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1990, pp. 264, 289-312.

GIVING FEEDBACK STATEMENT SHEET

USEFUL FEEDBACK IS:

GIVEN WITH CARE To be useful, feedback requires the giver to feel concern for and to care for the person receiving feedback-- to want to help, not hurt the other person.

GIVEN WITH ATTENTION It is important to pay attention to what you are doing as you give feedback. This helps you to engage in a two-way exchange with some depth of communication.

INVITED BY THE RECIPIENT Feedback is most effective when the receiver has invited the comments. This provides a platform for openness and some guidelines; it also gives the receiver an opportunity to identify and explore particular areas of concern.

DIRECTLY EXPRESSED Good feedback is specific and deals clearly with particular incidents and behavior. Making vague statements is of little value. The most useful help is direct, open, and concrete.

FULLY EXPRESSED Effective feedback requires more than a bald statement of facts. Feelings also need to be expressed so that the receiver can judge the full impact of his behavior.

UNCLUTTERED BY EVALUATIVE JUDGEMENTS Often it is helpful not to give feedback composed of judgments or evaluations. If you wish to offer judgments, then it is necessary to state clearly that these are matters of subjective evaluation and then to simply describe the situation as you see it and let the person concerned make the evaluation.

WELL TIMED The most useful feedback is given when the receiver is receptive to it and is sufficiently close to the particular event being descussed for it to be fresh in his mind. Storing comments can lead to a build up of recriminations and reduces the effectiveness of feedback when it is finally given.

READILY ACTIONABLE The most useful feedback centers around behavior that can be changed by the receiver.. Feedback concerning matters outside the control to the receiver is less useful. It often is helpful to suggest alternative ways of behaving that allow the receiver to think about new ways of tackling old problems.

CHECKED AND CLARIFIED If possible, feedback should be checked out with the other person to see whether perceptions are shared. Different viewpoints can be collected and assimilated, points of difference and similarity clarified, and a more objective picture developed.